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ABSTRACT

This document contains eight volumes of "The Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education." Founded in 1981 by the United States Society for Education through Art, the journal's purpose is to promote a greater understanding of diverse cultures and to explore the role of art in multicultural education. Featured articles discuss areas such as art and social understanding, cultural identity and pride, community art education, themes from children's graphic narratives, contemporary street murals, folk art, stereotypes in art, morality of international art education, and the challenges of teaching art in a multicultural society. Some of the countries and cultures described include Korean-American, Australian, Egyptian, Finnish, Oglala Sioux, Brazilian, Canadian, French Canadian, Kenyan, Japanese, and Tibetan. Issues of race and cultural diversity in the United States and other countries are discussed. Volume 4, Number 1 is a special issue devoted to a joint conference of the Canadian and U.S. Societies for Education through Art. This issue discusses exploring cultural backgrounds and features, specific dimensions of, and roles occupied by, art in culture, and applications of a culturally mediated approach to programs, curriculum, and the pursuit of knowledge. Art's ability to explore topics that people "don't talk about" and bring to the surface images that remind people of what one group has or lacks in relation to other groups is recognized. (DK)

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Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education

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JOURNAL OF

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Research in Art Education

Fall 1983 Volume 1, Number 1

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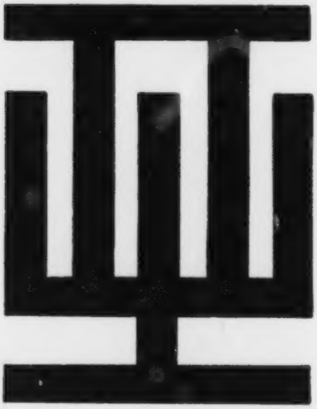

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Editorial

The United States Society for Education through Art (USSEA) was formed in 1976 by a group of art educators who recognized a need for an organization in this country which would direct its energies toward issues and concerns relating to cross-cultural and multi-cultural spects of education. USSEA is affiliated with the International Society of Education through Art (INSEA) and the National Art Education Association (NAEA), and has worked cooperatively with both organizations. USSEA has sponsored and organized five major conferences in Columbus, Washington, D.C., Boston, New York, and Los Angeles. Since its inception, USSEA has provided a newsletter each academic year for its membership which highlights regional and international conferences in art education; book reviews dealing with the international perspectives in art education; professional activities of society members, as well as news on current exhibitions; and grants and fellowships that might be of interest to members.

In 1981, the USSEA Executive Board established the Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education. Through this publication, USSEA seeks to promote a greater understanding of diverse cultures and to explore the role of art in multi-cultural education. Authors from the international community, who are pursuing any aspect in this diverse field of research, are encouraged to submit manuscripts. To ensure impartial review of submitted materials, all manuscripts are juried by blind review. USSEA is indeed fortunate to have acquired the interest and services of outstanding professionals in art education to serve on the Editorial Board and as Reviewers. Through their efforts, USSEA is able to provide a viable publication. At the suggestion of Jan Rubinowitz, President of USSEA, the Adinkera symbol, *Ofamfa*, has been used on the cover design. *Ofamfa*, a symbol from the Ashanti culture, means "a measure of critical examination."

As with any such endeavor, many people have made substantial contributions. I am very pleased to acknowledge the efforts and support of the Executive Board and their foresight in establishing the Journal; the many authors who submitted material for consideration; the members of the Editorial Board and the Reviewers; and the support and assistance of the administration, faculty, and staff of the University of Missouri-Columbia--Deans of the Colleges of Arts and Science and Education, Milton Glick and Bob Woods; and former Dean of Arts and Science Richard Wallace; the Departments of Art and Curriculum and Instruction Chairpersons, Frank Stack, Wayne Dumas, and Professor of Art Marilyn Holsinger, for designing the cover; Fran Balulis for typing the text; Fran Malloy, Ruth Erwin and Joyce Gillespie of the Graduate School for assistance in preparation of the text and the use of the word processor; George Mazurak, for his assistance in editing; and Clarise Smits and the staff of the University Printing Service for printing this publication.

A special note of thanks and appreciation is due Editoral Associates Susan Hood and June Eyestone, for their continued support, time, and efforts in preparing the Journal for publication. Editor, LK

Foreword

Many years ago, sitting in a Maroon tribal village in the Amazon rainforest in the interior of Surinam, South America, I was involved in a discussion with a local artist, a craftsman of great skill and sensitivity, who had just finished painting, what we would term, a hard-edged abstract motif with enamel paints on the underside of a dugout canoe prow. The painting was directed toward the water and would be "seen" by the goddess of the river who protected those who traveled the treacherous waters of that great forest. We sat on a log with a teenager who was helping to fan away the insects from the wet and sticky paint. The discussion had turned from the dugout canoes of their culture to the airplanes of my own. I was describing my recent flight in a 747, commenting upon its immense size, its capacity to hold hundreds of passengers and its five kitchens for food preparation.

The craftsman was distressed with my tally of the kitchen facilities and said, "Those hundreds of people must have to wait too long on lines with their pots if there are only five kitchens!" Before I could respond, the teenager interrupted with his own concern: "Forget the kitchens," he said, "how did they hollow the whole thing out?"

While we may delight in the humor of this cross-cultural misunderstanding, the tables are easily turned! How many of us could discuss intelligently the complicated technology and the extraordinary effort involved in creating the river-worthy dugout canoe mentioned above? After years of listening and observing, I have collected this sketchy information.

One must begin by searching in the forest (not the village) for the proper tree, the specifications for which are complicated. It will be found, undoubtedly, quite far from the village as near-by specimens have been exhausted during the last fifty years. It must be approached by clearing a path from either an existing path or from the river. It must be felled, and trimmed, and the main section--perhaps forty or more feet long--cut away from the rest of the debris. The rough shape is cut and excess weight removed from the middle before any attempt is made to haul it toward the river. All of the above may take many days, and, in consequence, it may also be necessary to construct a temporary shelter or camp in the vicinity of the activity. Time must be taken also for food gathering, hunting, food preparation, and for tool sharpening. The main section will then be rolled on logs toward the river for hauling to the village.

In the village another month or so of strenuous work takes place, during which time holes are bored through the bottom of the boat so that actual thicknesses of the craft can be measured. The inside of the dugout is burned briefly to expand the wood as hand-hewn seat slats are fitted into place. During the burning, brooms made from freshly cut sugar cane are beaten against the sides of the canoe to keep the exterior from catching on fire. Planks are then cut and trimmed to fit both sides of the boat and are fastened onto the hull with a series of hand-hewn ribs. Oakum is then prepared for stuffing in between the narrow space where the planks and hull overlap. Prow and stern tips are carved and painted with traditional designs, and, when possible, the dugout exterior is painted for protection.

In the words of a Djuka Maroon tribesman from the village of Diitabiki, "There is no task more difficult in life than making a dugout canoe. My life and my family's life depend upon how well I do it." The average life of a Maroon dugout, barring a major accident, is three years, after which the whole process begins anew.

Multi-cultural and cross-cultural research are imperative if we are to fully understand what we are about, what others are about, and what art education is about.

Janina Rubinowitz, President
The United States Society for
Education through Art

Croton-on-Hudson, New York
September 1983

The Empty Box: The Potter as First Violinist

Kenneth R. Beittel
The Pennsylvania State University

Research must remain an open term once it is conjoined with art, education, and cross-cultural or multi-culturalist. The artist, it has been argued (Van den Berg, 1967; Bachelard, 1969, 1971), is a natural existential philosopher and phenomenologist. The very ideas of data, methodology, and proof change their meaning--not their truth or vigor--depending on whether we approach the physical, mental, or spiritual realms of experience (Wilber, 1982).

We lack an English equivalent to Dilthey's geist sciences (Palmer, 1969). The word geist refers to both mind and spirit, to all that which is not merely physical or empirical. To Dilthey, experience, expression, and understanding are the route to decoding the objectifications of mind or spirit that we find in works and texts.

It is in this perspective that I offer a true account of a kind of cross-cultural influence. I firmly believe that we must live through--that is, experience and express--what we wish to understand. This case story suggests not just cross-cultural comparison, but the influences passing between cultures and the clash which sets the stage for the transcendence of differences. Had I not experienced deeply a specific Japanese tradition (through study in Japan in 1967; contacts in America in 1969, 1976, 1980, and 1981; and exhibitions in Japan in 1981), my grasp of Zen in Japanese art would be less sure and my vision of a planetary tradition in pottery would not have arisen. One of the functions of cross-cultural studies may well be the identification and preservation of unique cultural values.

The master picked up a catalogue of one of his former exhibitions. He thumbed through the many glossy color photos of individual forms and stopped at a cylindrical shape, almost as wide as high, curving from the base and tapering back slightly at the lip. He showed it to Nakamuta-san, his most advanced apprentice of his six *deshi*. Nakamuta-san had been eight years with the master and was in his tenth year as a potter.

Nakamuta-san went back to his electric Shimpo wheel, propped the catalogue on a shelf among the drying porcelain forms he had thrown, all lined up like the identities-in-difference of an edition from the hand of a master printmaker. He then proceeded to "read" and "perform" the piece on the "sheet-music" before him.

After a good beginning it was obvious that Nakamuta-san knew he was in trouble. The form he was throwing looked very good--good, that is, apart from the printed prototype. He drew breath sharply inward through his teeth, in the male Japanese manner signifying innumerable kinds of stress or displeasure. He mumbled something, and the master rose from his wheel, diagonally across the large rectangular studio, and went to stand beside his first apprentice. He pointed out the obvious taller character and slower bottom curve of the effort. Waving Nakamuta-san off his wheel, the master sat down and, "tuning his instrument," tried a replay on the same armature. But, alas, it was marred from its inception and would never approximate the platonic form behind the sheet music.

Without a change in expression, the master folded the walls of the piece inward, arose and swung his leg over the wheel. He returned to his own wheel, leaving Nakamuta-san the task of cleaning up and rebeginning. No other exchange of words or looks occurred, although it was obvious to me that Nakamuta-san, behind his cool, did not relish having me as an observer to the transaction.

It had seemed different to me fourteen years ago, when I had studied with the master (Sensei, as I will call him). Then control had meant selflessness, Zen, tradition--the uses of tool and hand passed on for centuries out of China, through Korea, to Japan. How much of this difference was in my own perception, need, and romance for a transcendental rightness beyond shallow ego-bound expression, I cannot tell. Sensei, for all his skill and discipline then, had not yet arrived as an independent potter of renown. In fact, in a time-honored way, he was producing large forms on a commission basis for the big names of the area, who signed them, after decorating and firing them, as their own.

Japan was different then, too. Though prospering, building, and having outwardly recovered from the war, it was not yet "No. 1," and even the dollar-yen ratio was in my favor. The craze for things American and Western, though noticeable, was not yet of epidemic proportions. The department stores, for example, were not then organized around big name import goods from Europe and the United States. The TV commercials were not one-up parodies of Madison Avenue, selling instant *dashi* and *miso* at a sprinter's pace; and the supermarkets were not only smaller, they had not yet reached the tobacco auctioneer's pace and the football-stadium-noise level with their prerecorded *irrashae-irrashae-irrashae-irrashae*.

Then, Sensei's pace was different. He would take time out to teach me about the language, the culture, how to buy Japanese foods, what to do at the Bon Festival in my host's house, and the like; and he would sit smoking quietly or take numerous teabreaks, even though he always worked hard and long once he settled at his wheel. Everything was not "No. 1," in category, rank, name. Zen was a possibility. I took part in a *ta-ue* (rice planting) at the ten small rice fields encircling his then humble ancestral country home. Ideas arose from the landscape because time, and silence, and space existed around the clay, the wheels, the pots. Though even then, as he told me once when tapping his head, only pots were in his mind, they had that same time, and silence, and space--or should I say timelessness, nothingness, and spacelessness--around them.

He had not yet become world famous but already had that great mastery and effortless perfectionism that seem so inhuman now. And it was the 60's. America was "greening," or trying to, in the midst of its wasteland. And I had the Hamada-Leach-Yanagi-anonymous-communal-folk-potter mystique, honestly earned through my own isolated self-education--clay-digging, kiln-building, and efforts at teaching-as-community. True, the work in the ancient Japanese town in which I studied was not, in its contemporary form, even then very inspiring. But the unbelievable concentration and consummate skill abounding everywhere was indeed motivating, for nothing comparable could be found then or now in America.

It is possible, I now muse, that a good apprentice or student forms the master or the teacher. That may be why, in the time-honored way, the master chooses the apprentice. It may be some lack in the master, something that needs completing in his stand within tradition, that draws him to the unformed potential of the apprentice. The same reversal may occur as with Hegel's analysis of master and slave. It is the master who is less free. That which is to come through the "free becoming" of the apprentice changes the master and his stand within tradition, for tradition is nothing but an interpretation that grants new life to whatever comes from the otherwise dead past. The very greatness of the master rests solidly on the naive apprentice. This is the Tao of learning, the valley spirit that overcomes the mightiest tradition, and the greatest embodiment of mastery. If there were no backsliding, there could be no stiffening. If there were no ignorance, there could be no light.

My analysis of how new thoughts come into my own consciousness as a by-product of my teaching graduate students supports these speculations. They arise as a true effort to enlarge being through the unique contribution of each struggling student. What comes forth is like a new flower on the vine of tradition, and since the teacher is more identified with that vine, he can make more of its eventual fruits, quite often, than his students, even though they are essential to this exfoliation.

But I was not accurate when I implied that I lacked role models. A "teacher" need not be living or directly accessible. The yogis know this. Also, as with doctors, none may be better than a bad one. But I did have, as I earlier indicated, the model of Bernard Leach, as set forth in his works and writings; and of his friend, Hamada, who at one point invited me to study with him (but I could not at the time); and of the scholar-writer Yanagi. These fused with my readiness for an open community of work and shared life, for naturalness of clay, and place, and fire, to produce a "spirit master" of the first order long before I went to Japan. And even "Japan" was a state of mind more than a place--a state of mind, moreover, which time would make harder and harder to confirm. All vital "realities" are half imagination, and when the imaginative portion cannot cantilever the weight thrust upon it by other "real" concerns, the construction called "reality" crashes. Hence I have had to envision a "great tradition," of neither East nor West, an unbroken lineage of clay-workers whose hands and hearts are joined across all times and all places. This image arose in my consciousness before returning to Japan, as though I stood in need of a new construction of tradition.

Japan taught me tradition in pottery in a way that was actual and not just romantic. But if I had stuck with that, I would have died as an artist. This trip back to Japan, I actually felt as though, like the student of the open teacher to whom I referred, I might have to give back to them, through my naiveté, the very meaning of tradition.

But, back to the potter as first violinist and, eventually, to the empty box. Discipline, skill, and perfection in execution are ingredients in most arts. Whether they are essential ingredients is as arguable as whether faith is achieved through works. It is certain that these ingredients figure highly in the "performing arts," especially as these are professionalized and institutionalized; and also because the composers, writers, and choreographers who create for these arts build into their works, as part of their medium, skill, and performance, expectations of a high order.

But who is the "composer," who the "performer" of the pot? Are they not, of necessity, one and the same person? (True, each person who brings a pot back to life within his appreciative experience, does become, as Gadamer (1975) reminds us, a true "performer" of the work, but that is because the work only exists as a work in our "performance" of it.) The visual artist who does not serve as both choreographer and dancer is not whole. Efforts to replicate the skilled performance of ancient craftsmen at historical villages and restorations give full evidence of this fact. The means-end continuity has been broken. It is senseless to think that control of the means allows one to switch ends. What existed to support life and expression will not submit to the demands of tourism or big business based on supplying collectors' investments.

This, Japan today shows clearly. Now that their economy is based on yen, business success, and commodity production, and has in short become thoroughly technologized, the ancient traditions have linked up with questionable ends. The tribal structure and ancestral continuity have moved as though from medieval directly into modern times in the form of authoritarian hierarchies, glorifying company, name and master alike; young management officers trained at Harvard Business School, do what they are supposed to do for the *wa* (harmony) of the team, plant, or studio as a whole. The glory, fame, and wealth that the firm president, team owner, or thirteenth-generation-pottery-studio boss receive is a symbolic victory for the lowest rank within the hierarchy as well. Great psychological security and--now that "Japan is No. 1" (Vogel, 1979)--economic security are well received because the workers within the hierarchy can make their specific role--their means, that is, within the total structure--their immediate end: for the larger end is not theirs to determine or question.

The studio boss of one pottery "hand factory," who is directly in the thirteen generation lineage, employs some eighty skilled workers who carry out the diversified labor that produces the pots he decorates--if they are significant enough pieces--and all of which he personally signs, as he likewise signs and stamps the box lids for the top of the line pieces. These latter will sell for from $400 to $10,000 and above, depending on pot category, size, and intricacy of decoration.

In Sensei's studio, almost all the work is *hakuji*, or pure white porcelain, perhaps with a carving on it which the glaze renders darker by settling more thickly into the grooves. Since decoration is not the sign of value, purity of form and skill in execution count far more in his studio than in other studios of the area. Hence the allusion to Nakamuta-san and to Sensei as first violinist and conductor is not far-fetched. Sensei is himself also like a performer in a concerto for solo instruments and orchestra.

Time spent in this studio confirmed this impression. The work was quiet and very serious; the atmosphere, much like that of a concert hall. Whether all the performers are inspired interpretatively or not depends on the specific performance, the music, and the slant toward interpretation of the conductor. As I looked around the studio, I could see the rows of pots, like so many renditions of the same composition. These were not so much the "concrete universals" I associate with the unique and "free-becoming-of-being" (Anderson, 1978) of each art work, but rather the serial exemplifications of some platonic form, of which the minor variations of fire and hand and material are irrelevant exceptions merely corroborating the essence they serve.

I knew this was "production potting" of the highest order, but as I stood there within Sensei's studio a chill seized my heart. Later, before leaving his home and Japan following the close of two exhibitions of my own work from America there, I became physically ill. I now see that the two experiences are likely connected.

First of all, I had no desire to work this time in Sensei's studio. Nor could I have had, for the skills involved toward that repertoire and the hierarchical social order supporting them are not a part of me, attitudinally or performance-wise. And the controlled ends toward which these converge are abhorrent to me, just as clearly as are terms like "arts management." It is clear to me that being "managed" and being "art" (oh, great undefined term, and justly so!) are, if not negatively correlated, at least uncorrelated.

But my nausea is personal and not judgmental. True, it hit me hard at the time on the student-to-teacher level, for it indicated that I could no longer teach Sensei anything through my naiveté and vulnerability. To the degree that making pottery is like performing from a great score, the potters in Sensai's studio were top first violinists. To the degree that it is not, they were human machines.

Then comes another reversal, for these skilled and disciplined performances do not fade into space with the sound waves. They persist, are signed, and are sold like original works of art--all as those of the studio head. It felt as though Yehudi Menuhin's interpretation had been objectified into one of Bach's compositions, to be sold like a Rembrandt.

Let us now leave the first-violinist potter and step into the showroom of one of those thirteenth-generation masters with an orchestra of eighty members. The master of the ancient and venerable name is there to greet us, just by chance, for we are unannounced. He is truly charming and glad to see us. Green tea appears at once, and our eyes slowly accommodate the dark interior of this old Japanese house. The showroom has American furniture. The works ring three sides of the room, small lights highlighting them. The fourth wall opens up to another side room where some special ancestral and larger pieces are on display. Upstairs, there is also a museum of works from this long family tradition.

The decorated pieces are unique, with crowded patterns of *gosu* (underglaze blue) and overglaze enamel. The tension between the two on the off-white porcelain (this tone being a distinctive tradition in which the pure white porcelain is glazed to a subtle, darker tone of white) causes a spatial and, a visually textured or layered effect. The crowded patterns are unusual in color harmony--for example, a deep blue with small light-green figures in a dense all-over pattern, covering a spherical form with the curve high at its fullest, and a reverse curve outward at the foot.

Joan, my wife, trained to recognize the unique and the harmonious, knows that the larger pieces are extremely costly, but she lingers longingly over a tiny octagonal *kogo* (incense box), finely patterned in variegated colors on the outside, and preciously and delicately, with the finest of lines, painted on the inside lid top and inside box bottom, against the white porcelain (which shows white only within the box). I murmur under my breath, "out of sight," to her, as I read the yen cost and translate it to about $1250. She, too, is surprised.

Finally, after studying those pieces within a possible range for a non-collector, professor-artist, we find a beautiful little *guinomi* (small wine cup or larger sake cup) for about $400. The decoration is fresh, poetic: "It sings", as Joan put it about much of our experience in Japan (usually adding, "but it doesn't swing"). We arrange to buy it, to the master's delight (he had earlier bought a small bowl of mine which was one of the best I have ever made, of black clay, with a kiln-gift ash glaze transformation of its design--a good eye, the master has). I write a check. He gives us a gift (two coffee cups and saucers, we later learn) and explains that he will have to prepare and sign a box for us, so that we would receive the piece later. After photographing each other, we part, very happy. Later this same day, when I mention our purchase to the Museum Director where my first of two exhibitions was under way, he spontaneously gave us a boxed gift from the Museum, in which was a medium-sized plate from the same prestigious studio.

The scene shifts, and we are on a JAL flight from Osaka to Honolulu, having just come from a huge department store's grand opening of their new art gallery where my second show in Japan was in progress. (In Japan, fine art exhibitions are held in such department stores, which are like a blend of Macy's and Nieman-Marcus, plus all the lure and lore of the Orient.) At that exhibtion, not only sales but beautiful interactions had occurred. For example, a Japanese tea ceremony master and calligrapher spontaneously presented us with four special paintings he had just made in celebration of a little clay bowl of mine that he has purchased the day before. This bowl was of native clay, thrown, pinched, stamped and ash glazed to a color like a fallen rhododendron leaf. The master intended to use this as his rice bowl for his imminent retirement to a mountain home where he would meditate and practice his art. His name, Otsubo, means "large jar." One of his calligraphies was, in fact, a large jar which contained the universe, infinity and nothingness within its spontaneously painted circle. Despite the frequency of such memorable incidents, the eight weeks in Japan had been a strain--on finances, body, and psyche. A we walked across the airfield to climb the steps to the giant 747 towering above us in the night, we felt relief and freedom.

Just before we had left my exhibition, a small wrapped box overtook us. It was from the thirteenth generation master. Now on the plane and over the ocean, we became desirous of seeing this little treasure within our own hands. We unwrapped the paper. There was the high-class box of special wood, signed, with its purple ribbon.

Something was different, though, for the ribbon was not tied in that special way with a bow that I have yet to learn. Thinking little of this departure from expectancy, I carefully opened the box. Joan caught the look of astonishment on my face. The box was empty!

She also recovered more quickly, and broke into uncontrollable laughter. The ancient name, the careful choice, the high price for a small *ii momo*, led to a special place, time and feeling and revealed itself--as nothing! Somehow a just bit of symbolism had crowned my love affair with Japanese pottery, telling me, yes, to look there more, but to count on nothing where name and tradition are concerned. And did I not have further confirmation of that? For, when I returned from Inbe with my long winter day's gleaning of purchases from shop after shop, my well-chosen Bizen seashells from that beach of flame, true gifts from the sea of fire, Sensei waved them aside with "No famous-name people, no exhibition". As a potter and lover of flame, I would match my choices with the best comparable Kanoshige's and Fujiwara's. But, of course, I am not a collector, but a potter of the Great Tradition (certainly not American, not Japanese, and yet of both). And I could afford the $270 I paid for the thirteen pieces I picked, but not the thousands of works by "famous people" turning out those oft-repeated, first-violin renditions would have cost me.

Obviously, my interpretation is biased. As in the progressive steps of the hermeneutic arc (Ricoeur, 1978), my mind has gone too far, and the dialectic between understanding and explanation has faltered. This story comes out of the clash of my present horizon with that modern Japan. The changes in me and in America have been more than matched by those in Sensei and in Japan.

Somewhere between Japan and America lies a great truth--a Great Tradition where inspiration and mastery can co-exist, a disciplined spontaneity of hand, eye, mind and spirit responsive to life-world, medium, and place simultaneously. I cannot force a judgment, for that lies outside the interpreter's realm. I do not want the box to be empty. I admire first violinists. I know, as Cox (1977) has pointed out in Turning East, that things Oriental pass through a prism that all but transforms them into their opposite. An irony abounds here. It is as though I have gone a Japanese way, but without the hierarchy; and Japan has gone the American way, but without the free spirit. Dialogue, love, and art remain of a spiritual country, planetary but non-localized. They exist where the wind bends the long palms against the blue sea; where the early spring snow surprises a blossoming plue in a Kyoto garden. Sensei may still dream of those spacey pure forms apart from dollars, fame, and a good ancestral estate. I may still dream of that concert pitch, ready for a raised baton.

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On Art and Social Understanding: Lessons from Alfred Schutz

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With the increasing cultural diversity of the North American population, the goal of social understanding has taken on new importance in education. One of the clearest analyses of social understanding has been provided by Alfred Schutz in his synthesis of phenomenology with social action theory. This paper summarizes Schutz's conception of social understanding and focuses on the central role of art within this conception. For Schutz, art provides an authentic approximation of face-to-face relations by allowing a beholder to participate in the recreation of another's thoughts through the work of art. This paper illustrates this relationship between art and social understanding with a case study in which high school students studied Senegal through films by the Senegalese director Ousmane Sembene.

The goal of understanding others has taken on new importance in North American education. The increasing interdependence of nations, and the increasing ethnic diversity of our urban populations have forced us to realize the importance of understanding people whose world views are different from our own. And this state of cultural diversity has also forced us to realize how ill-prepared we are to take on this task of understanding: North American education has done little to encourage an adequate understanding of life in other parts of the world. As often as not, it has fostered chauvinism and encouraged the formation of stereotypes of cultures in the rest of the non-Anglo-Saxon world.

How do we go about building a valid educational program in understanding others? One of the first questions that must be asked is what it means to understand other people. Many of us have come to realize that exposure to and awareness of others is not sufficient. The tour through a foreign country, the reading of the National Geographic or visit to a restaurant may just as easily reinforce stereotypes as deepen understanding. We need to define the nature of genuine understanding which counts for constructive social relations.

One of the clearest discussions of social understanding has been provided by sociologist Alfred Schutz. Schutz was an Austrian who emigrated to New York in the late 1930s as a refugee from the Nazis. At the New School for Social Research, he developed a theoretical approach to social understanding, based on a synthesis of Husserl's phenomenology and Weber's theory of social action. Because of a deep interest in music, he devoted special attention to the role of art in the process of understanding others. This paper seeks to relate Schutz's work to education in three ways. First, it summarizes his analysis of what it means to understand others. Second, it builds on his efforts to locate the role of art in understanding others. Third, it discusses the implications of this theoretical material for practice through reference to a pilot project in understanding others through art, completed in a California high school.

Phenomenology is the foundation of Schutz's analysis of social understanding. In Husserl's phenomenology, we are capable of knowing the world through reflection on our own perceptions (Schutz, 1970). Perception, devoid of preconceived notions of what we are observing, is in fact our knowledge of the world. To the philosopher who equates knowledge with scientific demonstrations, this definition of knowledge is a disturbing one. But to the artist, it is both comfortable and familiar. The effort to see the world freshly, without preconceptions, is precisely what the artist attempts in drawing. The artist knows that this effort at perception does lead to new knowledge of the world in the form of heightened consciousness of what that artist sees. The artist also knows intuitively two other principles of phenomenology: that perception is an active process, and that the observer intends the objects that constitute his or her world. For Husserl, the world is not a fixed entity that is experienced identically by everyone. Rather, each observer makes an active effort to construct independently a perceptual world. Every group of art students knows, after constructing thirty different images of a single still life set-up, that perception is an active and intentional process.

Husserl's phenomenology is useful to Schutz because it applies to people as well as to objects. Husserl suggested that we not only create constructions of the physical world, but of other's lives as well. We develop not only our own subjective understandings of the world, but we also develop intersubjective understandings: that is, some kind of picture of how others see the world. Schutz took from Husserl this concern with intersubjective understanding, seeking to clarify what intersubjective understanding is and how it is developed.

For Schutz, the cognition of others' lives is built upon an interplay between immediate experience of others and pre-structured interpretations offered by the culture. Each individual comes to a social situation with a certain interest in that situation: for example, a student might wish to learn, to compete, or to make friends. The processes a person goes through to satisfy his individual goal are what Schutz calls relevance and typification. Relevance is what counts for the individual, typification is how each person sees those relevant features, how each person gives them one name rather than another. If a student comes to school solely with an interest in competing for college entrance, that student may not find artistic efforts by friends relevant, but she may typify their efforts as pointless in learning from others, the scheme of relevance and typification may be entirely different.

Within any cultural group, certain relevancies and typifications are held in common. In much of North American society, for example, sport may be held to be more highly relevant than it was twenty years ago, and literature less relevant. A business school graduate who runs marathons may be more likely to be perceived as the right kind of fellow than one who likes to read. The culture suggests certain domains of relevance and communicates these domains of relevance through the sign systems of print media, visual media, and common discourse. For Schutz, our understanding of others is always located within our own personal experience, but the "central myths" of our culture enter into and help guide that experience.

Schutz recognizes that no one can know everything about everyone. This is why individuals in a culture are included in share in the relevancies and typifications of other individuals within the culture. Once sufficient overlaps have been created between the individual perceptions within a group, then a cultural way of seeing, a world view, is established. This world view is taken for granted by the group. Each distinctive group assumes its world view is the objective state of affairs. To Schutz, however, this world view is entirely subjective and can be seen objectively only by someone outside the group.

Thus though an interplay of immediate experience and cultural myths, we each form a conventional view of others. To what extent does this process of perceptual construction lead to genuine understanding? For Schutz, genuine understanding means that we experience the experiencing of others. We understand others when we sense their stream of consciousness and sense that they have lives like our own. Understanding goes beyond awareness and empathy to a knowledge of others for who they are and to an acceptance of the correctness of their perspective for their social position.

Genuine understanding, for Schutz, is best achieved through face-to-face relationships. In the face-to-face relationship, a communicative common environment is formed. I can participate in your experience of a situation, which I also am experiencing. I can sense your stream of consciousness. Schutz calls this the "We" orientation (1970, p. 184). You and I understand each other and accept the validity of our views because we have shared our responses to a common situation.

Often, however, our attempts at understanding rely only on preestablished typifications. We accept as true the overlap between our vague and partial knowledge and the vague and partial knowledge of others in our group. Thus we form stereotypes. We use these stereotypes to understand others who remain in the background of our consciousness. Thus it is possible for a student teacher to draw--for "fun"--an African "savage" with bones attached to the ears. While that student teacher's typifications of Africans may be slightly greater than such a drawing would indicate, he or she nevertheless accepts the drawing's typification as permissible because it overlaps with the low level of understanding shared in common by the student teacher's cultural group. In this case, and in many more subtle cases, we presume understanding of others, yet we lack genuine understanding. Schutz calls this the "They" orientation: We see others as background figures without lives or thoughts like our own.

Schutz makes a clear distinction, then, between genuine understanding and stereotypes, between the "We" orientation and the "They" orientation. His thrust in making this distinction is scholarly, not political; he does not call for an end to stereotypical thinking. Moreover, he provides a justification for the existence of stereotypes: Because one cannot understand everything, it is a natural tendency to form simple typifications of those aspects of our experience which are peripheral to our daily lives.

An educator, however, must go beyond the concerns of the pure analyst. Having understood the process of stereotyping, one is in a position to help change those stereotypes which are most damaging. Having looked more closely at the nature of social understanding, one is obliged to help create understanding in those social areas where understanding is most urgently needed. In multi-cultural education, in social education, in political education, higher levels of understanding are indeed urgently needed. With consciousness of the experience of neighbors, cultures, and nations.

Art plays a unique role in Schutz's analysis of social understanding, and art can play an important role in social education. For Schutz, face-to-face relationships are the preferred condition for establishing genuine understanding. But for any one of us, our opportunities for face-to-face relationships are restricted by the limitations of our concrete socio-economic situations. I know, for the most part, people with whom I come in contact through work, or through earlier school or family experiences. I do not know the people whom I observe in the park, let alone the people of El Salvador or Poland whom I see on the television news. Thus my ability to understand others is limited by my opportunities for face-to-face relationships.

Art, however, shares many of the features of face-to-face relationships. Art is the record of a person's response to a situation. Art brings us the consciousness of another human being at a certain time and place. As a phenomenologist, Schutz was quick to recognize that the beholder of the work of art shares in the artist's consciousness by participating in the re-creation of the work. The beholding of a work of art takes place in a time which, for Schutz, "is nothing other than a derived form of the vivid present shared by the partners in a genuine face-to-face relation such as prevails between speaker and listener..." (p. 211). In this way, art allows us to go beyond the opportunities for social interaction that are available in daily life. Art becomes an extension of the face-to-face relationship. With art, as with the face-to-face relationship, we have the opportunity to move closer toward genuine understanding and the "We" orientation.

Schutz wrote with special reference to music, analyzing the process through which the beholder reconstructs the ongoing flux of inner time that existed originally in the consciousness of the composer. But the same process of reconstruction occurs in the other arts as well. Arnheim (1974) has analyzed the perceptual process through which we reconstruct the significant spatial tensions and balances in a painting. Ingarden (1973) and Iser (1978) have examined cognition in literary art, in which the reader constructs the images and moods that were significant for the author. Through each of the arts we have the opportunity to grasp the consciousness of others, discover what is important for them, and consider how they see the world.

With the visual arts, we have the special opportunity to grasp the imagery of others. If genuine understanding is an appreciation of what goes on in another's mind, then we can be sure that a more complete communication of images leads to genuine understanding. Rosemary Gordon and other cognitive psychologists have demonstrated forcefully that each of us lives in a private world of mental images. The mental image represents the relationship between our inner state and the outer world to which we respond. Language, in Gordon's view, is not adequate to the task of communicating inner imagery to others. Gordon

(1972) writes:

> However, through the forms of art man has found a way of breaking the seal that locks him fast into his inner world. Through the arts he has discovered a language which least distorts the original message. Thus has man found, after all, a way of transmitting to others at least something of his intimate and personal experience, of gaining for it some social validation and of mediating to himself, to his own conscious self, a part of this elusive inner world (p. 78).

The visual arts, then, have the capacity to take us far beyond the simple awareness of another person's existence, appearance, or behavior. The visual arts communicate the inner images that define our subjective experience. The visual arts communicate our personal perspectives toward the events which concern us. And our reconstructions of meaning in the visual arts are opportunities to know and respect the perspectives of others.

In the study I will summarize here, I chose to use film as a means of understanding the experience of others. Film, like other visual arts, gives form to mental imagery. Film is also a unique art form in that it presents an ongoing sequence of images over time. Because of this characteristic, film has a special potential for the kind of communication that interested Schutz. Conveying another's stream of consciousness by portraying the images of the other as they develop over time. This capacity of film has been noted by film theorists and perceptual psychologists. Erwin Panofsky (1979) wrote that "the movies have the power, entirely denied in the theatre, to convey psychological experiences by directly projecting their content on the screen, substituting, as it were, the eye of the beholder for the consciousness of the character (p. 248)..." R.E. Jones (1941) echoes Panofsky in noting that "Motion pictures are our thoughts made visible and audible...They project pure thought, pure dream, pure inner life" (pp. 17-18). Film brings us another's thoughts and contributes to intersubjective understanding by representing the content, the sequence, the rhythm, the mood, and the changes of inner imagery.

The communicative potential of film will be realized to a greater or lesser degree in any particular film. Some films will reach for authentic representation of a person's experience, but succeed only in presenting the stereotyped imagery of soap operas. Other films, like most television series, will not even try for authenticity and instead project false, mystifying, oppressive representations of how people live and how they see the world. When a woman is shown putting her whole heart and soul into a laundry detergent testimonial, we are asked to believe not only that the detergent is one of the most significant things in the world, but that the woman's mind is so empty of other concerns that she can devote her whole consciousness to that product. Little by little, demeaning images like this contribute to a demeaning view of others and to a demeaning view of ourselves, as we begin to imitate the projected images of others. Thus when we look to film to realize Schutz's and Gordon's communicative ideals, we look to film as an art. Film as art opposes stereotypes and demeaning representations by virtue of its authenticity and expressive depth.

In the study pursued here (Nadaner, 1981), a group of tenth-graders in a high school social studies class studied contemporary life in Africa through film. Using the criteria of authenticity and expressive depth, I selected two films by Ousmane Sembene, Tauw and Borom Sarret. Sembene, of Senegal, is perhaps Africa's greatest film maker. Sembene builds his films on his experience with his people. In each work, he uses the language of visual imagery to re-create the perspectives of people he knows well. Released in 1963, Borom Sarret depicts the day of a cartman in Dakar, Senegal. The camera replicates the cartman's field of vision as he rides through the city, observes poverty, is deceived by a passenger, is persecuted by police in the French sector, and returns home penniless. Tauw, released in 1970, shows us the dreams and frustrations of a young man who would like to bring honor to his family, but who has no access to the economic system resulting from Senegal's colonialism. In both films Sembene conveys an authentic understanding of people he knows well, using color, composition, acting, and editing to create a pattern of images that allow us to share in that understanding.

Before seeing the films, this social studies class was asked to report the first ten things that came to mind when they thought of Africa. "Jungle," "black," "desert," and "animals" were among the most commonly reported images. "We saw these slides from Disneyland, with these animals," one student whispered to another. The teacher led a discussion of stereotypes, and many students were quick to recognize that the images they had reported were indeed stereotypes. Most students were surprised to learn that Africa is only seven per cent jungle. The students simply had no better idea of what Africa was like, or what life in Africa was like. In Schutz's terminology, they could only view the experience of people in Africa from a "They" orientation.

In an earlier research tradition, films were often used to "change attitudes." Students were observed to have a certain attitude; a film was created which presented an alternative attitude; and students were post-tested to see if they had undergone attitudinal change. This manipulative, single-target strategy was not the approach of the present study. Instead, the film as art was used in the way that art should be used--as a presentation with which students could interact, freely forming their own impressions and responses to the film. It was hoped that students would actively reconstruct the meaning of the films in the very way the Schutz describes. To encourage this open-ended outcome, open-ended questions were asked. After a first screening of Borom Sarret, the students were asked:

1. What was the film about?

2. Aside from the story, what else did you see in the film that impressed you?

More specific questions were asked after a second screening, including:

3. How does life in Dakar look, in general, from the cart-driver's point of view?

In their responses to these questions, students were sometimes moved and sometimes puzzled by the cart-driver's behavior. Some of their comments after seeing the film twice were:

> Life looks harsh in his eyes. He is faced constantly with having to get money for food. He cannot let him and his family starve. His life looks grim and he wishes he had the pride and nobility of his predecessors.
>
> One of the two images that made an impression on me was the Borom Sarrets face expressions when the griot (sic) told him of his ancestors. His face expressions showed happiness and being proud, that's what made a strong impression to me. The second image was the shoe shine boys facial expressions toward the man whose shoes he had just shined. His expressions showed that his life was very hard and it also showed sadness when the man give him little or no money. This made a strong impression because it made me think about how hard life must be for him.
>
> The cart-driver, when he first saw the big building, was impressed by the size of the buildings. He also thought that it would take so much money to get one of those apartments.

Students explored both the experience depicted in the film and the possibilities that existed for a person in this situation. It was clear throughout the discussion that the artistic characteristics of the film contributed directly to the students' understanding of the cart-driver's experience. Students responded to subtle aspects of acting, photography, music, and editing. Sembene's use of the expressive means of film allowed students to share in the cart-driver's stream of consciousness.

It was also clear in the discussion that students had a genuine respect for the experience of a person outside their group. This acceptance, the definitive feature in Schutz's concept of understanding, emerged even more strongly in response to the film Tauw. Here, students were presented with the experience of a young Senegalese man, not much older than themselves, facing problems with family and work with which students could identify. As a means of sharing their responses to this film, students enacted a role play in which the characters of the film met a group of middle-class students in a park and discussed the problem of youth unemployment. Again, the students indicated a careful attention to the film's images, an understanding of the consciousness of the characters, and a respect for the logic of Tauw's feelings and attitudes toward the situation in which he found himself. As students became involved in the role play, a true sincerity and passion emerged as they sought answers to a difficult situation. Why should Tauw be starving? Why should the descendants of French colonialists be wealthy when Tauw and his friends were not? Is the government making a genuine effort to help poor people? What will happen to Tauw? As the students considered the meaning of the film more and more deeply, they moved away from their original "They" orientation and closer to a "We" orientation.

To fully achieve the "We" orientation may not be possible by educational means. As Schutz emphasizes, the ideal circumstance for "We" orientations is the face-to-face relationship; it is living through the same situations; it is growing old together. But when this immediate experience is not possible, a work of art like Sembene's offers a useful indirect alternative. Sembene's films present to us the images that occupy another person's consciousness, and encourage a degree of understanding that would not otherwise be possible.

This same potential for understanding is present in an O'Keefe painting or a Kollwitz print, or in the paintings of the children on the other side of town. Beyond the exposure of tourism, the superficial awareness of the television news, or the empathy that we project on others, the visual arts enable an understanding of others for who they are. Though our reconstruction of the space, time, mood, and values in the work of art, we share in a mental state and come in contact with another way of seeing the world. In the world in which we live, this potential for understanding is no small benefit. It is a resource which is urgently needed for a constructive social future. Encouraging students to have access to vital works of contemporary art and designing experiences in art criticism, educators interested in the arts have a unique part to play in this important educational venture.

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Forms of Multi-Cultural Education in the Arts

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Taken as a serious proposal multi-cultural education in the arts is a challenging topic. I will approach it somewhat unconventionally through the late Walter Kaufmann's[1] discussion of the art of reading in which he likens the reading of a classic literary text to the visiting of a foreign land, that is to say, to the exposing of oneself to an alien culture. Kaufmann differentiates four ways of reading a text--the exegetical, the dogmatic, the agnostic, and the dialectical--only the last of which, he believes, serves the objectives of a humanistic education. He states these objectives as the preservation and cultivation of the greatest works of humanity, the realization of personal autonomy through thoughtful reflection on alternatives, and the acquisition of personal vision. As in previous remarks on the topic,[2] I justify the suitability of Kaufmann's writing as a background for talking about multi-cultural education in the arts by pointing out that his comparing the reader to a traveler in a foreign country invites parallels to the multi-cultural experience and that the aims he proposes for humanistic education comprehend multi-cultural education in the arts.

In what follows then, I shall speak of exegetical, dogmatic, agnostic, and dialectical ways of experiencing an alien culture. I will use the generic term "multi-culturalist" to denote any advocate of multi-culturalism, including multi-culturalist educators and, as a subgroup of these, proponents of multi-cultural education in the arts.

The Exegetical Reader and the Exegetical Multi-culturalist

Exegesis, of course, is associated with the interpretation of religious and philosophical texts and has a long history. I should therefore preface my remarks by saying that what Kaufmann has in mind is less an indictment of exegesis itself than its abuses.

What tends to be the exegetical reader's attitude toward a text? Recall that Kaufmann likens the reading of a text to a visit to a foreign country; his ideal traveler undertakes the journey as a conscious search for culture shock and as an opportunity for the unbiased study of alternatives. The exegetical reader doesn't qualify, however, for the following reasons. An exegetical reader declares both that certain texts are extremely important and that they are very difficult to understand, but that he, the interpreter of the text, holds the keys to their inner wisdom. Typically, the exegetical reader endows a text-- say, the Bible or *Das Kapital*--with authority, reads his own ideas into it, then considers his own ideas clothed in the text's authority. It is further characteristic of the exegetical reader that his emotional identification with the text precedes careful reading, if careful reading does in fact occur. This manner of proceeding, says Kaufmann, is not restricted to scholars but is quite common among the educated.

Given that Kaufmann wants the art of reading practiced toward the end of an exposure to and a study of alternative values and ideas, it is clear that he would object to exegetical reading, a manner that is all the more pernicious for being largely unconscious. The exegetical reader does not make the effort to enter a text sympathetically and does not take the time to ask how a reading or interpretation might be viewed from the author's side. These things are unimportant to the exegetical reader, who wants from the text not a new experience but a confirmation of preconceived notions. Closing off the possibility of genuine encounter, exegetical readers risk self-deception. By insulating themselves against ideological shock, they play it safe and, says Kaufmann, are rather like the travelers who stay at the Hilton wherever they go, because everything there is secure and familiar. Exegetical reading, in short, has the defects of ideological thinking: abstraction and distortion.

The similarities between the exegetical reader and the exegetical multi-culturalist should be apparent. We are all aware of the tiresome advocates of multi-cultural education in the arts who endow an alien culture with superior value, project their own ideas and prejudices onto it, and then receive their original ideas reinforced and supposedly substantiated. Presuming an alleged expertise, the exegetical multi-culturalists next proceed to inform the ignorant and convert the unreconstructed. Again, they extol an alien culture primarily in order to criticize their own. Furthermore, their criticism usually proceeds along familiar lines: They tend to claim that fragmentation and alienation are rampant in technologically advanced societies, and, if multi-culturalists are of a certain ideological persuasion, will attribute these ills to capitalism whose mode of production has led to increasingly specialized divisions of labor. In societies thus afflicted, so the exegetes contend, division and disjunction have also affected the aesthetic realm: Art is split from everyday life and separated into a variety of art forms, each with its respective institutions. Institutionalization--the appearance of museums, concert halls, and theater houses--has the effect of separating the artistically talented from the untalented, they say, of fostering specialized training according to professional standards, and of placing a premium on educated sensibility in audiences. The evils of fragmentation and alienation, then, have been joined by antiegalitarian tendencies in the arts. The antidote prescribed by the exegetical multi-culturalists, the model set up for emulation, is some alien culture purported to be purer and superior, because of its purported egalitarianism and its integration of art into social life.

Exegetical multi-culturalists are seldom challenged, but if we follow Kaufmann's lead we have a basis for taking them to task. Like the exegetical reader, the exegetical multi-culturalist fails to take sufficient trouble with an alien culture. Wanting from it nothing more than a confirmation of personal biases, the exegete does not bother to enter into it sympathetically. It may thus escape him that the culture he praises for its egalitariam values may actually be replete with subtle yet rigid social distinctions; that even though the arts may be integrated into society, the culture may nonetheless promote values he could not in good conscience endorse; and that the sense of community he finds so praiseworthy in another culture may exist at the cost of individual autonomy. In this connection, it is worth recalling that it is only because art separated itself from everyday life and because certain artistic traditions and institutions arose in Western cultures that a Shakespeare or a Mozart or a Picasso could develop his genius and find an appreciative, educated audience for his work. Exegetical multi-culturalists, however much they might love community, egalitarianism, and the social integration of the arts, are ill-advised if they expect renouncement of such artists and their achievements, just as we should be ill-advised to question the value other cultures set on their paddles, bells, and drums.

Little more need be said about exegetical multi-culturalists. They are familiar figures at international conferences, parading their advocacy as critical insight. They have, in short, as great a capacity for self-embarrassment as the old-fashioned cultural chauvinists--of whom, in truth, they are the mirror image. For it can be said that exegetical multi-culturalism is simply reverse ethnocentrism: One's own culture is not held to be superior, but the culture of virtually any alien society is. That reverse enthnocentrism has now become a problem reflects something of the social changes that have occurred since the early days of anthropology. It would be interesting to speculate about the reasons for this turn-around in cultural attitudes, but I must bypass this topic.

Exegetical multi-culturalism in its educational manifestation, as an attitude adopted by teachers, is particularly blameworthy as it tends to subvert one of the main goals of humanistic education: To help students think critically and judge for themselves. For it is in the very nature of exegetical multi-culturalism--with its unargued assumption of the baseness of one's own culture and its faith in the superiority of any other--to close the mind, to promote a point of view, to indoctrinate.

The Dogmatic Reader and the Dogmatic Multi-culturalist

The dogmatic reader, Kaufmann's second type, and his counterpart, the dogmatic multi-culturalist, can be dispensed with rather quickly. Each assumes the superiority of his own values and expects a text or an alien culture to conform itself to these or be dismissed. In readers as well as educators, dogmatism is an attitude that prevents genuine encounters and the study of alternatives for greater self-awareness. Since, as I suggested, dogmatic multi-culturalism is merely the mirror image of exegetical multi-culturalism, much of what was said in condemnation of the latter also applies to the former--it is an attitude of which educators should purge themselves.

Since the ascendance of exegetical multi-culturalism has been claimed, at least in academic and educational circles, the question is how much of the dogmatic kind, i.e., of cultural chauvinism, is still around. Perhaps there is more than we suspect. During his tenure as Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Charles Frankel[3] discovered that among the several meanings of "culture" held by persons he came in contact with, one implied "cultural lag," or a state of affairs generally associated with "backward" countries which could catch up with "advanced" ones if only they had the good sense to adopt Western ways. Such an implication is a pure manifestation of cultural chauvinism.

Perhaps one more observation might be permitted. It is my impression that cultural chauvinism as a vice has been imputed almost exclusively to Western societies which are persistently accused of failure to appreciate the values of non-Western civilizations. Yet there is little reason to doubt such that attitudes are distributed fairly evenly throughout mankind. We increasingly hear representatives of non-

Western societies assert the superiority of their cultures. Some even go so far as to claim that it is impossible for members of Western societies to penetrate with any degree of success the inner nature of an alien culture. If this were true, and I don't think it is, then multicultural education taught for humanistic understanding would be a wasted effort, and an organization such as the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA), for example, would properly dissolve itself.

The Agnostic Reader and the Agnostic Multi-culturalist

The agnostic reader, who embodies Kaufmann's third type of attitude, avoids the main error of the exegetical as well as the dogmatic reader, i.e., the error of imposing preconceived notions and judgments on a text. In this respect, this third approach is preferable to the first two. Yet this absence of bias from an agnostic reading of a text does not render it immune to criticism. For it is not that the agnostic reader wishes to keep himself open to a full encounter with the text or that he wants to have the most complete and undistorted experience of it possible; rather, it is that questions of value and judgment are simply not important to the agnostic reader. He is neutral not from fairness to the text but from indifference. His interest lies elsewhere, and it can take three forms; the antiquarian, the aesthetic, and the microscopic. The antiquarian interest has something of a stamp collector's mentality about it: The aesthetic interest reflects a penchant for beauty and style, though it seldom goes beneath the surface of things, and the microscopic interest discerns minute variations in, for example, forms of totemism in alien cultures. To return to our foreign-visitor analogy: The agnostic reader of a text is like the traveler who not only stays at the Hilton but who is content to recall his travels with picture postcards, souvenirs, and, if he can afford them, native artworks and antiques.

Souvenir-collecting tourists are, of course, one type of multiculturalist, for they are interested in alien cultures, but only up to a point. They are the chief clients of travel agents who hurry them from country to country, providing brief glimpses of exotic cultures along the way. Agnostic multi-culturalists are legion, and one might say harmless enough were it not for the fact that they are harming themselves by never taking the time and trouble to examine and reflect on alternative values.

Agnostically, multi-cultural educators are just as plentiful. They are the casual, relatively disengaged participants in international conferences. They are also represented among the specialists in children's painting and drawing, for some--though by no means all--of these experts have an essentially botanizing interest in children's art; to collect as many vivid specimens of it as possible. And if agnostic multi-culturalism is characterized by shallowness and indifference to questions of value and to cultural and historical context, then it can also be said that much of what passes for multi-cultural education in the arts conforms to the type. For what else is it--indeed, given the young ages and scant background knowledge of many of the students involved, what else can it be--but a presentation of "interesting" artifacts as disjointed and devoid of depth as so many picture postcards. Multi-cultural education of the agnostic multi-cultural variety cannot be humanistic education that fosters the pursuit of personal autonomy through the examination of value alternatives.

The Dialectical Reader and the Dialectical Multi-Culturalist

Kaufmann acknowledges that the term "dialectical" has its liabilities, but he is careful to dissociate his meaning of the word from Hegelian and Marxist meanings and from the scholastic sense of the term that implies being able to prove just about anything through the cleverness of one's reasoning powers. "Dialectical," as Kaufmann uses it, implies a certain kind of demanding encounter with a text, and by extension, for our purposes, a demanding encounter with an alien culture.

The dialectical reader approaches a text presuming ultimate wisdom neither in himself nor in the text but hoping for enlarged understanding from his willingness to engage and to learn from the text. That is to say, we may derive from the dialectical reading of a text that knowledge which literature is pre-eminently capable of providing--a knowledge, it might be said, of the self and of the right relations of the self to culture.

Just as the agnostic attitude had variations, so the dialectical engagement of a text has Socratic, dialogical, and historical-philosophical phrases. The Socratic phase is recognized as a willingness to entertain culture shock for the purpose of self-understanding; the dialogical phase acknowledges the right of the text to question the reader; and the historical-philosophical phase involves efforts not only to understand what a text is trying to accomplish but also to discern its distinctive voice and the cultural experience from which it springs, which usually involves comparison with other texts in the same tradition.

Kaufmann uses the image of concentric circles to describe these phases. The dialectical voyager starts at a point within the inner circle, that of the text itself, and then moves into its outer circles where the relations of the text and culture are examined. In all of this the search for self-understanding, the examination of alternatives, and the possibility of shock that comes from new awareness are consciously entertained. The dialectical attitude is neither presumptuous nor indifferent. It is perhaps well described as a "nervous wariness," the way Irving Howe said Lionel Trilling characteristically approached a work of literature. Trilling "would circle a work with his fond, nervous wariness as if in the presence of some force, some living energy, which could not always be kept under proper control--indeed as if approaching an elemental power. The work came alive and therefore was changeable, alive and therefore was never quite knowable, alive and therefore even threaten the very desires and values that first made us approach it."[4] That perhaps describes the dialectical attitude better than Kaufmann himself; it certainly goes to the heart of what he means by a dialectical encounter with a text. It is also what Harold Osborne, the British aesthetician, had in mind when he wrote that "the best and perhaps the only sure way of bringing to light and revivifying...[our] fossilized assumptions, and of destroying their powers to cramp and confine, is by subjecting ourselves to the shock of contact with a very alien tradition."[5] Osborne fulfilled this obligation by explaining the aesthetic and cultural presuppositions of traditional Chinese and Indian art which are not well-encompassed by Western theories of art.

Clearly, the dialectical reading of a text with its truly humanizing and educative potential, is the most promising model for multi-cultural education in the arts. What I have done is to indicate how Kaufmann characterized the dialectical attitude, how in a sense Trilling exemplified it in his approach to literature, and why Osborne thinks it is important. But to argue its usefulness more convincingly, I should also provide an example of the dialectical attitude in action.

Of Alien Cultures Near and Far

When I claimed that the proper objective for multi-cultural education in the arts may be quite similar to the outcomes Kaufmann posited for the dialectical reading of a text--that development of personal autonomy which results from the unbiased reflection on value alternatives induced by culture shock--and when I quoted Osborne to the effect that this beneficial kind of shock is greater the more alien the culture being explored, I may seem to have suggested that the alien culture selected for study should always be exotic and geographically distant. Not necessarily so. Past epochs in our own cultural tradition can serve the same purpose: They are often as puzzling and as inaccessible as many an exotic civilization and therefore may require prodigious dialectical effort for proper apprehension.

Lionel Trilling,[6] for example, made this discovery when teaching a course on the novels of Jane Austen. He found that his students had great difficulty participating in the world in which Austen's characters moved. His students, he said, were confined to the inner circle of the novel and even there achieved only partial understanding. For they were at a loss properly to interpret anything the novels reflected about the outer circles, i.e., about the social codes and symbols that implied attitudes toward family relations, being and doing, and duty that Austen took for granted. These things, Trilling found, could not be appropriated through sympathetic immersion in the novels; they had to be elucidated in detail. From his students' point of view, Jane Austen's world was indeed a foreign country.

It was this predicament that led Trilling to consider the methods of anthropologists, and especially the work of Clifford Geertz, for, after all, the stock-in-trade of anthropologists is the observation of alien cultures. One consequence of Trilling's inquiry was a confirmation of what he had come to suspect himself: In teaching literature, the traditional humanistic methods that typically stress empathic identification with the characters of a novel in order to appreciate their thoughts, feelings, and dilemmas may not be enough. He was forced to ponder, for example, what Geertz had said about his efforts to enter into the inner workings of an alien culture: "In each case," says Geertz, "I have tried to arrive at this most intimate of notions not by imagining myself as someone else--a rice peasant or a tribal sheikh, and then seeing what I thought--but by searching out and analyzing the symbolic forms--words, images, institutions, behaviors--in terms of which, in each place, people actually represent themselves to themselves and to one another."[7]

Again, then--and it is a point that multi-cultural educators in the arts should ponder--we cannot gain access to an alien culture through sympathetic feeling alone; that can lead to sentimentality. To entertain an alien culture as a value alternative, we must interpret correctly what it has to say to us. To make such an interpretation, we must learn that culture's signals and symbols; and that, in turn, presupposes a wealth of knowledge and no end of patient study. It is, in truth, a job for the expert or mature student. What follows is a brief and sketchy example of what a mature student of an alien culture can discover about it, what interpretation he can set on his findings, and what we in turn might learn not only about the alien culture in question but about our own culture as well. Once again, Clifford Geertz may be our (dialectical) guide, especially in his essay "Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali." In Bali, says Geertz,

> Artistic performances start, go on (often for very extended periods of time [during which]. . . one does not attend continually but drifts away and back, chatters for a while, watches rapt for a while, and then [the artistic performances] stop; they are as uncentered as a parade, as directionless as a pagent. Ritual often seems, as in the temple celebrations, to consist largely of getting ready and cleaning up. The heart of the ceremony . . . is deliberately muted to the point where it sometimes seems almost an afterthought . . . It is all welcoming and bidding farewell, foretaste and aftertaste . . . Even in such a dramatically more heightened ceremony as the Rangda-Barong [one experiences] . . . a mystical, metaphysical, and moral standoff, leaving everything precisely as it was, and the observer--or anyway the foreign observer--with the feeling that something decisive was on the verge of happening but never quite did.[8]

Now if one thinks of Western aesthetic presuppositions and the emphasis they place on the capacity of artworks to induce experiences that are notable for such qualities as coherence, completeness, and climax--that is to say, the dramatic Aristotelian unities--then nothing could be more of an anathema to the Western mind than Balinese cultural life. Where a Western artistic performance is highly self-conscious about the length of time it takes to enact a drama (it speaks against a production if it is too long, too brief, or if it drags), the Balinese dramatic performance is largely indifferent to such temporal considerations. Where a Western dramatic production is punctuated with points of heightened interest, the Balinese counterpart lacks distinctive focus and direction. Where in Western drama the dilemmas and predicaments of the characters are generally intensified and resolutions of conflicts are demanded, Balinese drama deliberately attenuates and mutes dramatic activity. There is no formal progress, no gathering of momentum toward a climax. Like Balinese life itself, says Geertz, Balinese art and ritual lack motion and climax, or they lack climax because they lack motion. Here indeed is an opportunity for experiencing culture shock and for exploring the significance of those disconcerting features of Balinese cultural life which, according to Geertz, derive from the anonymization of persons, the immobilization of time, and the ceremonialization of social intercourse. Since there is not space for extended discussions of these aspects of Balinese life, I must be content to remark that Balinese artistic performances and rituals as they present themselves to the interested foreign spectator cannot be taken at face value. For an understanding one must move from the artistic performances themselves into the outer circles of Balinese culture. To be sure, this is not to deny the aptness of an observation any foreigner might make, namely, that Balinese life is nothing if not essentially aesthetic--in one sense of the term "aesthetic." Geertz himself speaks of the artistic genius of Balinese culture and remarks that Balinese morality itself may be regarded as inherently aesthetic; great attention, for example, is paid to form and style and enormous stress is placed on pleasing others aesthetically. But noting aesthetic style and form is not enough; one must understand their functions. Art in Bali is one of the means by which all aspects of personal life are stylized to the point where anything characteristic of the individual, of the self behind the mask or the person behind the facade presented to the world, is intentionally obliterated. As Geertz writes, "It is *dramatis personae*, not actors, that in the proper sense really exist. Physically men come and go. . . but the masks they wear, the stages they occupy, the parts they play. . . and, most importantly, the spectacle they mount remain and comprise not the facade but the substance of things, not least the self . . ."[9]

It would be difficult to imagine a more striking contrast to the Western ideal of a human career and personal self-fulfillment, notions that imply not the self's negation but its intensification through the cultivation of a personal style which enables one to stand out against so-called anonymous mass. Individuals in the West are exhorted to participate in the agony of life with all of its strife, competition, rewards, and failures, a struggle for which Jacob wrestling with the angel is a more fitting image than aesthetic harmony achieved through etiquette. Here, then, is a truly radical alternative, a sure incentive to seeing afresh and in a new light our own attitude toward the world.

It may be useful to establish that the point has now been reached when dialectical or humanistic inquiry transcends the objectives of anthropology. The anthropologist's work is done when he has fully rendered an alien culture, when he has described its mores, codes, and signals in sufficient detail for us to gain some understanding of it. And it has been one of my main contentions that multi-cultural educators, if they are to give their students more than a tourist's eye view of an alien culture and its art, should draw extensively on the stock of anthropological knowledge. But humanistic or dialectical encounters with an alien civilization are undertaken for the purpose of self-definition, personal autonomy, and deeper insight into one's own culture. It is therefore appropriate to ask of an alien society: "What's in it for me?". Asking this question, however, does not mean adopting the exegetical approach, since it is raised only after a foreign culture has been open-mindedly and sensitively explored. Nor does it imply a dogmatic or superior attitude, as the object is not to render a judgment on the other culture. Rather, it is to see which of its elements could be compared to counterparts in our own culture and how that would enrich an understanding of our own culture. Even if we find little in another culture that is "useful" to us in this sense, we have still registered a solid gain; an acquaintance with one more of the myriad ways in which individuals and societies organize their lives, even though we might not wish to adopt this way for ourselves.

And so of what use to us might Balinese culture be? Geertz thinks very little; to his mind, the culture shock of Indonesian culture is too great for a Western orientation to overcome. Balinese conceptions of personal identity, or rather the lack of them, are too far removed from Western sentiment to have any significance in our search for self-definition. But perhaps the disparity is not quite as great as Geertz thinks. He speaks of the "stage fright" experienced by the Balinese, the fear of the *faux pas* that has a depersonalizing and aestheticizing effect on their behavior. We in the West also experience this kind of anxiety and are reluctant to make fools of ourselves. Decorum, courtesy, etiquette, although their stock in recent years has fallen considerably in Western societies, are still among our cultural norms. Even the ideal of aestheticizing human behavior, the possibility of life approximating art, has been intermittently entertained in the modern era. For example, in his aesthetic writings, John Dewey suggests that the peculiar fusion of means and ends found in aesthetic experience provides something of an ideal for human existence, notwithstanding the fact that Dewey's conception of aesthetic experience, with its intense consummatory phase, is diametrically opposed to Balinesian ideals. Yet despite these differences, we *are* able, and without much difficulty, to recognize Balinese culture as aesthetically organized; what is more, this is the source of its great appeal. We can appreciate Trilling, then, when he says that "it is open to us to believe that our alternatives of view on this matter of life seeking to approximate art are not a mere display of cultural indecisiveness but, rather, that they constitute a dialectic, with all the dignity that inheres in that work. . . ."[10]

Conclusions

The purpose of multi-cultural education may be said to be one with the purposes of humanistic education: To entertain the value possibilities of culturally different societies with a view not to prejudging them exegetically or dogmatically or by taking a merely agnostic interest in them, but rather with a view to discovering what significance they might have for self-definition. It follows that teachers of multi-cultural courses should try to avoid the snares of advocacy; that is, the snares of the exegetical approach, with its potential for self-deception, distortion, and the telling of half-truths.

It follows from the objectives of multi-cultural education in the arts that radically different cultures might serve these objectives best, although it is generally more important *how* an alien culture is studied than *which* one is selected. It is unlikely, however, that alien cultures can be fruitfully studied and appreciated without a firm understanding of one's own culture and its mores, norms, and traditions. Without such knowledge, the dialectical voyager runs the risk of faulty navigation. Therefore, accompanying--or better yet, preceding--multicultural education, efforts must be renewed to improve the study of our own culture.

Because of the extraordinary difficulties that even trained anthropologists have in trying to detect the inner nature of an alien culture, multi-cultural education in any significant sense of the word is not for the very young student. While I read that efforts are being made to teach elementary school children the methods of anthropologists, I am not sanguine about their success.

But if multi-cultural education in the *arts* is to be placed on the agenda for those students mature enough to handle it, it also follows that the arts of an alien culture should be kept at the center of study; a center for which students move out into the surrounding circles of the social, cultural, and historical contexts of these arts to acquire whatever information is needed to illumine the center.

Finally, it only remains to say that multi-cultural education, like any other important subject, should be taught with the full realization of its complexity, variousness, and possibility, those things by which the humanistic imagination sets great store.

Footnotes

[1] Kaufmann, Walter. The art of reading. The Future of the Humanities, New York: Thomas Y. Cromell, 1977, chap. 2.

[2] Smith, R.A. "Celebrating the Arts in Their Cultural Diversity: Some Wrong and Right Ways to Do It," In Arts in Cultural Diversity. ed. Jack Condous, Janferie Howlett, and John Skull, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.

[3] Frankel, Charles. High on Foggy Bottom. New York: Harper and Row, 1969, 101-106.

[4] Howe, Irving. On Lionel Trilling. The New Republic, 1976, 174 (11), 30.

[5] Osborne, Harold. Aesthetics and Art Theory: An Historical Introduction. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1970, 13.

[6] Trilling, Lionel. Why we read Jane Austen. In The Last Decade, The Works of Lionel Trilling. Uniform Edition, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

[7] Quoted in ibid., 216.

[8] Geertz, Clifford. Person, time, and conduct in Bali. In The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973, 403.

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[10] Trilling. Why we read Jane Austen. 225.

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Cultural Identity and Pride through Art Education: Viewpoint of a Korean-American Immigrant Community

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Art educators, who are sensitive to cultural differences and take a broad, multi-cultural view of the artistic heritage to be transmitted, acknowledge that their educational task has grown in recent years. Simply put, the ethnic mix of United States society grows more complex with each decade. Even as educational programs made their latest accommodation to the needs and interests of Hispanic, Black, and Native Americans, new waves of immigration have increased the number of Asian-Americans in the coastal cities and in the nation's heartland.

The idea of the American melting pot has given way as ethnic groups tend to retain more of their ethnic identities. Yet the ultimate goal of our efforts to embrace new cultures--each with its distinctive artistic tradition and perspective--remains the enrichment of our aggregate artistic heritage and the refinement of our means for dealing with that enriched heritage. Feldman (1980) asks:

> What is the educational significance of the fact that American culture is exceedingly diverse in its racial and ethnic origins and that it continues to produce new artistic forms and modes of aesthetic response? At the most general educational level, it means that our students need tools to recognize, appreciate, and cope with the plethora of cultural forms and expressions that so complex a civilization generates.

Art education can serve many of these subcultural groups in building a positive ethnic self-image through reinforcement of each particular artistic heritage. Throughout the world, art tradition has functioned as a resource for renewing cultural identity and pride from generation to generation (Feldman, 1976). Individuals transplanted from their ancestral culture to a new society may find that returning to their artistic roots bolsters ethnic pride as well as collective cultural identity. The artistic heritage, as Chapman (1982) observes, teaches us about ourselves as we learn about the feelings and concerns that have been given visual form by others. This important function is described by a number of art educators, including McFee and Degge (1977), Glaesar (1973), and Taylor (1975).

The growing interest of art educators employing a multi-cultural approach mirrors a tendency of all educators in this direction. A strong impetus was provided by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, which in its 1979 standards introduced a commitment to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to individual cultural integrity and to cultural pluralism in society (James, 1978). These standards have done much to promote attitudes and beliefs that support cultural pluralism as a positive social force. Olson (1982) seeks to supplement Piaget's and Kohlberg's stages of development with a structure for developing intercultural awareness at an early age. Boardman and Lloyd's (1978) study of educational processes interrelates and contrasts the roles of achievement, motivation, and self esteem in Asian-American and Puerto Rican-American children. Grigsby's (1979) study of art education in a pluralistic society focuses on experiences with Black and other socio-economically disadvantaged students at two inner-city schools. The recent "Art education as Ethnology" debate (Chalmers, 1981, 1982; Jagodzinski, 1982; Janesick, 1982), called attention to the concept of art as cultural artifact and may dispose even more art educators to embrace a broader variety of cultural artistic traditions.

Increasingly commonplace among art educators is the expectation that including art exemplars in their curriculum from a diversity of American subcultures will benefit the mainstream culture while also serving ethnic and racial minorities. Underlying this belief is the assumption that the subcultural groups would value educational ventures of this sort. In order to explore the validity of this assumption, the authors surveyed Korean-Americans in a sizable community in Minnesota.

Although the studies noted above provided useful background for the survey, a search of the literature produced no studies dealing specifically with art education attitudes among Korean-Americans or Asian-Americans. The survey sought to determine the extent to which Korean-American parents were concerned with educating their children in Korean artistic heritage and on whom the parents placed the responsibility for providing this education. This study makes further use of this attitudinal survey in testing three null hypotheses concerning this population:

1. There are no significant differences in general attitudes toward education about Korean culture between recent immigrants and those who have been in the United States longer time.

2. There are no significant differences in attitudes toward education about Korean art between short-term and long-term residents.

3. There are no significant differences in attitude between parents and children regarding the value of (cultural) art education.

The Korean-American community surveyed is served by seven Korean churches, an active Korean Association, and the Korean Institute of Minnesota (referred to as the "Korean School" in the questionnaire). In its Saturday sessions, the Institute provides Korean-American children with instruction in Korean arts, crafts, and language.

Method

Questionnaires were mailed to parents in eighty-five Korean-American households in the St. Paul-Minneapolis metropolitan area.

Parents' names were randomly selected from a directory of approximately 3,000 entries that is issued by the local Korean Association. In order to encourage response and to minimize translation-based misinterpretations, the questionnaire was presented in parallel columns of English and Korean. Sixty-three parents returned questionnaires (75% response).

The questionnaire was developed specifically for the study and consisted of three demographic questions; six questions about personal values and practices relating to Korean culture and art; and seven statements designed to solicit attitudinal responses about education in Korean art. A three-point Likert-type scale was employed for the attitudinal survey portion of the questionnaire.

A similar questionnaire, modified for children, was administered to sixty-six Korean-American schoolchildren in the same metropolitan area. The children, aged 10 to 17 years, were identified through the Korean School and two local Korean churches. A Korean version of this questionnaire was not used, and questions were translated and/or read aloud to children experiencing difficulties with English. Of the attitudinal statements presented to the children, five items were identical with items on the parents' questionnaire.

Cumulative frequencies and proportions were established for responses to the attitudinal surveys of the two questionnaire groups. On the basis of demographic data, two subgroups were identified in the parent sample to establish significance in measuring differences between proportions in group comparisons and a test of differences between uncorrelated proportions (z ratio) was used.

Results

The parents showed nearly unanimous interest in preserving their Korean heritage; 97% of the respondents want to teach their children about Korea. Invited to identify one or more reasons, parents favor reasons dealing with cultural pride and identity:

Because I want my child to realize his/her identity as a Korean.	53%
Simply because my child is Korean.	43%
Because I want my child to be proud of his/her Korean heritage.	33%
Because it is my duty as a Korean parent.	17%
Because my child wants to know about Korea.	10%

Despite their strong interest in transmitting cultural heritage in general, only 38% of the parents acknowledge they ever talked about Korean art or Korean artists with their children. Most of those who responded affirmatively reported that their discussion was about Korean paintings (54%) and calligraphy (29%). A few identified folk art (17%), architecture (17%), or sculpture (13%) as topics for discussion.

In order to provide Korean art experiences for their children, parents indicated they made use of museum exhibits (49%) and books (74%), as well as schooling and community programs.

Parents were asked to indicate agreement, neutrality, or disagreement with seven statements dealing with education about Korean art. The statements addressed two basic concerns: Who is responsible for providing this education and what is its purpose? Table 1 summarizes parents' responses to these statements.

Table 1: Parental Responses

NO.	STATEMENT	PERCENTAGE OF PARENT RESPONDENTS WHO DISAGREE	ARE NEUTRAL	AGREE
1.	The Korean community should provide opportunities to learn about Korean art.	5.2	5.2	89.6
2.	The Korean school should teach regular Korean art classes.	1.7	5.2	93.1
3.	Regular school should include in its curriculum information about Korean art.	32.8	15.5	51.7
4.	I know enough about Korean art to teach my child.	37.5	33.9	28.6
5.	I need more opportunities to learn about Korean art.	1.7	18.6	79.7
6.	Awareness of Korean art and artists help children realize their identity as Koreans.	5.2	6.9	87.9
7.	Understanding the values of Korean art will help children be proud of being Korean.	1.7	13.6	84.7

The response to statements 1 and 2 showed that parents strongly concurred in placing responsibility for ethnic art education on the Korean community itself, either through classes at the Korean school or through other unspecified community activities. A more moderate expectation (in response to statement 3) is that some Korean-oriented art education be offered within the curriculum of regular schooling, meaning the public or private academic institution attended by the child. Response 4 introduces an interesting discrepancy: although elsewhere in the questionnaire 38% of the parents reported themselves to have discussed Korean art with their children, only 28.6% in this category acknowledged competence to undertake such teaching. In the remaining responses there is additional indication that the respondents valued Korean art for themselves and as an aid in their children's development in the Korean heritage.

Two subgroups based on the duration of American residency were identified in Figure 2: Group A (long-term residents) comprised respondents with thirteen or more years of residence, a total of 20 households; Group B (short-term residents) included twenty-two respondents reporting six or less years of residence. For purposes of comparison, the two extremes of residence distribution are selected for analysis.

Table 2: Duration of Residence

YEARS OF RESIDENCE	0-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	15 OR MORE	NATIVE	TOTAL
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	9	13	9	12	8	10	2	63

In response to a questionnaire item, "Why do you want your child to know more about Korea?," parents were asked to designate as many reasons as they felt were appropriate. Differences in response between the two groups are shown in Table 3.

While the long-term residents in group A appear to identify more positively with all five of the alternative responses, the $\bar{z}$ ratio test of differences between uncorrelated proportions indicated significant differences in relation to items 1, 2, and 5. The respondents in Group A showed more interest in motives of cultural pride ($p>.05$) and cultural identity ($p>.01$); they thereby express a stronger commitment to transmitting their cultural heritage in general. It should be noted that none of the more recent immigrants in Group B selected statement 5 as a reason.

A breakdown of the responses summarized in Table 1 reveals further differences between the two groups in regard to their preferences for teaching of Korean art. Figure 4 contrasts the percentages of respondents in Group A and Group B who agreed to each of seven statements.

The analysis indicates significance for the comparisons drawn in items 1, 2, 6, and 7; of particular note is the unanimous agreement of the recent immigrants in Group B to these four statements. In reference to the preceding figure it was observed that the long-term residents in group A expressed stronger interest in their heritage when asked about Korean culture in general. When the focus of the questions shifted to the specific aspect of Korean art, as in items 1, 2, 6, and 7 in Table 4 above, it is Group B which exhibited stronger agreement with the statements.

Analysis of the children's questionnaire shows that most of the respondents were born in Korea; of the children surveyed, 35% gave their place of birth as the United States. In the survey, 82% of the children acknowledged they wanted to learn about Korea; only 55% reported they had already learned something about Korean art. Asked to identify all those from whom art instruction or information was received, respondents most often acknowledged parents (50%), school teachers in Korea (39%), and teachers at the Korean school in the United States (31%). Despite this reported exposure to Korean art, when asked to name a Korean work of art or Korean artist, only two of the children were able to do so.

Table 3: Response of Parental Sub-Groups

I want my child to know more about Korea...

NO.	REASON CITED	GROUP A	GROUP B	$\overline{Z}$ RATIO
1.	Because I want to help my child realize his/her identity as a Korean.	65%	23%	2.64 p>.01
2.	Because I want my child to be proud of his/her Korean heritage.	53%	23%	1.97 p>.05
3.	Simply because my child is Korean.	53%	45%	0.46 n.s.
4.	Because it is my duty as a Korean parent.	24%	14%	0.79 n.s.
5.	Because my child wants to know about Korea.	24%	0%	2.40 p>0.5

Group A = long-term residents
Group B = short-term residents

Of the respondents, 77% expressed interest in learning more about Korean art. In citing one or more reasons for their interest, children reported the following:

Because it is interesting.	60%
Simply because I am Korean.	56%
Because I want to show Korean works of art to my non-Korean friends.	25%
Because learning how Koreans think and make Art helps me discover who I am.	21%

Table 4: Responses catagorized by Duration of Residence

NO.	STATEMENT	PERCENTAGE AGREEING	$\overline{Z}$ RATIO
1.	The Korean community should provide opportunities to learn about Korean art.	A 76% B 100%	2.40 $p>.05$
2.	The Korea school should teach regular Korean . art classes.	A 82% B 100%	2.05 $p>.05$
3.	Regular school should include in its curriculum information about Korean art.	A 50% B 67%	1.02 n.s.
4.	I know enough about Korean art to teach my child.	A 53% B 38%	0.92 n.s.
5.	I need more opportunities to learn about Korean art.	A 82% B 86%	0.34 n.s.
6.	Awareness of Korean art and artists helps children realize their identity as Koreans.	A 76% B 100%	2.40 $p>.05$
7.	Understanding the values of Korean art will help children be proud of being Korean.	A 82% B 100%	2.05 $p>.05$

Group A = long-term residents
Group B = short-term residents

The children were presented with a list of statements dealing with education in Korean art. Five statements were common to the children's and the parents' lists. Table 5 summarizes and compares child and parent responses to these five statements.

Significance is established for all of the comparisons drawn in Table 5. Children registered appreciably less commitment than parents in acknowledging they didn't know enough about Korean art (statement 3) and that more learning opportunities were needed. Similarly, children were less likely than parents to endorse the notion that a purpose of education in Korean art is to foster cultural pride (statement 5). The two groups of respondents are most at variance in their responses to the first two statements. Parents markedly affirmed the premise of statement 1 (that the Korean community, acting through the Korean school, should take responsibility for providing art learning opportunities), but only half of the children asserted this belief. In response to statement 2, half of the parents would like to have seen some Korean art included in regular schooling, whereas only 10% of the children agreed with the proposal.

Table 5: Child and Parent Responses

NO.	STATEMENT	PERCENTAGE AGREEING	$\overline{Z}$ RATIO
1.	The Korean school should teach regular Korean art classes.	P 93%	4.89
		C 53%	$p>.01$
2.	Regular school should include teaching about Korean art.	P 52%	4.92
		C 10%	$p>.01$
3.	I know enough about Korean art (to teach my child).	P 29%	2.37
		C 11%	$p>.05$
4.	I need more opportunities to learn about Korean art.	P 80%	3.07
		C 53%	$p>.01$
5.	Understanding the values of Korean art will help children be proud of being Korean.	P 85%	2.89
		C 61%	$p>.01$

Group P = parent respondents
Group C = child respondents

Discussion

One conclusion from this study is that the Korean-American parents surveyed are strongly concerned that their children be educated in Korean artistic heritage. The motivation for this concern is identified; art education of this sort is valued as an aid to the children's development, specifically as a means of reinforcing cultural identity and pride.

Another interesting finding of the survey is that parents are very positive in keeping the responsibility for this art education in the Korean-American community. No such conclusion shows support for including some Korean art in the curriculum of the regular school. Each cultural constituency of general education tends to maintain its own image of what schooling is all about. It is conceivable that Korean-American immigrants continue to be guided by expectations of education formed in the Korean experience and that they are slow to recognize the desire of some educators to accommodate the interests of various ethnic and racial minorities. At the present time, the attention of this population is focused on supplemental schooling efforts supported and managed by the Korean-American community itself. A promising topic for further research would be the extent to which this locus of responsibility for cultural art education is shared with other Asian-American immigrant groups and with ethnic/racial minorities in general.

All three of the null hypotheses established for this study are rejected. *As to the first hypothesis*, long-term residents are shown to be more concerned with transmitting to their children the heritage of Korean culture in general. One may speculate that in their longer residence in the United States the members of this subgroup have come to appreciate how readily ethnic self-awareness can be lost; their concern may be restorative in character, rather than preventative. Whatever motivation might be ascribed to this subgroup, their attitudes challenge the frequently encountered assumption that cultural affiliation is inevitably eroded by the process of "Americanization;" the survey indicates that interest in preserving the cultural heritage may increase rather than diminish in the second decade following immigration. In association with this finding it was noted that none of the short-term residents cited as a reason for wanting their children to know more about Korea that the children themselves had expressed a desire to know more. This may be related to the fact that the children of the short-term residents are younger; this subgroup reports 86% of their children below age 10, as compared with 46% below that age in the long-term residents.

An interesting contrast in regard to the second hypothesis is that the short-term residents are shown to be unanimous in affirming the value of educating their children in Korean art. This exceptional motivation might be accounted for by noting recent educational changes in South Korea. In the aftermath of the Korean war, the demands of reconstruction took priority over artistic development. Within the last ten years, however, there has been a resurgence in the arts, in art education, and in art publications. Recent immigrants would be the beneficiaries of this heightened awareness of Korean art. An alternative explanation for the diminished sensitivity of long-term residents to matters of Korean art might conceivably be their adaptation, spurred by motives of economic self-improvement, to dominant American values of scientific pride and business accomplishment.

Testing of the third hypothesis establishes that the children's attitudes reflect a substantially diminished commitment to the value which Korean-American parents place on their being educated in Korean art. The gap between adult- and child-levels of affirmation might be expected in any population; although children model parental attitudes, they do so within the limits of their ability to manage the abstractions of "heritage" and "education." The information that only two of the children were able to name a Korean work of art or Korean artist may illustrate the familiar discrepancy, encountered in every age group, between professed attitudes and demonstrated performance.

The strong interest of Korean-American parents in using museum exhibits to acquaint children with Korean art suggests an important role for museum educators and should encourage art instructors to strive for inclusion of a broader representation of cultural artifacts in planning their museum field trips. The indication in the survey that these parents are not yet mobilized to press for more attention to Korean art in regular schooling should not be interpreted as exempting art educators from their obligation to build a multi-cultural art curriculum.

By directing this survey toward one of the many Asian-American immigrant groups which are increasingly coming into prominence in the national cultural array, the authors invite interest in continued exploration of an important East/West question: How should art education in

this country accommodate the two different sets of educational expectations incorporated within these two general traditions?

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Theory and Practice in Contemporary African Art: Modernist or Skokian Aspect

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The Emergence of Four Main Styles in Contemporary African Art

General Theory

There is in contemporary African art a schism between different schools of contemporary artists. Four schools are recognizable: first, the survivalists or *bintu*, who are aligned with the forces of subsistence in Africa (and therefore, finding an outlet for a product that enables one to make a living is important to them); second, the traditionalists or *kunta*, who maintain that traditional African art holds the only true value for the contemporary artist (and hence must supply all his thematic material); third, the modernists or *skokian*, who believe that traditional art is of the past and inconsequential - that Western (European) trends are paramount in shaping their thought and work; and fourth, the contemporists or *awo*, who see value in a syncretic blend of the traditional and modern.

It is generally assumed that survivalists (or *bintu*) advocate commercialization of works of art. The group pursues this objective by selling a large number of works at "chicken-change" prices. They favor traditional and genre themes which they believe are easily recognizable and appreciated. Such themes are therefore easily commercialized. Survivalists see themselves not as individual African artists, but as group artists in an industrial sense, part of a commercial interchange of goods between producers and consumers.

In condemning all non-African influences, the traditionalists (or *kuntu*) mirror the belief that the traditional African ways are best, that nothing is to be gained (in fact, much is to be lost) from adhering to foreign concepts, techniques, and training. They thus propose to seek their inspirations solely from traditional themes.

The third group, the modernists (or *skokian*), is the antithesis of the second. Shunning traditional techniques and themes as outdated, modernists advocate formal technical instruction in art with emphasis on modern methods and concepts. They see themselves not as African artists, but as artists in a world sense, part of the cosmopolitan avant-garde which is shaping the contemporary world.

The fourth group, the contemporists (or *awo*), view themselves as a synthesis of what went before and what is happening now. The contemporists believe Africa has always been accommodative, that a dynamic balance is characteristic of her society as a whole: Basic technical instruction, coupled with an insight into tradition, constitute that path which best equips the contemporary African artist to express himself. Implicit here is the idea that a contemporary artist in Africa is first an African, and as such, is uniquely possessed with the ability to best depict through the medium of art the nature of contemporary Africa, a blend of traditional and modern forces.

In observing the diversity and assessing the validity of the four, the prominent characteristics of art for each school are apparent. The survivalist (or *bintu*) works are readily available and extensively distributed in world markets. With traditional handicrafts as a base, the survivalist media now includes things done in brushwood, basketry, pottery, forging by iron smithing, as well as stringed instruments and tom-toms, portable sculpture in ebony and ivory, appliqué cloth, batik, leather work, graphics and painting; and of these, portable sculpture in wood appears to be the most prolific. Purely and simply, they represent a commercial venture geared toward either retail or wholesale merchandizing. As art, the survivalist (or *bintu*) works are spontaneous and have an appeal that the viewer may reject, but not ignore. They tend to deal with a stereotyped form, and the subject matter is virtually repeated by every artist: Authorship is immaterial because the work is mass produced. A few of the works (Plate 1), however, have some merit, superior in concept to the artifacts sold locally to tourists or shipped out to world markets. Many works considered together make one feel that each sculpture came from the same mold, and "each artist dipped his brush into the same paint pots set on a moving assembly line belt." Sometimes the artists lack strong instincts and plain rules, appearing as copyists rather than creators, as if taking short cuts in art were their main intention.

The traditionalist (or *kuntu*) art reveals sculptural motifs such as the oversize head, sparkling eyes, swollen abdomen, rigid contours, broken planes and cubes, which are mostly borrowed, but hardly synthesized, and adapted to contemporary needs (Plate 2). In effect, the typical *kuntu* artists remove traditional forms from their original context[1] in a spiritual, political, and psychological framework that no longer exists and, without any attempt at adaptation, try to fit it into a new context, the present. In painting, the main theme is folklore. One observes a somewhat excessive use of floral or geometric patterns, and the objective use of traditional sculpture motifs in almost disordered manner. The technique is somewhat crude with frequent use of the palette knife and heavy impasto.

The modernist (or *skokian*) artists, on the other hand, seem to have some residual guilt for their own lack of aesthetic awareness (i.e., from the viewpoint of their former European imperialists). Thus, traditional art appears odious to them in that it seems to remind them of their former professed naiveté, and the only valid thematic path is first laid down by the academic art style and technique (Plates 3 and 8), and it is in this stream that they must find their expression. Their typical works are "meticulous," "exhibiting photographic realism," "dangerously close to mechanical reproduction" (sculpture), "plain, severe and unyielding in their subordination of color to drawing ... and absolute concentration on draftsmanship" (painting).

Finally one observes the contemporist (or *awo*) art. There is the presence of notable technical skill in the art, but this does not stand alone in that "there is a balance between detail and structure, between artificial design and naturalism and between the traditional form and individual innovation." Sculpture (Plate 4) exhibits a waxy delicacy of finish, the use of fragments through the expression of emotion and movement, symbolism and distortion, and an amazingly sensitive use of modeling. Paintings are judiciously decorative, mostly with curvilinear designs, use of intense color, and a few fundamental geometric and floral motifs. Thus, one has an overview of the major divisions or styles of contemporary African art and of the philosophies which directly influence the nature and technique of that art. That these philosophies demand different thematic and technical approaches illustrates the varied nature of contemporary Africian art.

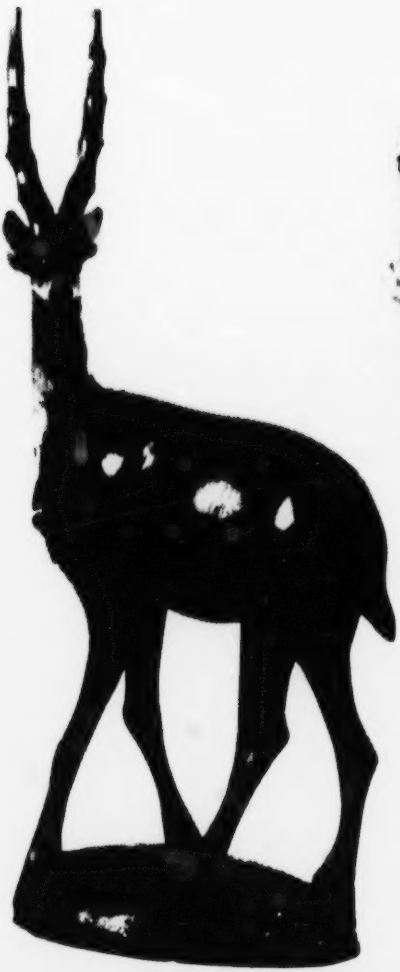
A Theory of Modernist or Skokian Art

In 1943, when the late Aina Onabolu[2] expressed his amazement that some colonial officials could possess such an "obsession" for traditional African art and technique, he precisely explained his frustration:

> I am quite conscious of the fact that some critics will say that these (natural) proportions will spoil the already great African (traditional) art. To such critics, I would say - fear not. Jacob Epstein, as other ultramodern masters, despite his great talent, studied far more than these proportions, and underwent many years of hard work and study. And it was the academic knowledge gained that gave him such tremendous power as enabled him to do as he liked. Compare his "Nan," which to me repels as it attracts. Yet this same artist has recently made a beautiful bust portrait of the Dean of Canterbury, priced at 100. Why shouldn't the African have such knowledges as to enable him to express himself freely and intentionally? (Lasekan, 1943, Preface)

The story of modernist or *skokian* tist during the 1940s is a narrative of similar professional disappointments stemming, perhaps, from Onabolu's insistence that "anything that interfered at all with academic knowledge of art had better give way in Africa." Thus, the professional modernist or *skokian* artists are victims of modern African society, finding themselves in a situation requiring a choice between equally undesirable alternatives: Whether to stick firmly to African tradition or follow the requirements of foreign tradition.

The cultural dilemma vividly portrays the position of the *skokian* artist. Skokian as a word derives from Malinowski's theory of cultural change (Jahn, 1961, p. 14). Specifically, *skokian* is a "cocktail" of methyl alcohol, calcium carbide, treacle, tobacco, and so on, which is drunk in the slums of Johannesburg. Thus *skokian* is something new, the legitimate offspring of African environment and European moral principles. The South African government's aversion to harmless African beer and the police regulation which forbade its use forced the African inhabitants to invent an alcoholic drink that could be made and stored in small, concealable quantities. Although I have some reservations concerning Malinowski's functional theory of cultural change, which is basically ethnocentric in operation,[3] his reference to *skokian* as a visible element of cultural change is acceptable here only as a symbol of cultural dilemma. The work *skokian* is neither perjorative nor a misnomer, and may be used to designate an art style which owes its origin to a situation requiring a choice between equally undesirable alternatives. Neither completely foreign nor entirely African, it names an art type expressed partly in foreign (European) idiom.



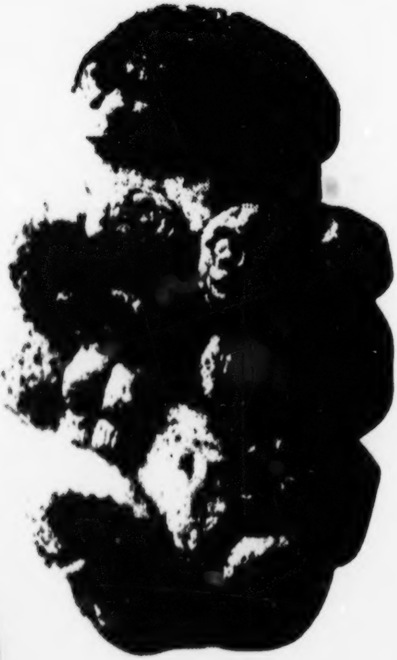


PLATE 1. BINTU ART, Eland Antelope, Ebony, 1972, Contemporary Artist, Kenya. Collection of the author.

PLATE 2. KUNTU ART, Osun Oshogbo, Stone, 1959, Contemporary African Art, 30" x 18" x 15", Onibonokuta Gbadamois, Nigeria. Ibadan University Collection, Nigeria.

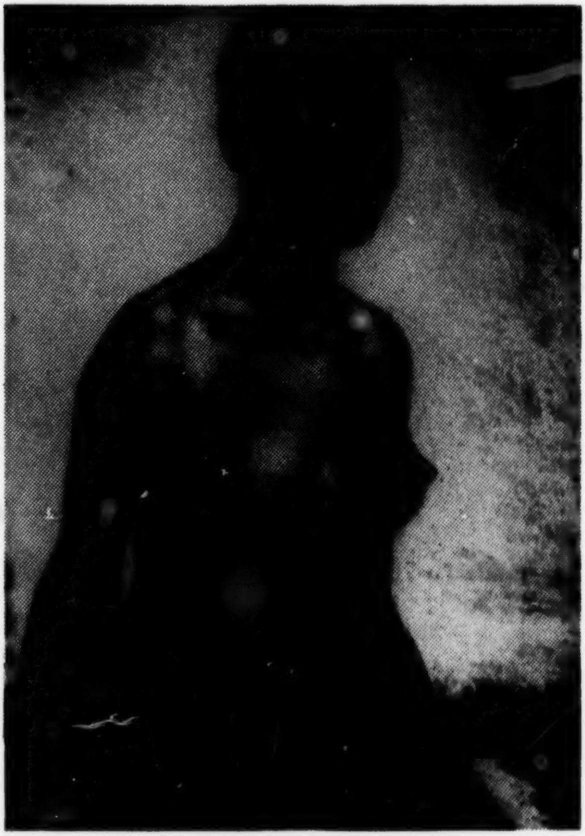


PLATE 3. SKOKIAN ART, Anike, Pastel on Paper, 1940, Contemporary African Art, 16" x 10", Aina Onabolu, Nigeria. Collection of the artist.

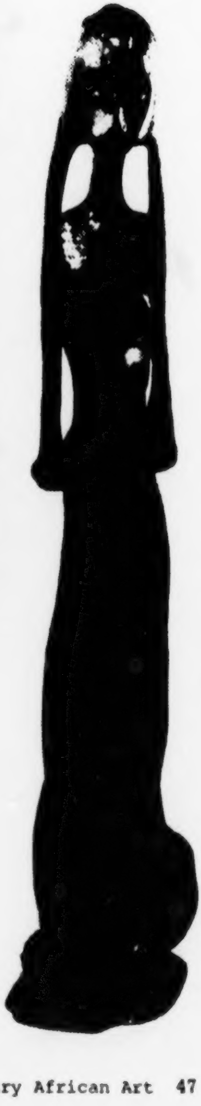


PLATE 4. AWO ART, Odionedon Abstracted, Wood Walnut, 1976, Contemporary African Art, 80" x 14" x 14", Felix Eboigbe, Nigeria. Collection of the artist.

The outlook of *skokian* artists is both bright and clouded at the same time. They subscribe to the ideology that contemporary African artists "must be exposed to some form of basic instruction to absorb modern techniques and trends of thought." Of course, one cannot argue the fact that the artist who has no practical knowledge of technique is seldom able to produce anything of real value. But the above injunction contains elements of great danger, because the history of world art has known many reputable sculptors and painters with little, or no, academic or formal training (Odita, 1966, pp. 60-61). Skokian artists are contemporary artists who have received some sort of training in the disciplines of conventional Western sculpture and painting techniques. They become, in most cases, fine recorders in European style of landscapes, situation scenes, and portraits. Yet, by virtue of their imported techniques, they are not entirely at home with their indigenous public; their acquired knowledge is foreign to the cultural environment.

Sub-Styles of Skokian Art

In the preceding examination of the theories that exemplify the attitude of contemporary African artists, this writer's focus has been the modernist or *skokian* style. The careful observer perceives that there are three crosscutting sub-styles: Man-centered (*muntu*), involving the use of human or other animate motifs; man/spirit-centered (*mumuo*), depicting a combined use of human or animate motifs as well as masks, non-representational motifs, or inanimate motifs; and spirit-centered (*muo*), emphasizing the use of masks, non-representational motifs, or inanimate motifs.

Right in the heart of *skokian* art lie three distinctive works from three outstanding contemporary African artists: The Statue of Shango by Ben Enwonwu, Dangers of Imitation by Amon Kotei, and Still Life by Seth Galevo. Respectively, they show the substyles of *sko-muntu* (that is, *Skokian muntu*), *sko-mumuo*, and *sko-muo*. The often discussed dependence of such works on cross-cultural elements of artistic and aesthetic expression is, of course, one of those facts which, once it has appeared in print, can never be destroyed. Perhaps de Jager (1973) had a premonition of this situation when he asserts that:

> Contemporary African art is also of academic importance. When two (or more) cultures meet, we refer to the situation as one of culture contact or acculturation. The most important characteristic of such a situation is the change that results in the cultures concerned due to the contact. Another characteristic is that this process is always reciprocal, that is that there is mutual influence and change and both cultures are affected. One culture may be in a dominant position, the other mainly in a receiving position. Never, however, can the one culture, even in the dominant position, escape from the influence of the other. In the case of the contact between African culture and European culture in the field of art, the African has taken over Western media or is employing the old media in new ways. The European artist, on the other hand, has taken over, amongst others, form and motive from African culture (p. 170).

Sko-Muntu Sub-style

The Statue of Shango, Plate 5, comes from Ben Enwonwu, a noted Nigerian sculptor. He has shown his work internationally, including Great Britain and the United States. Among Enwonwu's renowned commissions are a bronze portrait statue of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (1959); a stone statue of His Excellency the Right Honorable Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (1960); six wooden statues for the London Daily Mirror Building (1961); and a bronze statue, Anyanwu or the Awakening (1961), in the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Enwonwu's Statue of Shango, the Yoruba thunder god, is a monumental bronze figure, over twice life-size, and immediately strikes the viewer as being very similar to Western representations of war heroes or famous historical personages. It is the type of work placed in front of public buildings, or in parks, as is actually the case, since it stands on the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) Headquarters Building, at Lagos, Nigeria. It is naturalistic, with close attention given to the detailed portrayal of anatomical musculature and proportion. As if offering a benediction or raising a rallying symbol, the half-nude figure holds aloft its right arm, bearing the double axe sacred to Shango. The figure also wears a kind of crown. The loincloth garment (wrapa) drapes and folds realistically, as if blown by the wind. It is strongly three-dimensional, and, in fact, the striding stance and outstretched arm create a dynamism which serves to break any element of containment.

The Shango figure is immensely powerful in a masculine, muscular sense. The main theme would then seem to be the heroic power of man inspired by god. According to a Yoruba legend, Shango was the fourth king of the Yoruba who became a god upon his death; so Shango, as represented by Enwonwu's sculpture, is the power and dynamic vitality of man inspired by divine force. Since the bronze work is set in front of the building, behind which is the Lagos Marina harbor, it might then represent the dynamic power of the people of Nigeria, backed by nature's forces of sea, wind, and sound.

Technically, the work represents an additive process, cast in bronze on the principles of *cire perdue* technique, Africa's own method of bronze casting effectively in use in the sub-Sahara, first by the Igbo, at Igbo-Ukwu, from 695 to 970 A.D.; followed by the Yoruba at Ife, from 1200 to 1300 A.D.; and in the end by Benin, at Bini city, from 1400 to 1900 A.D. Specifically, a sculpture to be cast in bronze is first modeled by additive process in clay or wax. A piecemold is made of the finished model which preserves all its detail. A core is fashioned to take up the space where the thickness of the metal shell will leave off. The preparation of the mold and the casting of the bronze is done in a foundry by skilled technicians. The casting may be finished by the artist with chasing tools, as it is the case with the Ife and Benin works, and the surface may be treated with chemicals to give a particular quality of patination, which would occur naturally over the course of time.

Enwonwu's Shango figure also exhibits a unity of design that utilizes one central figure to portray a theme. There is great variety in the form in its strong three-dimensionality, which draws the viewer limitlessly to the powerfully upthrust stance. This element serves to create a dynamic imbalance -- all the figure's energy is directed toward

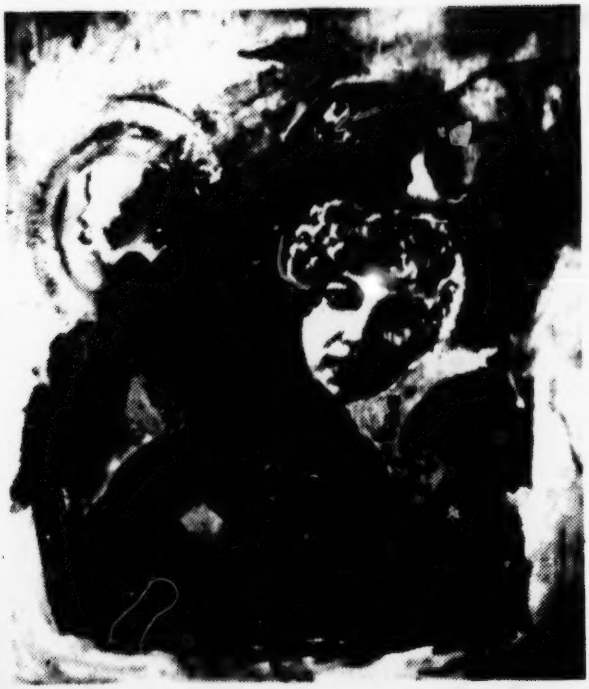


PLATE 6. SKOKIAN ART: Skomumuo, Dangers of Imitation, Oil on Canvas, 1961, Contemporary African Art, 20" x 24", Amon Kotei, Ghana. Collection of the artist.

PLATE 5. SKOKIAN ART: Skomutu, The Statue of Shango, Bronze, 1961, Contemporary African Art, Over twice life size, Ben Enwonwu, Nigeria. NEPA Building, Nigeria.

that out-stretched arm; the arm of respect for the Yoruba, or the Igbo Ikenga arm of power and achievement. It is as though the work would topple if the inspiration which motivated that pose should dissipate. The naturalistic proportions, as described above, promote the design unity. The rhythm of form is strong and regular -- legs, trunk, head and upthrust arm. These elements correspond to the linear freedom of the work in the active strength created by Enwonwu in his smooth treatment of major body masses. This is somewhat modified by his precise treatment of the musculature, which inhibits the completely smooth upward flow of visual continuity: It would seem that this is a deliberate attempt on Enwonwu's part to create a feeling of intensity and emotion.

Enwonwu's Shango thus conveys dynamic, physical and divine force, as embodied in the male figure of man/god Shango. By its placement on the NEPA Building, the artist seems to have utilized the African concept of Shango, god of thunder and lightning, in stabilizing the power house: if the electric power should fluctuate, Shango, through his staff, would supplement the current; if a violent storm should occur, Shango would neutralize the effect by deflecting thunder and lightning to the sea. The Statue of Shango therefore demonstrates the new life imparted to a sophisticated sculpture by the rise of inter-cultural appreciation in one work of art. Enwonwu has used an old idea and medium in a new way. However, his choice of traditional theme executed in an academic style of realism, heroic size, and pose, -- is almost a cliché in commemorative type works -- has clearly represented a psychic conflict of the *skokian* artist by depicting the strain resulting from the African (traditional or man/god Shango) and European (academic or electric power) acculturation. Therefore, the artist has inadvertently presented a typical cross-cultural art style, *sko-munto*.

Sko-Mumuo Sub-style

Dangers of Imitation (Plate 6), which best represents the *sko-mumuo* sub-style, was painted in 1961 by the Ghanian artist, Amon Kotei. Born in 1915, Kotei first studied drawing privately, then went to Achimota College for a year in 1938. He spent five years in the Ghanian army as a draftsman, and later went to London to attend the School of Printing and Graphic Arts. He is now primarily a printmaker working for the government of Ghana. He exhibited, along with two of his children, at the Ghana Society of Artists. Some of his works have been purchased by the Ghana government. Five of his paintings were in an exhibition arranged by the Harmon Foundation which toured in New York and the Hampton Institute in Virginia. His work was also represented in the British exhibit of Commonwealth Art Today.

Dangers of Imitation is executed in a broad range of oil painting techniques from washes to impasto. It shows several realistically-done faces, skillfully modeled, arranged in a sequence of diminishing sizes, giving the picture a suggestion of depth. The eye is conducted from one spot to the next along a series of diagonal lines beginning with the axial tilt of the nearest face, a comely, traditional African. This head is modeled in a fully three-dimensional style, illuminated by a single light source. The figure ends in a broadly applied wash of color which forms a frame at the bottom and sides. The next face tilts on its axis in the opposite direction. This blonde, stylish European woman, also skillfully modeled and illuminated almost consistently with the first face, seems somewhat flatter and less detailed, but it is the kind of reduction in detail one would expect with aerial perspective. To her left is another African woman whose hair style, obviously a wig, imitates that of the European woman. Besides the hair styling, she wears bright red lip paint and dark sunglasses, both obviously an imitation of a typical westerner. She is shown admiring her image in a mirror, above which, outlined in a thin wash of color, is her image as she sees it, minus the caricature quality of the fully modeled head. If we follow the line diagonally toward the right, above the European head, there is a smaller, very attractively presented face wearing the traditional bandana (*ichafo* in Onitsha Igbo diction). To her right is another face, like the mirror image, done in pale washes of color, whose angular form is strikingly mask-like. This last figure also wears a bandana, and, in her clearly traditional style, must represent an ancestor. The four fully modeled faces are contrasted with two others done in washes, the light source being moderately consistent with each of the four "real" faces. The background is a series of abstract wash-areas, forming a framework for the faces in suspension.

The message implied in the painting may be intended for the foreground figure whose face wears a somewhat perplexed look. She is being shown by the woman who has borrowed foreign styling, that this is not a flattering image of her. The image in the mirror does not show the harshness, revealing that the mirror-bearing lady deceives herself about the attractiveness of her style. Contrasted with the red lips, sunglasses, and curls is the image of the modest, traditional look, which has the obvious approval of the ancestor. She is being advised through this subtle piece of propaganda that the traditional way is best. The content of the message would be wasted on this tradition-bound village girl. Rather it is directed at a woman who lives in an urban area and who may have the money at her disposal to buy such foreign luxuries as lipstick and sunglasses.

Therefore the work exhibits a piercing social commentary. Its power to arrest the viewer lies in the fact that it captures the essence of the psychic conflict of the *skokian* artist by depicting the psychological strain resulting from the African/European acculturation. The artist has therefore given us a picture of the mental struggle within an African woman as pertains to alien influence of European aesthetic concepts. The message, therefore, is both a warning and a social control for the contemporary African of what such a synthesis would be: a travesty of both worlds -- the African woman's too-red lips, garish sunglasses and Western hair style. Indeed, she is the embodiment of the *skokian* conflict: The hybrid who, instead of becoming the best of two combined elements, becomes the worst. In this, there appears to be a paradox within a paradox, for the artist is telling "imitation is dangerous," while he himself seems to be caught in this *skokian* conflict, combining western techniques with African motifs. But it is exactly this manner of styling which gives the work an excellent delivery.

Sko-Muo Sub-style

Inanimate representation and the urge to adhere strictly to academic principles of perspective, color modulation, and situation scene, are a distinctive characteristics of *sko-muo* sub style. The Still Life (Plate 7) is done by Seth Galevo of Ghana. Born in 1933, he is the son of a school teacher who stirred his interest as a child with colors

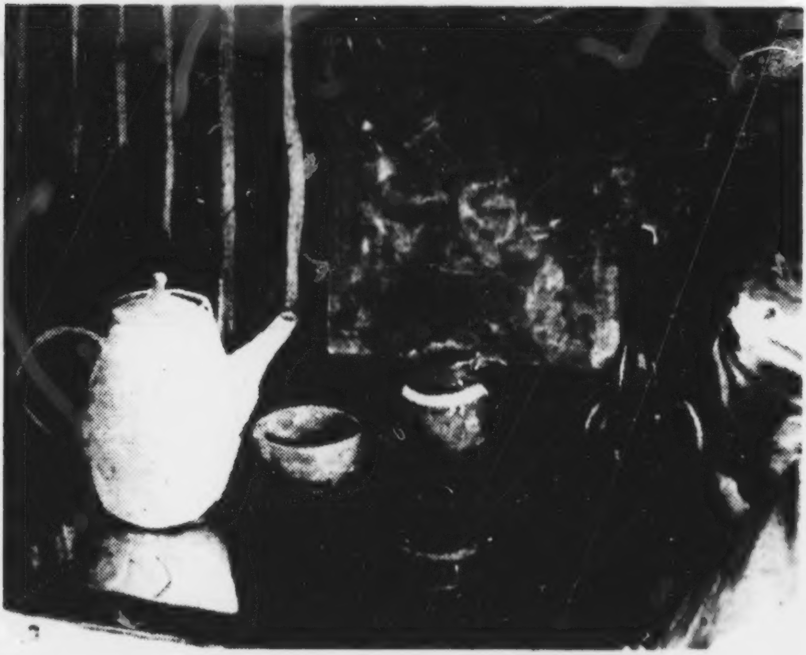


PLATE 7. SKOKIAN ART: Skomuo, Still Life, Oil on Canvas, 1966, Contemporary African Art, 20" x 24", Seith Galevo, Ghana. Collection of the artist.

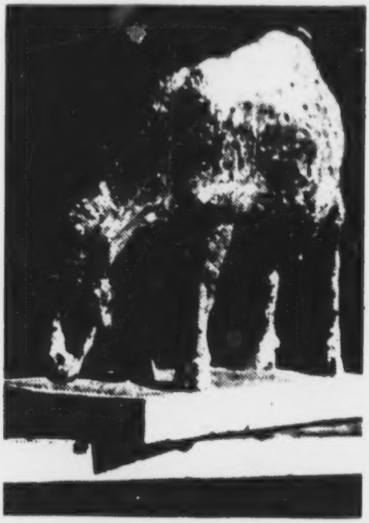


PLATE 8. SKOKIAN ART:
Forage-Time, Concrete, 1962,
Contemporary African Art,
Life-Size, E. Okechukwu Odita,
Nigeria. Collection of the artist.

and clay. When Galevo won a fifth form prize in art, he was encouraged to pursue this field of study. He continued his art while a student at the Achimota College, Accra Ghana, where he later became a teacher. Shortly after, he left this institution for the Kumasi College of Technology, Kumasi. Soon enough, he obtained a study leave from this college of technology and received both a Fine Art and a Teaching Diploma (1961 and 1962). He is a member of the Ghana Society of Artists and has regularly exhibited with them. In 1953, his first break as a professional artist came when he and Kofi Antubam did background painting for a college play.

Galevo's Still Life depicts a composition of inanimate objects in a studio or living room setting. A teapot is the center of attention and is related to a teacup, milk jar, and a water bottle. Farthest to the right are unidentifiable objects that are either large sea shells or crumpled pieces of paper. Together, these objects are artfully set on a table against a greyish-blue wall. A drapery with dark blue stripes is seen on the left background, just behind the teapot, which reinforces the fact that this teapot is the major motif of the composition. The table is either highly polished or has a glass top: Strong mirror-image reflections of the objects on it give the illusion of a crowded space. The objects themselves do not derive from traditional African environment but can be found in any European setting, the only possible exception being the drapery which appears to be an African woven cloth. Influences and factors of open and static arrangement in the spheres of composition finally prevailed upon the general features of the painting.

Technically, one of the characteristics of traditional African paintings is the flatness of background or vertical perspective. This is obviously lacking in the work in that the artist has utilized the academic linear and aerial perspective effects to create a "realistic" image in his formal organization. The linear quality appears to be uniform in treatment and does not show much motion or action. Subdued earth colors with appropriate texture separate the objects in a three-dimensional descriptive sense, while allowing one direct light source to brilliantly illuminate them. The light source effect is achieved by introducing it from the right, at an angle of about seventy-five degrees, without obvious cast shadows. To further integrate the composition, the artist uses the art principle of overlapping in a vertical sense: teapot over the drapery, teacup over a piece of green material, milk jar and water bottle over the wall background, and so on. By all these technical means, the artist skillfully leads the viewer, step-by-step, from the fore-edge of the table, into the inner recesses of his composition.

Galevo's painting shows, as already indicated, a three-dimensional perspective space without obvious cast shadows. This can be interpreted in either of two ways: A brilliant studio light has been used for the painting, or the lighting is the artist's own innovation so convincing as to make the effect look natural. Thus, this work does not easily lend itself to African cultural interpretation. It is simply a technical exercise in presenting an illusion of reality. The artist has therefore become dominated by the academic elements of his work. However, this work, although *skokian* in most elements, does contain the *kuntu* style of individually presented items. Traditional African works are often frontal and individual, favoring tangential and vertical poses.[5] Besides, the strong mirror-image reflections, lead us to a deeper appreciation of the objects themselves: The reflections improve the scattered distribution of the objects through structural and organizational integrated space. All these techniques give the artist more room for originality, innovation, and experimentation. Still Life therefore presents a challenge to create a new tradition, which Galevo has certainly done in a sensitive *eko-muo* sub-style.

Conclusion

To judge by the perceptible visual expressions of Ben Enwonwu, Amon Kotei, and Seth Galevo, two obvious points are readily observable. First, Galevo's Still Life, lacking considerable African inspirations, represents an historical development of that can be accurately traced to Western academic sources. It is therefore with some hesitation that even an approximate African influence can be proposed for the work; at present, an attribution to European aesthetic values seems most defensible. Second, the distinctly African identity of Enwonwu's and Kotei's works show that Enwonwu and Kotei knew and satisfied the artistic and aesthetic needs of their own people and society, and that their art has become even more rooted in their own environment. In this exercise, they have utilized the technical knowledge from two sources: African and European. This dialogue between Africa and European values, as presented, has been so long neglected that even the available material, which has greatly increased in recent years, has not been sincerely recorded, much less classified and analyzed. Its position, therefore, can be compared with that of a person in quicksand--sinking slowly and hoping to be rescued. Whatever the characteristic feature, Enwonwu and Kotei's works show a startling consistency because they are preoccupied with man. Are we wrong if we interpret this almost exclusive preference for the topic man as an indication that in their works the artists try to answer the question--What is man? How does the nature, the essence of man become intelligible through the created form? And the African ... "(artist's) answer is plain to see. The essence of man, the very nature of man, reveals itself in his emotions (Raum as quoted in de Jager, 1973, p. 20)."

Footnotes

[1] Certain conditions have worked as deciding factors in the type and character of traditional art forms created by various ethnic groups in Africa. The most common ones may be identified under three broad headings: socio-religious, socio-political, and socio-psychological aspects. The first involves art used in religious and spiritual cermonies, as well as in rituals that define the individual's place in society. The second concerns the use of art in explaining man's place in time, maintaining law and order, and as a prestige symbol. Finally, the third emphasizes the use of art in explaining the ego, faith, and determination of the individual.

[2] Academic art was introduced in Nigerian schools and colleges in the early 1920's mainly through the relentless efforts of Aina Onabolu, a Yoruba who was the first African art student to study in England and who continuously pressured the then colonial government authorities to include art courses in all the Nigerian school systems.

[3] Malinowski claims passionately that any hybrid in Africa results from European intervention or contact.

[4] For a detailed discussion on Igbo Ikenga, God of power and achievement, as related to the right hand (or arm) refer to Odita, 1973 and 1978.

[5] See Odita, 1977, pp. 28-31.

[6] Organizational space consists of those areas or shapes referential to a field conception of space in a visual composition. This structural and organizational space often has been referred to in Western aesthetic literature as positive and negative space.

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The Ashkelon Art Center: A Model for Community Art Education

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An international art education seminar, sponsored by the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) and Israel's Ministry of Education and Culture, was held in Israel in August 1982. During the course of the seminar, international and Israeli art educators visited many colleges, schools, museums, and community centers throughout Israel. After this seminar ended, the authors met at the Ashkelon Art Center at the invitation of the director of the center, Ilana Shafir. The Ashkelon Art Center exemplified the community services, social emphases, and multi-dimensionality of art education that had been observed in other Israeli schools, museums, and community centers.

Orientations to Art Curricula

To reflect upon the Israeli art education seminar experiences and relate them to current art education practices and curricula in America is interesting. An article entitled, "Towards Establishing First Class, Unimpeachable Art Curricula Prior to Implementation" (Clark and Zimmerman, 1983), presented a model for evaluation of art education curricula based upon three orientations: society-centered, child-centered, and subject matter-centered criteria. That a complete curriculum should include appropriate learning experiences in all three of the orientations is argued in the article. Improving society, helping each individual achieve personal fulfillment, and transmitting the cultural heritage are commonly recognized goals of art education programs that foster public sympathy and support for the arts (Chapman, 1978). A society-centered art curriculum emphasizes social needs of a community and the learning of social values and content derived from broad social contexts. A child-centered art curriculum is directed by expressed interests of students more than by social needs. A subject matter-centered art curriculum views art as a discipline or organized body of knowledge and develops student capacities for skillful art production, history, criticism, and appreciation. This orientation does not emphasize student interests or social contexts as in the other two curricula orientations.

In the United States today, a society-centered orientation translates as environmental awareness and community improvement projects. Most art programs in the United States do not emphasize society-centered curricula; they stress child-centered or subject matter-centered learning. Society-centered art curricula were popular, however, in the United States during the 1930's and early 1940's.

Many readers will be familiar with the Owattona Project, carried out during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Owattona, Minnesota, became a center for total community involvement in art. Art taught in the schools emphasized art in daily life. Social aspects of art were emphasized more than creative self-expression or art as a discipline. Chapman (1978) describes these times:

> During the depression of the 1930's, nothing seemed more important than the routine day-to-day life, doing useful things, and getting a job. Art teachers were forced to find free, inexpensive, or discarded materials for school activities...In effect, the social and practical aspects of art were given more attention than the creative, self-expressive ones. (pp. 13-14)

A different art curricular emphasis is offered by Feldman (1981), who considers, among other aspects, anthropological and historical aspects of art instruction; that is, the study of humanity through art. Students in a curriculum emphasizing this concept study

> characteristics of art created by particular peoples in particular times and places under particular circumstances...a principal focus on the anthropological curriculum is the study of artistic origins. (pp. 139-140)

Students examine connections between art making and social activities such as hunting, food production, war, magic, cult worship, and so on. In a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society, according to Feldman, the anthropological and historical curriculum provides students with tools to deal with the myriad of cultural forms and expressions that they encounter in society. Art history is studied, not as a chronology, but as a means of understanding the creation and functions of art in complex societies.

Art Education in Israel

Before relating these concepts of art curricula to the work of the Ashkelon Art Center, a brief description of Israeli art education is in order. Since it was founded in 1948, Israel has absorbed an incredible variety of peoples with differing cultural backgrounds. Israel's schools were given the task of developing awareness of distinctive forms of various subcultural communities and of developing a common-core culture for the nation.

Art education in the schools, museums, and community centers is viewed as a major vehicle for adapting individuals to their environment. Tamir (1982) discusses the roles of schools, museums, and community centers in teaching art-making skills and content that result in cultural enrichment. Special events, holidays, and festivals are often used to develop aesthetic awareness, observation skills are stressed in learning to understand works of art, and emphasis is placed upon relating art to other subject matter such as history and literature.

One of the most important aspects of art education in Israel is the great emphasis on education in museums and community centers. Every

Israeli museum has young wing and an organized educational program that coordinates its activities with local schools. In smaller communities that lack museums, community centers function in the same way.

According to Tamir (1982), Israeli art education is presented as a medium of communication and as an active factor toward solution to the problems of diversification of Jewish and Arab cultures. He writes that:

> There is an ongoing development of a local style that finds inspiration in the cultures of the people and immediate environment, and develops a form of expression that has grown out of distant roots, with a range of quality and rich tradition. The key...is correct treatment of both "western" and "eastern" approaches in the twentieth century, and the achievement of an education synthesis between all areas of art education. (p. 20)

History of the Ashkelon Art Center

The Ashkelon Art Center is an excellent example of a community center that is committed to a society-centered curriculum, serving a multi-cultural Jewish population, emphasizing anthropological and historical study, and attempting to meet the national goals of art education in Israel. In addition, it serves as its community's public art library, art gallery, and adult art instruction center.

Having a population of 55,000, Ashkelon lies on the Mediterranean coast some 70 kilometers south of Tel Aviv. In ancient times, it was a famous port and commercial center, flourishing in the days of the Philistines, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Crusaders. The ancient city gradually vanished, and the Arab village of Majdal grew up nearby. For many centuries, Majdal was a neglected part of the Ottoman Empire; in 1917 it became part of the British Mandatory Palestine. In 1948, the State of Israel came into existence, and, when cease-fire lines were drawn, Majdal became part of Israel and was renamed after the historical city Ashkelon.

The Law of Return enabled Jews from all over the world to come and settle in Israel and from 1948 until the mid-Fifties, this caused a population explosion of huge proportions. Successive waves of immigrants arrived to settle in the region; refugees and displaced persons from western Europe joined emigrants from the West, and the Arab countries of Yemen, Jurdistan, Iraq, and North Africa. The Ashkelon population now consists of Jewish representatives from 70 different countries and almost as many cultures. In common with other developing parts of Israel, Ashkelon faced vast problems. There was an urgent need for housing, health care, roads, sewage treatment, and electricity. Ashkelon's services and infrastructure could not always keep up with the population growth. Not surprisingly, the arts were given low priority, although not entirely neglected. Rich in archaeological artifacts, Ashkelon did have a small museum for a time, but there were not enough funds for it to continue.

By the 1960's, in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, the three main cities of Israel, the museums had formed highly successful youth wings. The Ministry of Education felt that similar opportunities should be provided for children in smaller settlements to acquire some visual education.

By 1970, the government was helping those settlements to establish small arts programs modeled after the larger scale youth wings of the city museums. In September of that year, the Ashkelon Town Council appointed Ilana Shafir and Aliza Ben-Baruch to begin giving after-school art lessons to children. Initially, thirty students, most of whom were of middle-class European or American origin, were enrolled for art lessons; by the end of the first year of operation, more than 100 children had visited the Center which was then housed in one room of a dilapidated hut.

After the 1973 war, the Town Council requested the center to accept as students, a group of war orphans and other children. The new group of children differed radically in background from children in the earlier group: They were Asian or African, from underpriviledged families, and many had grown up in temporary tent encampments where new immigrants were housed before permanent housing was provided. Many of these children were illiterate and unaware of the rich artistic heritage that existed in the countries of their origin, such as beautiful artifacts and synagogues, religious rituals, and native costumes. Fitting themselves into a new society had become their preoccupation and a painful struggle.

One day in 1973, when Shafir asked a local teacher to bring her class to study at the Center, a new chapter of Center activities began. Before long, requests from schools to offer art classes began taxing the Center's resources. New problems arose because the Center had to plan and carry out structured programs appropriate for entire school groups. The Center's student population increased over 300%, and it was necessary to hire many new teachers and plan learning activities appropriate for these new groups of students. A year later, the Minister of Education visited Ashkelon and the gods were kind; rain fell so heavily, dripping through rotting ceilings, that the Minister, impressed by the Center's art activities in such impossible conditions, arranged for the Center to move. Since 1975, the Center has been housed in a group of school buildings erected in the early 1930's by the British. Although maintenance is still a problem and resources are often strained to their limit, the move permitted the art program to expand.

The Ashkelon Art Center Program

The morning school program generally involves third, fourth, and fifth grades from 19 local schools. School art classes, planned in collaboration with the Art Center staff and classroom teachers, focus on holiday and festival themes and special events. Religious festivals such as Passover and Purim are used to teach about the arts of other cultures as well as basic art skills and knowledge. For example, Passover is used to teach about ancient Egyptian culture and Purim is used to teach about Persian architecture and miniatures. There are generally five groups each morning working in such art activities as ceramics, drawing, painting, and printmaking. Another center activity is to give guidance and practical help to schools that want to improve the aesthetics of their environment. As a result, wall paintings, ceramic tile reliefs, mosaics, mobiles, and environmental sculptures can be seen in many of Ashkelon's schools. These art works are designed and executed as group activities at the Center.

Adults can also take ceramics, mosaics, graphics, etching classes, and other subjects at the Center as teachers and resources are available. About 100 adults and 300 children study in afternoon and evening classes in addition to the school program. Classes are formed according to a specific art making activity, and adults and children often study together in the same classes.

From its inception, instruction at the Center has emphasized the use of slides, art reproductions, films, and other resources that bring art works from other cultures into the instructional program. Many art projects stimulate students to create art work derived from anthropological and historical consideration of other cultures, especially from Ashkelon's history and its current multi-cultural population. Roman coins, Sumerian figures, or Islamic decoration are frequently used as the basis of art lessons. The Art Center also serves the community by taking a mobile art unit to kindergartens, boarding schools for problem children, senior citizen's clubs, other community agencies, and rural schools outside Ashkelon. Classes similar to those held at the Center are thus taken to people who otherwise would not be able to participate in art activities. The Center also serves as the only permanent art gallery and art library in the community. Art works by students and staff of the center and by local artists are often displayed in the Center's gallery. In addition to books and periodicals donated by "The Friends of the Ashkelon Art Center," the Center's library houses resources such as slides, films, art reproductions, and some audio-visual equipment that the local public library lacked.

Ashkelon has attempted to solve the problems of providing art education in a small town without the resources that are taken for granted in more developed countries and where the diverse population is often not aware of the need and right of every child to have an education in art. Ashkelon's Art Center strives to integrate art education as an interaction of the home, school system, and the artistic heritage and resources of the community. Because of the social role that Israel appears to demand of art and art education, creating and reinforcing a common sense of identity in a multi-ethnic nation that has existed politically for less than fifty years, the Ashkelon Art Center conforms to the society-centered curriculum model while also emphasizing anthropological and historical aspects of art education. The existence of such a national goal for art in Israel does not preclude flexibility in the curriculum. According to Ilana Shafir, "We try to adapt ourselves to the fast-changing conditions in Ashkelon and the main needs of the population concerning artistic expression".[1]

Footnote

[1] Shafir, I. Personal communication. November, 1982.

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Themes and Structures in the Graphic Narratives of American, Australian, Egyptian, and Finnish Children: Tales from Four Cultures

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> *The many stuffs--matter, energy, waves, phenomena--that worlds are made of are made along with worlds. But made from what? Not from nothing, after all, but from other worlds. World-making as we know it always starts from worlds on hand; the making is a remaking (Goodman, 1978, p. 6)*

Art is a means by which versions of the world--or models of reality, of the self, and of the universe--are made. As Nelson Goodman (1978) says, these are "versions that are visions, depictions rather than descriptions" (p. 102). Through the graphic and plastic arts, humans recall their collective past, record their present, reflect upon possible futures, and contemplate their conceptions of good and bad.

In the history of art, the narrative vision and version of the world has been among the most pervasive, whether in the form of Biblical stories arranged sequentially on the walls of a church, such as Giotto's fresco paintings in the Arena Chapel in Padua, or the myths of gods on red and black Greek pottery; the life of Krishna in painted miniatures, or the "Harlot's Progress" in six engravings by Hogarth; Dore's illustrations of Dante's "Inferno," McKay's "Little Nemo," Walt Disney's "Mickey Mouse," Sendak's "Wild Things," or "Marvel Comics" and a plethora of television and cinematic narratives. The narrative, executed with characters, setting, and action, including a sequence of events and a conclusion, presents a relatively complete "as if" working model of the world in what Erikson (1977) calls "the human propensity to create model situations in which aspects of the past are re-lived, the present re-presented and renewed, and the future anticipated" (p. 44).

Erickson notes that dramatic play in childhood "provides the infantile form" of this propensity. In an examination of their sometimes vast spontenous production, we have found that for an overwhelming number of children who draw nearly every day, their drawings provide a format for the creation of just such model situations. We have seen, in fact, that the desire to produce these complex narratives serves as the impetus for drawing activity of these unusual children (Wilson and Wilson, 1982). As our interest in this narrative dimension of children's drawings grew, we began to ask that they tell stories by drawing pictures in six frames. In spite of our extensive study of children's spontaneous story drawings, we could have anticipated neither the depth, the richness, the variety, nor the profound nature of these elicited narratives.

In the first narrative drawings, collected from children in the United States, we were able to observe the pervasive reflection of this country's contemporary culture--the superheroes, the space creatures, the anthropomorphized animals, and perhaps too often, a view of the world as a threatening and violent place in which difficulties are to be overcome by even more violence. Indeed, it was not surprising that the worlds drawn by children and the "many stuffs" of those worlds were created from worlds "already on hand," from familiar worlds that necessarily reflected the culture in which the children lived.

Because, as Piaget has said, "In order for a child to understand something, he must construct it himself, he must re-invent it" (1972, p. 27), the process by which children learn about the culturally unique world in which they live is a process of re-invention, wherein the symbolic artifacts provided by the culture are received and recycled in the children's own play, dramas, and drawings. The questions that thus presented themselves were these:

> *Just how idiosyncratic are the graphic narratives of American children?*
>
> *Do children in other cultures produce story drawings with the same themes and structures as those found in American children's drawings?*
>
> *Are there some themes that are universal?*
>
> *Are there themes that are characteristic of particular cultures?*

In order to answer these and other related questions, we proceeded to collect story drawings from other countries as well.

Method

Subjects

In addition to the initial ninety-three story drawings from 9- and 12-year-old children from Boston, Massachusetts, we also collected 100 drawings from children of the same ages in Adelaide and Canberra, Australia; and colleagues working under our direction collected sixty-nine graphic narratives from children in Cairo, Egypt, and fifty-eight from children in Helsinki, Finland. In each sample reported here the drawings were collected from classroom groups of middle-class urban children. This sample was not assumed to represent all of the children of a particular country, but was thought to be somewhat typical of advantaged children in each of these large cities. (Since this initial collection of story drawings, thousands more have been gathered from New Guinea, Nigeria, Greece, Hungary, Australian Aboriginal and American Navajo, Pueblo, and Zuni Indian children, another extensive collection from Egypt, and others from children in Japan and Qatar.)

The Task

Children were given a sheet of 11 x 17-inch paper divided into six 4 3/4 x 4 1/4-inch frames. They were given the following directions (translated when appropriate):

> Have you ever drawn pictures to tell stories? Have you ever drawn adventures that you, or heroes, or animals might have? Have you ever drawn adventures that could not happen? Have you ever drawn stories about strange creatures in strange worlds? Have you ever drawn stories of battles or machines; of plants and insects? Have you drawn stories about sports or vacations or holiday celebrations? Have you drawn stories about everyday things that happen to people? Please draw a story using the boxes to show what happens first in your story, what happens next, and how things finally turn out.

Analysis Classifications

For the analysis of the story drawings we developed a system that classified the narrative structures of the stories, e.g. whether the narratives consisted of sequential frames, vignettes, etc.; plot elements such as lack and villainy, and nullification thereof; and fourteen thematic and subthematic classifications. Short descriptions of these classifications are given in Figure 1.

Classification and Analysis

The themes and structures of the graphic narratives were independently classified by two individuals--both doctoral students in art education. A third individual--one of the principal investigators--examined and resolved (through discussion) the few differences in the classifications found to exist among the three. These data were then analyzed to determine differences that might be accounted for by nation, age, gender, or by a combination of these factors.

Findings

The results of the structural and thematic analyses are found in Tables 1 through 6. In an examination of the way in which the themes and structures differed across the seventeen classifications, nine differences could be accounted for by an independent nation effect; six, by an independent age effect; fourteen, by an independent gender effect; two by an age/gender interaction; and three, by an age/nation interaction.

Discussion

It is interesting that in over half of the classifications, differences can be accounted for by nation effects, which are, in essence, cultural and environmental factors. But, perhaps even more fascinating is the fact that 14 differences result from gender variations in thematic and structural applications. Is it possible that the differences found between the intracultural worlds of boys and girls are actually greater than cross-cultural differences? How many of these gender differences can be accounted for by genetic factors and how many by common cultural conditioning? For the moment we can only raise the questions. It is interesting to note, also, that because age is less an independent factor than either nation or gender, strong cultural patterns have apparently been assimilitated by children by the age of nine.

Figure 1: Analysis Classifications

Structural Classifications		
1.	Vignette	narrative contained within a single frame
2.	Linear Sequence	narrative extending across two or more adjoining frames
3.	Cycle	sequential circular narrative (begins and ends at the same place)
Structural/Thematic Classifications		
4.	Lack	protagonist is deprived of something; encounters non-villainous misfortune
5.	Villainy	protagonist receives misfortune at the hands of another
6.	Nullification	lack or villainy overcome
Thematic and Sub-thematic Classifications		
7.	Everyday Rhythm	common events--slice-of-life
8.	Natural Rhythm	depiction of forces of nature, weather; seasonal changes
9.	Quest	adventurous journeys; searches
10.	Survival	stories of self-protection or the attempt to endure overwhelming forces, e.g., big fish eats little fish
11.	Success	process of achieving fame; recognition
12.	Failure	unsuccessful venture
13.	Trial	protagonist is tested; given difficult tasks; encounters obstacles
14.	Contest	fights battles, wars, competitions
15.	Destruction	death; demise
16.	Familiar narrative	traditional story, fairytale, folktale, e.g. Cinderella
17.	Other	stories with coherent themes, not classified above, e.g., assistance and gift-giving by Egyptian children

TABLE 1
Thematic and Structural Differences*
Accounted For By An Independent Nation, Age and Gender Effect

				LACK		SUCCESS		QUEST		NULLIFICATION	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.30	.30	.09	.09	.30	.32	.33	.33
		F	23	.43	.43	.33	.33	.13	.17	.35	.35
	12	M	25	.08	.08	.38	.38	.16	.18	.08	.08
		F	25	.20	.20	.02	.02	.08	.08	.24	.24
U.S.	9	M	16	0	0	.19	.19	.06	.15	.06	.06
		F	16	.25	.25	0	0	.13	.07	.19	.19
	12	M	30	.40	.40	.07	.07	.07	.08	.33	.33
		F	31	.26	.26	.06	.06	0	.03	.19	.19
Egypt	9	M	10	0	0	0	0	0	.09	0	0
		F	22	.05	.05	0	0	0	.04	.05	.05
	12	M	26	.38	.38	.04	.04	.04	.04	.27	.27
		F	11	0	0	0	0	0	.02	0	0
Finland	9	M	14	.29	.29	.07	.07	.29	.25	.21	.21
		F	14	.07	.07	0	0.	.07	.12	.07	.07
	12	M	14	0	0	.36	.36	.07	.13	0	0
		F	16	.13	.13	.06	.06	0	.06	.19	.19

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* In each instance the proposition that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

TABLE 2
Thematic Differences*
Accounted For By An Independent Sex and Nation Effect (No Age Effect)

				EVERYDAY RHYTHM		NATURAL RHYTHM	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.04	.07	.04	.06
		F	23	.22	.21	.09	.14
	12	M	25	.12	.07	.04	.06
		F	25	.12	.21	.16	.14
U.S.	9	M	16	0	.08	0	.05
		F	16	.25	.24	.19	.12
	12	M	30	.07	.08	.07	.05
		F	31	.23	.24	.03	.12
Egypt	9	M	10	.40	.11	0	.02
		F	22	.27	.30	0	.04
	12	M	26	.04	.11	0	.02
		F	11	.09	.30	0	.04
Finland	9	M	14	.14	.34	.14	.13
		F	14	.71	.65	.50	.28
	12	M	14	.29	.34	0	.13
		F	16	.69	.65	.06	.28

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* In each instance the propostion that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

TABLE 3

Thematic And Structural Differences*

Accounted For By An Independent Nation Effect (No Age Or Sex Effects)

				CYCLE		OTHER		VIGNETTE	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.07	.15	0	.06	.04	.04
		F	23	.13	.15	.04	.06	.04	.04
	12	M	25	.20	.15	.08	.06	0	.04
		F	25	.12	.15	.04	.06	0	.04
U.S.	9	M	16	0	.03	.06	.16	.06	.16
		F	16	.06	.03	.13	.16	.06	.16
	12	M	30	0	.03	.20	.16	.20	.16
		F	31	0	.03	.13	.16	.16	.16
Egypt	9	M	10	.10	.07	.50	.46	.50	.43
		F	22	.05	.07	.59	.46	.59	.43
	12	M	26	.04	.07	.19	.46	.15	.43
		F	11	0	.07	.64	.46	.55	.43
Finland	9	M	14	.21	.24	0	.03	0	.03
		F	14	.04	.24	0	.03	0	.03
	12	M	14	0	.24	0	.03	0	.03
		F	16	.25	.24	0	.03	0	.03

* In each instance the proposition that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

TABLE 4

Thematic And Structural Differences*

Accounted For By An Age/Nation Interaction and An Independent Sex Effect

				LINEAR SEQ.		CONTEST		DESTRUCTION	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prdp.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.85	.84	.07	.13	.52	.53
		F	23	.74	.75	.04	.02	.22	.25
	12	M	25	.72	.74	.32	.31	.16	.29
		F	25	.64	.62	0	.05	.20	.11
U.S.	9	M	16	.88	.87	.56	.51	.63	.51
		F	16	.81	.82	0	.12	.06	.24
	12	M	30	.77	.77	.13	.14	.17	.20
		F	31	.65	.64	0	.02	.06	.07
Egypt	9	M	10	.30	.40	0	.08	0	.06
		F	22	.32	.27	0	.01	0	.02
	12	M	26	.69	.65	.15	.18	.19	.20
		F	11	.36	.47	0	.03	0	.07
Finland	9	M	14	.57	.61	.14	.19	.14	.16
		F	14	.50	.46	0	.03	0	.05
	12	M	14	.86	.81	.14	.24	.21	.25
		F	16	.69	.73	.06	.04	.06	.09

* In each instance the proposition that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

TABLE 5
Thematic and Structural Differences*
Accounted For By An Interaction Of Age and Sex Effects (No Nation Effect)

				SURVIVAL		VILLAINY	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.04	.10	.37	.16
		F	23	.04	.04	.13	.16
	12	M	25	0	.04	.08	.16
		F	25	.16	.10	.16	.16
U.S.	9	M	16	.19	.04	.06	.16
		F	16	0	.04	.13	.16
	12	M	30	0	.04	.16	.16
		F	31	.06	.10	.16	.16
Egypt	9	M	10	0	.10	0	.16
		F	22	0	.04	.05	.16
	12	M	26	.08	.04	.14	.16
		F	11	0	.10	0	.16
Finland	9	M	14	.07	.10	.14	.16
		F	14	0	.04	0	.16
	12	M	14	0	.04	.21	.16
		F	16	0	.10	.06	.16

* In each instance the proposition that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

TABLE 6
Thematic Differences*
Accounted For By An Independent Sex Effect (No Age Or Nation Effects)

				FAILURE		TRIAL		FAMILIAR NARR.	
Nation	Age	Sex	No.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.	Obs. Prop.	Exp. Prop.
Aust.	9	M	27	.11	.09	.04	.12	0	.02
		F	23	0	.04	0	.05	0	.02
	12	M	25	.12	.09	.08	.12	0	.02
		F	25	.04	.04	.04	.05	0	.02
U.S.	9	M	16	0	.09	.13	.12	0	.03
		F	16	0	.04	0	.05	0	.03
	12	M	30	.06	.09	.03	.12	0	.03
		F	31	.03	.04	.03	.05	..03	.03
Egypt	9	M	10	0	.09	0	.12	0	.09
		F	22	0	.04	0	.05	.09	.09
	12	M	26	.03	.09	.27	.12	.66	.57
		F	11	0	.04	.09	.05	.27	.57
Finland	9	M	14	.07	.09	.14	.05	0	.03
		F	16	0	.04	0	.05	0	.03
	12	M	14	.07	.09	.14	.05	0	.03
		F	16	0	.04	0	.05	0	.03

* In each instance the proposition that the groups are statistically the same must be rejected.

Figure 2. Australia. This story drawing by a 12-year-old Australian girl falls in the villainy/villainy-nullified classification, although it is more frightening than the more typical stories of that genre. Here what starts out to be an innocent and peaceful picnic in the woods turns into a terrifying attack on the young girl, who fortunately escapes her attacker and runs home.

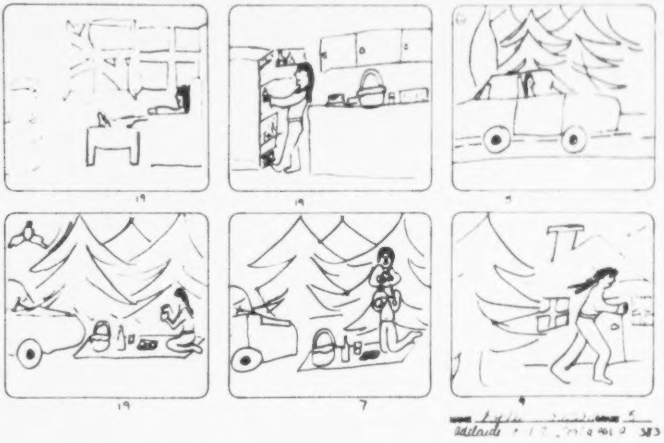


Figure 3. United States. The destruction in this story by a 12-year old American boy remains unresolved, and reflects the violence in films and television. Seen entirely through a gunsight, the action consists of centering the victim in the sight, a quick pan to the gun, the shot, and (still through the eyes of the assassin) the victim lying in a pool of blood.

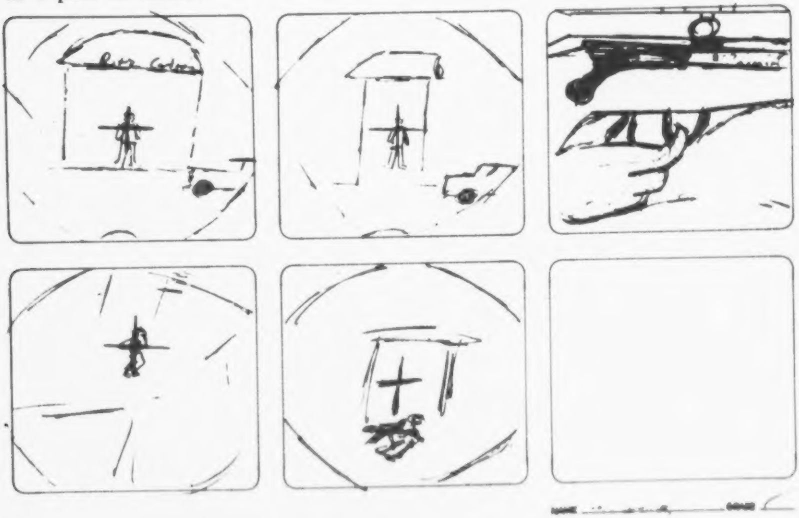


Figure 4. Finland. This story by an 11-year-old Finnish girl is an example of lack. As the girl in the story leaves home to pick berries, she finds herself deeper in the woods until she realizes to her (tearful) chagrin that she is lost. She manages to keep her wits and climbs a tree from which she can see her house, and, making her way safely home, liquidates the lack.

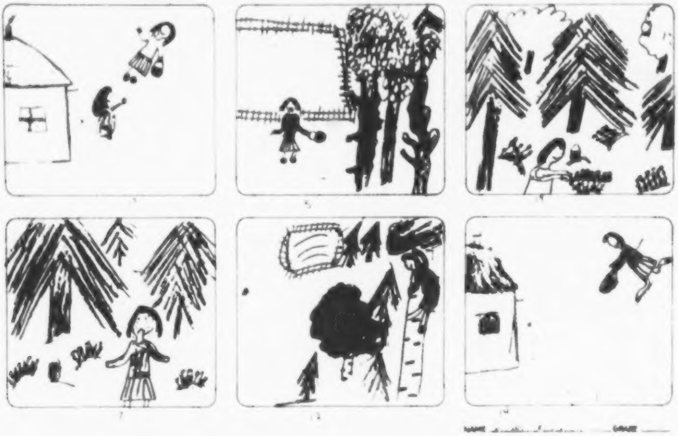


Figure 5. Australia. Success is sometimes shown in the achievement of fame as a television or Rock star, as in this four-frame depiction of the stages of success of "Smeel"--beginning with the group's playing in a small cafe, cutting a record, receiving gold records, and finally performing in a large hall to the adulation of their fans--as drawn by a 12-year-old boy.

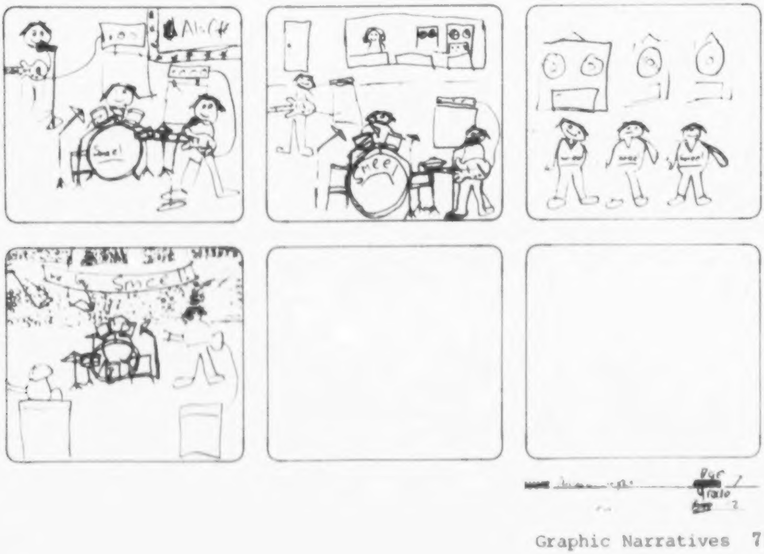
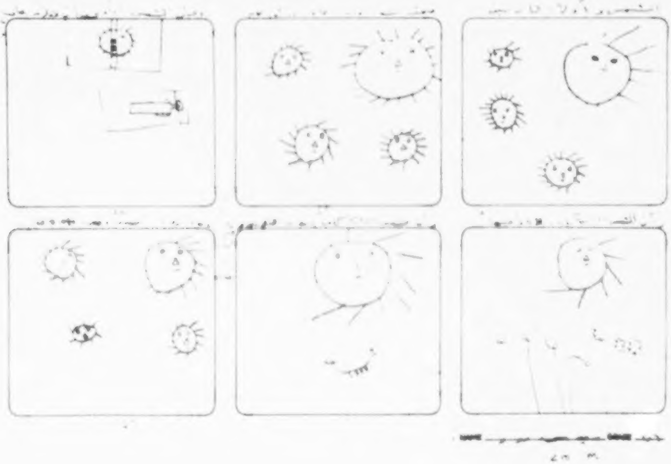


Figure 6. Egypt. Egyptian story drawings often showed a concern for others and presented a model of caring, service, and sympathetic patronage. In this traditional story (read from right to left), a mother sun advises her three small suns that they are to go out and do some good in the world. The first shines on a sick child and makes him well; the second on a wilted flower to make it grow: and the third helps a small animal. They then report to the mother who says, "Well done, my sons."



Since it was the primary purpose of our study to focus upon the cultural differences, the remainder of our discussion will deal with the general ways in which the children in the difference countries employed the structural and thematic classifications, i.e., the significantly different responses of boys and girls of both ages in one culture from those of children in the other three cultures.

The Plot Elements

From Vladamir Propp's "Morphology of the Folktale" (1968) we have excerpted two basic underlying dyadic structures: 1. lack (where a character either lacks something or desires to have something)/lack-liquidated (wherein the lack is dissolved by some means); and 2. villainy/villainy-nullified. Tolkein's prescription for a good fairy tale includes, in addition to fantasy, "recovery, escape, and consolation--recovery from deep despair (Propp's lack-liquidated), escape from some great danger (Propp's villainy-nullified), but most of all, consolation," i.e., a happy ending (Bettelheim, 1975, p. 143). To these Bettelheim himself (p. 144) adds the element of threat (Propp's lack or villainy). These are the elements from which, it seems, all good fairy tales are made. Therefore, it should not strike one as unusual that children's stories, too, should have at their base, these same elements.

To the young and to growing children, the world-now and the world-to-be may present an awesome and threatening aspect of trials, of lack, and of difficulties to be overcome. Perhaps that is why, when children draw stories, disequilibrating elements appear in great numbers, some as dramatic as the Brothers Grimm's, others as basic as a little girl lost, or a child without playmates. Through the creation of these situations in the graphic symbolic mode and the subsequent solution--or lack of resolution--children are able to explore and to rehearse a variety of means for surmounting problems--or to comprehend more fully the consequences of failure to succeed.

In our analysis of the story drawings of the four groups, American and Australian children produced over twice the number of *lack/excess* disequilibrating elements than either the Egyptian or the Finnish children. Although the second disequilibrium-producing element, *villainy*, was shown less often than the *lack* element by children in all four groups, each of the groups depicted *villainy* with the same frequency. As one might suspect, the American and Australian children were also shown to use the classification of disequilibrium overcome *nullification* more frequently than either of the other groups. The explanation for this can undoubtedly be found in the more regular occurrence of the initial *lack* category in the stories of the American and Australian children.

What is not so easily explained is the reason for these differences. Why, in fact, is the view of the world of the American and Australian children such a stressful one, filled as it is with difficulties and lack? Is the world "on hand" of these children less fulfilling or more difficult and stress-laden than that of the Egyptian or Finnish children? Probably not. Although our investigation does not answer such questions, it is possible to speculate that the view of the world presented through the medium of television commercials (our culture's modern myths whereby a magical agent--be it detergent or deodorant or toothpaste--transforms the hero, overcomes difficulties, and fulfills desires) and other stock television and commercial formulas is presented as a model from which American and Australian children work.

Violent and Competitive Worlds

Two other themes provide us with interesting insights with regard to the very different worlds that children are in the process of symbolically constructing. The theme *contest/combat* deals with situations in which individuals or groups of individuals engage in a fight or a contest of one sort or another. The *destruction* theme deals with demise--being swallowed up, eaten, burned to the ground, shot dead, etc. In their narratives the American children were most competitive; they drew *contest/combat* themes approximately 40 percent more frequently than the Australian and Finnish children, and 72 percent more frequently than the Egyptian children. The American and Australian children depicted stories of *destruction* 60 percent more frequently than Finnish children and 80 percent more frequently than the Egyptian children. We may decry the use of destructive themes in the stories of the children in America and Australia, but the model presented by the mass media is a world of violence--whether it is in the nightly news, the action shows, or the Saturday morning cartoons; and although the world may be a much more benign place than that depicted in the media, children still have limited opportunity to experience the world first-hand. They seem only to be in the process of cognitively manipulating and reinventing one of the more troublesome aspects of what they perceive in the culture--the world "on hand."

Models for Achievement and Success

Success is a theme that classifies triumphs, rewards, achievements, and recognition of the protagonists in children's stories; it also relates to Tolkein's consolation or happily-ever-after theme. There is often a wish-fulfilling element here, as when the protagonist becomes a hero. In this category, the Australian children were overwhelmingly ahead of those in the other three groups. They employed the success theme 30 percent more frequently than the Finnish children, 60 percent more frequently than American children, and over 90 percent more frequently than the Egyptian children. We will leave it to others to explain why Australian children seem to be so pre-occupied with success and why Egyptian children have almost no concern for success. One thing is certain--the world of the Australian child and the world of the Egyptian child are more than oceans apart. In fact, some Egyptian children dealt with ideas that were remote from the competitive and success-oriented world of the Western children. For example, they depicted stories in which instances of caring for others, showing sympathy, and empathizing with those in distress abounded. They drew stories in which gifts were given and sacrifices made on behalf of others.

The Possible Environmental Effects

Of the four groups the Egyptian children were most different. Natural rhythm classifies depictions of the forces of nature or the change from one state to another, e.g., winter to spring; night to day; storm to calm; sunshine to gloom. The Finnish children depicted natural rhythm approximately 66 percent more frequently than the Australian and American groups, while not a single Egyptian child showed any type of natural rhythm in the story drawings. One might speculate that, because Finnish children are continually exposed to extremes of weather and acute changes (from long nights of darkness in the winter), their lives are inextricably linked to natural phenomena, while the weather in the Middle East remains somewhat constant and seasonal change is hardly noticeable. And although environmental factors surely contribute to a child's conception of the world, and could account for some of the differences we saw in the stories, we think that more emphasis must be placed on explanations based on symbolic or media-inspired views of the world as seen by different cultures.

The World as Slice-of-Life

The classification everyday rhythm deals with depictions of the common or ordinary activities in which individuals customarily engage: waking; going to school; returning home; going to bed; baking a cake; washing one's hair; going to the park; playing in the playground. As with natural rhythm, the Finnish children depicted the everyday elements far more frequently than the Egyptian, American, and Australian groups (70 percent more frequently than the American and Australian children and 56 percent more frequently than the Egyptian children). It appears that the frequency of commonplace subject matter is increased when the use of stories with plot or disequilibrating elements is decreased.

A Discussion of Thematic Usage

The themes of the Australian, Finnish, and American children were readily noted in the classification system. The Egyptian children, however, did not draw sequential stories nearly as frequently as the other three groups. Since the thematic content was based on the subject matter of a series of drawings, whatever thematic content might have been present in the single-frame stories (vignettes) was not classified. In other words, over 44 percent of the time the Egyptian children's drawings were classified as not having overall thematic content. (When themes were employed, they were often embedded within a traditional story, e.g., Cinderella or Abraham and Isaac.) Twelve per cent of the American children's drawings were judged to have no overall thematic content, while only two percent of the Australian and none of the Finnish drawings were seen to lack overall themes. It seems to us that the relative paucity of graphic narrative media models available to the Egyptian children could explain the relatively low number of sequential and thematically coherent stories depicted by the Egyptian children. (Subsequent studies have certainly shown this to be the case [Wilson, El Husseini, and Wilson, 1982].)

Conclusion

We now need to return to our original premise that the story drawings are a means by which children construct models for the actual cultural worlds in which they live. Our data show that the worlds of the children in the four groups are indeed different in some respects. (And here we need to remind the reader that gender was an even more influential factor.) All three groups of Western children seem to view the world as a place in which to compete and do combat, and the Americans and Australians seem to view the world also as a place of violence and destruction. Thus these questions might be raised: Do the cultural media that provide the materials from which children build their graphic narratives accurately reflect the actual cultural world in which the children live? Or are the media worlds and their reflections in the children's drawings at best mere caricatures; or in the worst cases, are they deceptive monstrosities? And if they present inaccurate world views, does this lead the child to act within the world as he or she would within its graphic model (wherein the actual world is created in the image of its symbolic counterpart--a place of combat and destruction for the Western child, or of emphatic caring and assistance for the Egyptian child)?

We can only speculate about the role of art in world-making. Our experiences in the West and in Egypt lead us to believe that these respective worlds are neither quite as benign as the Egyptian children's depiction, nor as threatening as that depicted by American, Australian, and Finnish children. Art has no requirement to present reality with utter accuracy, and yet it cannot help but reflect an essential truth. Perhaps Western children need to practice competing in their drawings in order to survive individually, and perhaps, too, Egyptian children collectively need to practice caring so that they and their historic civilization might continue to survive. Our inquiry could not resolve issues such as these. We do think our research has shown, however, that it is the graphic-symbolic cultural models as well as the everyday worlds from which four groups of children form their own graphic narrative versions of reality. And these realities are as different as they are alike. It is perhaps appropriate to ask to what extent art example, to produce teaching might serve the function of measurably changing children's conceptions of the world. Would it be possible in art classes, for example, to produce benign rather than threatening worlds? And if children's graphic narrative visions of reality were to become less threatening, would the everyday world become so as well?

Reference Notes

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Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Cognition and Art: Implications for Research

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Cultural aspects of art and their influence on behaviors in art have been a part of the literature in art education for many years. The writings of June McFee and Edmund Feldman in these areas are well-known. A more recent phenomenon in art education is the emergences of literature on cross-cultural research. Among the pioneers in this movement are Frances Anderson, Marjorie and Brent Wilson, and Elliot Eisner. Though cross-cultural research is in its infancy, it does not lag too far behind the resurgence and expansion of psychological and anthropological cross-cultural research which began 20 years ago. Perhaps the most systematically conducted research within this period of time is in the area of cognition. Although the literature in art education during the past seven years has increasingly focused on the role of cognition in the visual arts (Art Education, 1983; Douglas, Schwartz & Taylor, 1981; Engle, 1977, 1983; Gardner, 1982; Madeja, 1978; Perkins & Leondar, 1977), this focus has not, for the most part, extended beyond our national boundaries. There is a need to conduct cross-cultural art education research in cognition that parallels or extends the current psychological and anthropological cross-cultural research in cognition. Only through this research effort will we be able to examine the implied universality of many of our beliefs about child development in art and the processes of art making and responding to art. Similarities and differences in behaviors as factors of cultural influences and ecological variables could be identified.

In the attempt to provide a context for a systematic approach to cross-cultural research in art and cognition, this paper will: 1) present several definitions which are basic to this discussion; 2) take a brief look at the status of cross-cultural research; 3) discuss two major theories that currently comprise the bulk of cross-cultural research in cognition; 4) draw implications for art education from the cross-cultural studies using these theories; and 5) suggest a format for research.

Definitions

Before discussing some of the literature in cross-cultural cognitive research, it may be well to define the term "cognition" to establish a common ground. Cognition is the "act or process of knowing" (Stein, 1966, p. 287). It includes all processes by which knowledge is acquired: perception, thought, memory, imagery, and problem solving. Cognitive processes include the encoding of information, the storage and retrieval of information in memory, the generation and evaluation of hypotheses according to criteria, and inductive and deductive reasoning (Developmental Psychology Today, 1971, p. 550). Current thinking and research in cognitive psychology also include motor control, personality, and emotion in the definition of cognition or knowing. With these definitions we can assume that the arts are forms of knowledge "symbolic and expressive systems" that can be understood as cognitive processes (Engel, 1977). The study of cognition "is the study of the means by which an individual comes to have organized knowledge of the world, and of the way in which that knowledge is used to guide behavior" (Glick, 1975, p. 595).

Traditionally, the study of cognition has been associated with psychology. However, cognitive psychology currently shares the research spotlight with cognitive anthropology which constitutes a new theoretical orientation (Tyler, 1969). Whereas, cognitive anthropologists are more concerned with product in their notion of thinking; cognitive psychologists are more concerned with process (Price-Williams, 1975). Cognitive anthropologists focus on discovering how different peoples organize and use their culture; in particular, cognitive anthropologists attempt to understand the organizing principles underlying behavior. In contrast, the cognitive psychologist searches for some generalized unit of behavioral analyses (Tyler, 1969). There is a difference between the task of recording all aspects of a specific cultural instance, which anthropologists do, and that of abstracting and generalizing propositions across culture, which psychologists do. Despite differences in the methods used and in the definition of basic concepts, the tendency at the present time is toward an integration of the two disciplines (Price-Williams, 1975). Ethnographical and ecological approaches have become part of cognitive psychology. A current definition of cross-cultural psychology reflects this integration tendency: "Cross-cultural psychology is concerned with the systematic study of behavior and experience as it occurs in different cultures, is influenced by culture, or results in changes in existing cultures" (Triandis, 1980, p. 1). Cross-cultural psychology is a new approach to the study of the role of culture in psychological development that can only be realized by a close integration of the methods of both psychology and anthropology (Jahoda, 1980).

Status of Cross-Cultural Research

The purpose of cross-cultural research, according to Witkin & Berry (1975), is to check the universality of a phenomenon which has been observed in a single culture. It has the additional aim of discovering behavioral and cultural phenomena that are new.

Only two decades ago, cross-cultural research, for the most part, lacked theory; its emphasis was the search for cultural differences. Like earlier ethnographic research, these studies surveyed a test or an experiment, applying it to another culture. This approach found many critics. As a consequence of a number of critical reviews, the emphasis shifted to an orientation toward a coherent conceptual framework. Two trends emerged:

1. One trend was the effort to assess the generality of theories originating in Western industrialized cultures by subjecting them to cross-cultural testing;

2. The second trend consisted of attempts to formulate approaches specifically designed to account for cross-cultural differences (Jahoda, 1980).

Two bodies of work exemplify cross-cultural research in cognition as currently practiced; one is Piaget's Genetic Epistemology, in particular, his construct of conservation; and the second is Witkin's Theory of Psychological Differentiation (Price-Williams, 1975). Cross-culturally, these are the two most influential theories in studies of cognitive development. Some findings from this body of research are relevant to the study of artistic development. The theories themselves, because of their theoretical strength, can be the basis for conducting art education research.

Cognitive Theories

Most cross-cultural studies in genetic psychology are implicitly or explicitly concerned with whether cognitive development in non-Western children differs from development in Middle-class Western children, following the same sequential succession of stages, and at approximately the same age levels, described by Piaget and other investigators. The sequential succession of stages refer to:

1) The succession of the well-known three global stages: sensorimotor, concrete operational, and formal operational.

2) And the sequential application of the same structure of thought to different contents. The best-known example of this is the usual succession of difficulty in the conservation of quantity, weight, and volume.

Piaget also postulated that the sensorimotor and concrete operational stages would be attained by all persons, but that the stage of formal operations might not. Dasen, the primary researcher on cross-cultural implications of Piaget's theory, found otherwise. All Dasen's studies included an implicit or explicit reference to the chronological standard that Piaget formulated from his studies of Swiss children. Comparison of Western and non-Western populations showed that the age at which non-Western children develop the concept of conservation may range from approximately the same age as European children to extreme instances in which only 50 per cent of a sample understood conservation by age 11 (Dasen, 1972). Dasen also found a difference in the age at which certain levels of conservation are reached: Western children typically learned in a certain sequence which was often not the case for non-Western children (Price-Williams, 1975). For example, Dasen (1974) discovered that Australian aborigines found their way from one water hole to another by drawing on the ground circles that showed direction rather than distance. The aborigines did not have concepts of number or measurement, however, they did better than Western children on conservation tasks relating to length rather than measurement and numbers.

Another example of the effect of life experiences, performance on conservation tasks, is evident in the Price-Williams, Gordon, and Ramirez (1969) study of pottery-making children in Mexico. These children were compared with other children, who were not potters, of similar age and education in the same village. The researchers, assuming that pottery-making involves the notion of conservation of mass and weight, expected the children's familiarity with the pottery-making to carry over to conservation tests of mass and weight. Their hypotheses were confirmed.

Another line of Piagetian cross-cultural research involves the attainment of the three global stages. As mentioned earlier, Piaget postulated that all persons would attain the sensorimotor and concrete operational stages, but not necessarily the formal operations stage. However, an accumulation of evidence by Dasen (1972) shows that concrete operational thought is not necessarily attained by adults of all societies.

The cross-cultural differences summarized here are quantitative, referring only to the rate of development, but not to the structure of thinking. Dasen (1972) noted:

> As such, the generality of Piaget's system is not threatened. The results simply point to the fact that, among factors influencing cognitive development, cultural ones might be more important than had previously been hypothesized, a possibility which Piaget (1966) himself has stressed (p. 31).

Nonetheless, Dasen suggested that the fact that the concrete operational stage is not necessarily attained could be considered a limitation of the universality of Piaget's stages. Dasen's suggestion is supported by data showing considerable differences between individuals from common backgrounds, including similar child-rearing, physical and social environments, and health conditions. More studies are needed in order to link the qualitative and quantitative aspects of operational development to specific cultural factors.

Some of the discrepancies found in cross-cultural research concerning Piaget's theory may be due to the scientific bias of the theory itself; Piaget's theory is based on logic and mathematics. This presumes that the universal norm is logical thought. In fact, the norm could include other dimensions, such as analogic thought, which is central to visual and mental imagery. Recognizing analogical thought processes as part of cognition might result in a more wholistic view of cognitive development, which could affect the understanding of cross-cultural and intra-cultural differences in conservation tasks. For example, Vernon (1966) found that Eskimos and Canadian Indians scored low on conservation tasks, compared to English norms. However, the Eskimos performed as well as whites on visual spatial tests; Canadian Indians were poorer on these tests but better on a test of mental imagery.

The last twenty-one years have produced an enormous volume of research and theory on mental imagery and its role in cognition in learning, memory, thinking, creativity, dreams, and as a method of therapy (Yuille and Catchpole, 1977). A number of researchers believe that images have a central function in human learning and memory (e.g., Begg, 1973; Bower, 1972; Bugelski, 1970; Paivio, 1971; Yuille, 1974). However, Paivio, through both observation and theory, has contributed more to the area of mental imagery than anyone else. His model is the most typical and the most extensive in the field. At the onset, Paivio's proposal, that the active formation of images mediates learning and memory, was a radical departure from the theoretical constructs of his peers.

Paivio's model (1970, 1971, 1975a, 1975b) depends on the fundamental assumption of two major coding systems, imaginal and verbal. The imaginal system specializes in processing nonverbal information which is stored in the form of images using the visual modality as the most frequent and important imagery mode. The verbal system deals with abstract linguistic units that are indirectly and arbitrarily related to things according to the conventions of a given language. Paivio (1975a) suggests that these functions distinguish the verbal system as an abstract, logical mode of thought in contrast to the concrete, analogical mode that characterized imagery. Also, the imagery mode is specialized for parallel processing, and the verbal mode for sequential processing. This implies that the imagery system permits simultaneous coding of multiple pieces of information, enhancing associative recalls. In contrast, the verbal system retains information about the sequence of a set of items.

The research in imagery, in particular that of Paivio, stands in sharp contrast to the commonly accepted notion that the verbal mode--language--is the basis of productive thought. Imagery is held as non-essential or secondary to inner speech. However, testimonials by highly creative scientists who described their breakthroughs in forms of vivid images (Einstein, Kekule, Watson) also question the prevailing belief that discursive thought is the quintessential and primary mode. For example, imagery was viewed by Einstein as an active process, the function of which go beyond a mere visual storage of experience to its elaboration and transformation. It appears that imagery has varied and important functions in mental life and is critical in complex thinking. Paivio (1971) points out that imagery, because it leads to new metaphors or models, has been "traditionally emphasized as an important element in the creative process by the creative persons themselves, as well as by nonpsychologists writing on the topic" (p. 531).

Imagery is commonly associated with the arts, yet Lindauer (1977) cites the neglect of reference to imagery and the arts in the psychological literature on imagery during the past 50 years. He also noted the scant coverage of imagery in aesthetic and artistic literature. His examination of seven basic references yielded only passing, brief, general, or no mention at all of imagery (Arnheim, 1969, 1972, 1977; Berlyne, 1971; Gardner, 1973; Kreitler & Kreitler, 1972, Pickford, 1972).

Imagery as a cognitive process in art production and art response of children is also a neglected area of inquiry. Yet to be examined are differences in the production of and response to images by high imagers and low imagers, or those identified as visualizers or verbalizers. Basic to this inquiry is how and whether visual imagery, as a cognitive function, is related to cognitive style and how cognitive style is affected by cultural factors.

The study of visual and mental imagery cross-culturally could result in a greater understanding of the cultural bases of artistic development. Such studies might result in the extension of psychological development theories such as Piaget's and/or Witkin's to encompass artistic development.

Earlier in this paper, Piaget's theory was discussed briefly as one of two extensively used theories in cross-cultural cognitive research. We will now examine Witkin's Psychological Differentiation theory and its efficacy as a theoretical structure for cross-cultural research in general, and art education research, in particular.

The basis of Witkin's Psychological Differentiation theory (1974, 1977, 1979) is in the premise that the human organism becomes more differentiated as it develops, yet has a consistency in broad patterns of psychological functioning, which include perceptual, intellectual, personality characteristics, and interpersonal behaviors. Basic to these patterns is the extent to which the individual relies on external or internal referents. The determinants of this more or less autonomous functioning seem to be rooted in socialization practices. Terms Witkin has used to describe this more or less autonomous functioning are "field-dependent" and "field-independent." These modes of functioning are further delineated as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. The field-dependent person relies on external referents--visual, intellectual, and social. The field independent person relies more on himself as a referent in all of these areas. Both modes of functioning characterize the cognitive style of the individual.

Cognitive styles refer to individual differences in how we perceive, think, solve problems, relate to others, learn, and create. They are stable over time and not value based. Cognitive style deals with form and structural properties and not with content of cognitive activity.

Like Piaget's theory on cognitive development, Witkin's theory of psychological differentiation is one of the most extensively developed, researched, and associated with educational implications. Because of its relative strength as a theoretical construct and its basis in socialization and cultural factors, it is a viable theory to submit to cross-cultural research. Many cross-cultural studies have been conducted by a number of researchers using Witkin's theory, but two researchers stand out in the literature: Dawson and Berry. Dawson was one of the first researchers to use the theory cross-culturally. Berry has used the theory most extensively and has developed an ecological/cultural model that builds on Witkin's theory and uses it as a base.

Witkin and Berry (1975), in a collaborative article, wrote:

> There is now considerable evidence that individual differences in standing on the field-dependence-independence cognitive style, which reflects level of differentiation, are to a large extent the end products of differences in socialization experiences. Moreover, as just noted, procedures for assessment of this cognitive style have a number of characteristics which make them adaptable for use in different cultural settings. Thus, the differentiation framework provides both a conception and a methodology for inquiry into the role of socialization across cultures (p. 12).

Witkin and Berry (1975) noted that socialization dimensions in anthropological literature are very similar to the key features of socialization related to the development of differentiation. One aspect of socialization is the anthropological concept of social conformity "tightness," which refers to the degree of hierarchical structure among sociocultural elements in a society. Witkin and Berry (1975) describe social tightness thus: "Societies which have many different roles and an elaborate structural organization are referred to as tight, whereas, those with minimal role differences and a less elaborate structure are referred to as loose" (p. 15). In tight societies there is pressure to conform to many social controls; in loose societies fewer controls are present, allowing self-control to operate. This concept of social tightness is very similar to Witkin's observations of the development of differentiation in children as a function of socialization. Witkin found that children who were controlled in their attempts to explore the environment, who were encouraged to conform and be dependent, tended to be field-dependent--i.e., to rely on external referents. In contrast, those children given the freedom to explore their environment, to discover and make choices, to be expressive and independent, tended to be field-independent--i.e., to rely on internal referents.

With the socialization construct a central feature of Witkin's theory, very little adjustment was needed to apply the construct to a larger unit--to societies.

Berry was primarily responsible for the conceptual extension of the differentiation theory to the ecological-cultural domain. The socialization variable was the first of three comprising this conceptual extension; social tightness was the second variable; and ecological adaptation, the third. Ecological adaptation assumes that the characteristic relationship between the person and the land he or she occupies may be a major factor in the kind of behavior developed. This concept has been applied to the ecological contrast between the hunters and gatherers and the agriculturalists and pastoralists.

Berry (1974) selected subsistence-level populations to study these variables using Witkin's theory as the basic framework for his ecological model. His main thesis was that hunting peoples would have good visual discrimination and spatial skills. One reason is that these cultures are supportive of the development of such skills through the use of a high number of geometrical spatial concepts in their language. His thesis also maintains that hunting peoples would have a highly developed and generally shared arts and crafts production. Moreover, socialization practices would emphasize independence and self-reliance with techniques that support and encourage separate development. Berry further predicted that as hunting diminished in importance across samples ranked in terms of his ecological model, visual discrimination and spatial skills will diminish, as will each of the cultural aids--including the arts and crafts (Berry, 1974).

Berry selected eight samples of subsistence-level peoples: four samples living as close to traditional ways as could be found; and four samples undergoing Westernization. These were ranked according to the ecological model. The results indicated that the mediating variables of socialization, of arts and crafts, and of language are related to the ecological dimension in the predicted rank order. Eskimo peoples, for example, were found to be field-independent, with highly developed visual/spatial discrimination skills. They are internationally well-known for their arts and crafts. Their child-rearing practices encouraged self-reliance and independence. In contrast, the Temne of Sierra Leone, basically agriculturalists, were found to be mainly field-dependent and had less-developed visual/spatial discriminating skills. Their art is of lower quality and less skillfully produced by a few specialists in their society. Child-rearing practices encouraged dependency. Berry concluded that peoples attain the levels of visual discrimination and spatial ability appropriate to their ecological demands (Berry, 1974).

The overall weight of the evidence from cross-cultural studies of both Western and non-Western samples using Witkin's Theory of Psychological Differentiation suggests that:

1) There is a self-consistency in the level of differentiation within the perceptual domain and across the perceptual and body-concept domains which characterized groups in different cultures.

2) A small but persistent sex difference in field-dependence-independence has been found in hundreds of Western studies. However, in cross-cultural studies, the pattern differs and seems to fit the eco-cultural framework. Significant sex differences appear in samples from sedentary agricultural groups and tend to be absent from samples in migratory hunting groups. The position of the society on the eco-cultural dimension is related to the extent of sex differences on tests of differentiation.

3) Child-rearing practices encouraging obedience and conformity to parental authority are associated with less differentiated functions: Practices encouraging autonomy and tolerating violation of parental authority are associated with more differentiated functions. Outside the family, at the societal level, contrasting social arrangements and social standards influence development toward a greater or more limited differentiation.

4) Scores on differentiation tasks show an increase in differentiation as a function of acculturative influences. Experience and level of education, as well as general economic development, seem to be related to this increase. How they are related is not yet known (Witkin & Berry, 1975).

The concepts from the differentiation theory can be meaningfully applied across cultures because of the structural nature of differentiation and its base in a cultural universe, i.e., socialization.

Implications For Art Education Research

Cross-cultural research in art education could use Witkin's differentiation theory with Berry's inclusion of the ecological factor as a conceptual/theoretical base to compare the form and structure of children's drawings and responses to art, as well as to compare methods of teaching art. Also, this theory might be applied to the comparative study of the evolvement of art forms within cultures as well as to the aesthetic factors culturally determined. The value-free aspect of Witkin's theory could be relevant in preventing an ethnocentric approach to these studies--in particular, with regard to aesthetics.

A combination or integration of constructs from Piaget's theory of intellectual development, Witkin's theory of psychological differentiation with Berry's contributions, and Paivio's theory of mental imagery may provide the strongest base for conducting cross-cultural research in cognition and art.

Piaget's theory on cognitive development, as manifested in evolutionary, sequential, hierarchical stages, could be used to determine qualitative and successive changes in cognitive abilities related to mental growth, and in particular, to artistic development. However, in light of the Piagetian cross-cultural research which calls into question the sequence aspect, the Witkin/Berry theory on individual differences in functioning and in encoding and processing information (cognitive style) across perceptual, conceptual and personality domains as a factor of socialization, social tightness, and ecological adaptation, could be a modifier of Piaget's theory. The qualitative aspects of Piaget's theory may be universally significant; the quantitative, sequential aspects many change according to cultural factors. Identifying the source and nature of differences due to cultural influences is an important research problem in art education. In particular, it can lead to a greater understanding and appreciation of the arts of various cultures, the nature of the artistic development of children and of the adult art of the culture.

With the addition of theoretical constructs from Paivio's theory on mental imagery, very basic issues can be explored, specifically, cultural differences in imagery production and response, as well as the proportion of high imagers to low imagers in various cultures and the cultural factors involved in this occurrence. Basic to any inquiry using the suggested integration of theoretical constructs would be the examination of whether and how visual imagery (Paivio), as a cognitive function, is related to cognitive style (Witkin & Berry) and cognitive development (Piaget). Also, the affect of cultural factors on these constructs, collectively and individually, would be a critical aspect to examine.

Ethnographic information is essential as a context for cross-cultural research in art education. Ideally, the art educator and researcher would form a collaborative research team consisting of an anthropologist and other professionals whose fields are relevant to the project. In the absence of an anthropologist, reliable ethnographic studies of the past and present characteristics of each culture could serve as contextual material.

There is much to be done in cross-cultural art education research. The interest, need, and motivation are evident. The knowledge resources necessary to conduct the research are not as evident. With the formation of the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) Research Board under the leadership of Elliot Eisner, an international network of art educators interested in doing cross-cultural research is possible, whereby collaboration can become more of a reality than an ideal.

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Guide to Authors

1. The *Journal of Multi-Cultural and Cross-Cultural Research in Art Education* will consider for publication articles on all aspects of multi-cultural and cross-cultural research in art education. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor: Dr. Larry A. Kantner, Editor, A202 Fine Arts Building, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211 USA.
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The Ofamfa is an Adinkera symbol meaning a measure of critical examination, taken from the Ashanti culture.

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Editorial

This issue of JMCRAF brings together several authors that have extended and refined their own research and scholarship in the areas of urban and rural folk art; the concept of rite of passage from the theoretical to its application, and an interpretive essay of an extended experience between student and teacher, where two different cultural perspectives met, contrasted and compared, and moved to mutual understanding. From another position, the influence of the traditional art forms of a country are considered as to their affect on art education. Two additional articles focus on the cross-cultural concerns. The first article considers the observations of art teachers from three different countries on the stereotypes in the drawings of their students. The second, a theoretical paper, compares the influences of the literature in art education of one country to the development of art education in another.

The INSEA VIIIth Regional Congress of Europe, Middle East, and Africa will be of interest to subscribers. The theme of the Congress is MANY CULTURES, MANY ARTS. It will be held April 14-18, 1985, Bath, England. The Congress will be preceded by a research conference on the same theme, April 13-14, 1985. For additional information write: THE CONGRESS ORGANISER, ℅ NSEAD, 7A High Street, Corsham SN13 OES, England.

I am also pleased to bring to your attention a new book: ART IN EDUCATION, AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE, edited by Al Hurwitz (President of USSEA) and Robert Ott. The contents include a number of statements by art educators regarding the nature of art education in their countries and deal with the problems of research, museum education, and the nature of artistic development. There will be a complete review of the book in the next JMCRAE. The book can be ordered from the Penn State Press.

A final note, during the past year the international art education community was saddened by the deaths of Hasse Wahrby and Loutfy Saky. Hasse Wahrby (Sweden) served as Vice-president of INSEA, and Loutfy Saky (Saudia Arabia) was a member of the INSEA World Council. On behalf of the Journal staff and subscribers we express our condolences to their family and friends. Editor, LK

A Folkloric Approach to Studying Folk Art: Benefits for Cultural Awareness

Kristin G. Congdon
Bowling Green State University

That we live in a multi-cultural society in the United States is undeniable. It is equally true that each individual is multi-cultural. We participate in as well as diverge from the values and goals of our neighbors. Differing groups--ethnic, regional, income, religious, and occupational--need to be given more credence in our art education programs. As William Hunter (1973) states, "In today's society, any educational enterprise which does not incorporate cultural diversity as an undergirding principle is neither socially congruent nor morally functional" (p. 262). Studying folk art and approaching it in a folkloristic manner can help educators and, in turn, their students to recognize, encourage, and understand cultural diversity while fulfilling other worthy art educational goals.

In the past, the category of folk art has been associated with descriptions which were either misleading or pejorative. Among these were terms such as "inferior," "childlike," "naive," "unsophisticated," and "primitive." (For further discussion on the misuse of these terms and others to define folk art, see Congdon, 1983.) This article suggests more positive ways of presenting folk art using the folkloric perspective as a foundational approach.

The Field of Folklore

Folklore has been a difficult term to define (Yoder, 1963, p. 45). Dundes (1965) says that because of the difficulty of finding a satisfactory definition, he prefers to make a list of what is included in the study of folklore:

> Folklore includes myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, cures, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greeting and leave-taking formulas (e.g., see you later alligator). It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama (and mime), folk art, folk belief (or superstition), folk medicine, folk instrumental music (e.g., fiddletunes), folksongs (e.g., lullabies, ballads), folk speech (e.g., slang), folk similes (e.g., as blind as a bat), folk metaphors (e.g., to paint the town red), and names (e.g., nicknames and place names). Folk poetry ranges from oral epics to autograph-book verse, epitaphs, latrinalia (writings on the walls of public bathrooms), limericks, ball-bouncing rhymes, jump-rope rhymes, finger and toe rhymes, dandling rhymes (to bounce children on the knee), counting-our rhymes (to determine who will be "it" in games), and nursery rhymes. The list of

> folklore also contains games; gestures; symbols; prayers (e.g., graces), practical jokes; folk etymologies, food recipes, quilt and embroidery designs, house, barn, and fence types; street vendor cries; and even the traditional conventional sounds used to summon animals or to give them commands. There are minor forms as mnemonic devices (e.g., the name of Roy G. Biv to remember the colors of the spectrum in order, envelope sealers (e.g., SWAK Sealed With A Kiss), and the traditional comments made after body emissions (e.g., after burps or sneezes). There are such major forms as festivals and special day (or holiday) customs (e.g., Christmas, Halloween, and birthday). (p. 3)

While the above list is helpful, it is problematic in that it focuses more on the product than on the process. It names "things," whereas (according to most folklorists) folklore is actually more process-oriented.

Barre Taelken (1979) says the ingredients of folklore come from "dynamic interactions among human beings in communal traditional performance contexts" (p. 28). Folklore is mostly informally learned from neighbors, friends, family, and community members through the process of sharing, through a "way of life" (S. Jones, 1977, p. 9).

The job of the folklorist is not to decide whose culture or whose lifestyle is best, but to encourage recognition of the way folklore functions in our lives as well as an awareness of one's world view in terms of the rest of society (Toelken, 1979, p. 283). Folk art, seen as an area within the study of folklore, may be approached in this manner.

Folklorists look for shared traditions when they study folk art. Sculptor James Thomas is seen as a folk artist, not because of the way in which he learned his art or because there are others in his community who also make clay skulls, but because he is a member of the Black community in Leland, Mississippi, and his art, which is appreciated by community members, is seen as a form of folkloric communication (Ferris, 1970, pp. 92-94). Navajo weavings, as another example, embody folkloric communication as well. Many of their rugs have a "pathway" or a "spirit road" which symbolizes and communicates the weaver's ability to have an open mind (Bennett, 1974, p. 33; Toelken, 1979, p. 244).

The folklorist studies the art work complete with the beliefs, attitudes, and values which surround it. These dimensions give the art its context, and enrich its meaning. For example, traditional Kentucky chairmaking has its aspects of occupational lore which include when to gather bark, how to hold the seats together, and why not to work on Sundays (M.O. Jones, 1970, p. 624).

An interesting example of verbal and material folklore can be demonstrated by snowmen. One such legend is that English soldiers who were assigned to guard the stockade at Schenectady, New York, relaxed after building snowmen who supposedly wore English militia uniforms. The Algonquins attacked, surprising the English and the result was a bloody battle (Gladstone, 1974, p. 65).

Quilting bees have been associated with many traditions. One belief was that after the quilting had been done, and after dinner, a cat would be placed in the middle of the quilt. The young adult's head he jumped over to get off the quilt would be the next to marry (Lord & Foley, 1965, pp. 132-133).

As we study folk art, complete with other accompanying folkloric expressions, our knowledge of American culture is broadened. This approach helps to correct misconceptions which exist about both folk art and folklore (M.O. Jones, 1968, pp. 258-259). Michael Owen Jones (1967) says that "by treating art as an object conceptually integrated with human behavior and by considering it within its cultural and social context, it will then be possible to pose and answer theoretical questions arising out of the data, from the effects of diffusion, acculturation, and urbanization to the relationship between style and community structure or economic system" (p. 244).

This process orientation changes the emphasis of folk art study from one of object orientation to a study with more emphasis on human behavior (M.O. Jones, 1968, p. 254). Folk art should be studied complete with the lives of the artist (Ferris, 1980, p. 11; 1982, p. xix). The function of the art object should also be a focus (Dewey, 1934, p. 12).

Studying folk art in the context of traditional beliefs and rituals helps to explain the function of the work. Indian baskets are intimately associated with life changes (birth, puberty, marriage, and death) as well as nature and religion (Rossbach, 1973, p. 10; Stribling, 1975, p. 62). Likewise, it is very difficult to understand Eskimo art without understanding the Eskimo life and world view. Eskimos are interested in the act of creation and not the product. "A carving, like a song, is not a thing: it is an action" (Carpenter, 1961, p. 362). Another example is demonstrated by the importance of a quilting bee which, in the past, existed as much to socialize as to quilt (Holstein, 1977, p. 129).

Folklorists research the object and the process when studying folk art. They are ethnologically oriented and they generally define the object from the creator's perspective (Alder, 1975, p. 43). M.O. Jones (1968) suggests that the fieldworker should note "the techniques of construction; the craftsman's role, status, and function within the community; the economics of the crafts; the craftsman's creativity, style, changes, and the influences on his design; aesthetic perception among creators and their public; and the socio-economic relationships between producers and consumers" (p. 258). Johannes Fabian and Ilona Szombati-Fabian (1980) conclude that "if the connection of art and society lies in processes, it becomes crucial to have a conception of the nature of such processes" (p. 257).

For many folklorists, the object (the barn, the quilt) extends beyond its practical, physical function (Ferris, 1982, p. 162; M.O. Jones, 1975, p. 12; 1980, p. 330; Toelken, 1979, p. 30). M.O. Jones (1975) states: "Not story, but storytelling event; not pot or chair, but pottery or chair production and consumption; what needs to be examined is not object or entity so much as process and event" (p. 13). Human behavior is seen as the principal construct for folklorists

(M.O. Jones, 1980, pp. 355-356). This perspective is most useful for considering folk art and other art forms. It can be used to distinguish folk art from other art categories only insofar as folk art tends to communicate more traditional values, attitudes, and beliefs than other art forms.

Benefits from the Proposed Approach

Teaching students about folk art in the proposed folkloric manner should provide them with many educational benefits. Viewing the artist's process and the community response, the functions of the creative process, the appreciation, the use, and the aesthetics involved in it, should assist the student in the following ways:

1. Learning to value all people and their art. Whether a student critic deems a particular art work as aesthetically worthwhile, is only one aspect in the study of folk art and one which requires a value judgment. It is the process surrounding the work which makes the study of folk art consistently worthy, despite the judged aesthetic worth of the object.

The folkloric approach will help a student to see that, as Hall Cannon (1980) points out, the pursuit of beauty is universal and the variety of ways in which one perceives beauty unlimited. How beauty is understood and translated, and how it relates to one's world view and values, creates "the texture of the human aesthetic" (p. xiv). Better understanding of the context which produces an art object will help a student to question, to ponder and consider aesthetic symbols and values, and to think about the people who produce these objects instead of dismissing the work solely as pleasing or not. In this manner, the study of folk art can help to promote tolerance and appreciation of pluralism and diversity in our society.

2. Reducing limiting stereotypes. Approaching folk art free from negative identifiers such as "lesser art form," "unsophisticated," and "naive," should help us to view not only art objects, but those who create and appreciate these art objects as deserving of respect and understanding. This view can help to expand a student's acceptance of art objects which have aesthetically pleasing potential.

The proposed perspective can also help benefit students by demonstrating to them that all individuals in a folk group are not alike. Toelken (1981) brings this point to our attention when he speaks about individual differences in ethnic groups:

> It is important to note that the group orientation of ethnic folklore does not in any way argue that there is not individualism among members of ethnic groups. Ethnic minority people are often asked by others: "What do you people think about" this or that movie, this or that candidate, this or that economic program? Saying that members of ethnic groups share a great number of expansive traditions is not to say that they all agree with each other on all matters intellectual, philosophical, or practical. Every Black American is different from every other Black American; nevertheless, everyone knows what soul food is, and some

> like to eat it often, while others delight in preparing it. Every Native American is different from every other; nonetheless, everyone knows what frybread is, what a powwow is (and how it operates). Not every Scandinavian agrees on religious or political matters, but nearly everyone knows what uff da means, what Lefse is, how to finish the line Lute-fish, lefse, tak skal du ha. . . ., and what (and who) the Lucia Bride is. One could go on with a similar sampling from every ethnic group in America. (p. 9)

Since both the individual and the cultural group are studied along with the object, one must recognize that individuals create the differences or variations which occur in folk art; thus there are individualistic expressions of, for example, Navajo or Afro-American folk art. Similarly, any art historian would assert that categorization of art as pop or impressionistic only provides part of the story, but that it is a good beginning point. This perspective holds true for the study of folk art as well.

3. Responding to art as functioning beings. Two of the more recurring, prominent functions of folk art are that it holds groups of people together and that it gives individuals identity. An in-depth understanding of these important functions may have implications for helping people who are seeking a sense of place.

Folk festivals which focus on traditional customs and beliefs help to perpetuate this sense of belonging and expand understanding of others. About the 1974 folklife festival in Washington, D.C., Ethel Wright Mohamed, a needleworker, says:

> That drew us close together and made us proud of Mississippi, you know. Those people I was in the festival with just have a special place to me. I think it did a lot for us. We already knew what we were doing, but it made us feel like we were important, that we were a special group. And I'm really proud of that. It impressed me a lot. And I could have stayed forever with all those people, I just love them. (Ferris, 1982, p. 130)

4. Viewing connections and expanding interests relating to other disciplines. Kenneth Ames (1980, p. 320) suggests that the study of folk art can help answer some pressing questions in the field of gerontology, as well as teach us more about non-verbal communication systems and what it means to be human. By studying folk art in the manner proposed in this article, one can also study history and cultures which have been portrayed in the objects produced. One may also begin to better understand other art categories such as fine art or popular art, and how the interchange of ideas occurs. Students may become interested in personal or universal histories by studying folk art. This interest exchange can also occur in the reverse order. One elderly quiltmaker from the Southwest says:

> Well, it wasn't too surprising that folks would get interested in quilts once they got interested in history again. My kids always showed an interest in quilts, if they hadn't before,

once they was interested in family history. (Cooper & Buferd, 1978, p. 18)

5. Studying art which is relevant to students. Art that is made and enjoyed within one's own community is generally art to which community members easily relate. It is art which communicates values--those which an individual holds dear and/or those with which community members are familiar. Art which is more alien to students (often, but certainly not always, fine art), gives them an impression that it is for those other than themselves, since it seems to come from another world. It tends to make students feel unworthy of attaining artistic goals because the goals and ideals seem so alien. Recognition of community arts and their value can enhance the student's feeling of importance by relating to his or her own world view and community structure.

Elliot Eisner (1979, pp. 166-167) suggests that although schools do not exist to provide stimulation and learning benefits to teachers, he believes that teachers should be intellectually satisfied to be educationally effective. The proposed approach should allow for teacher growth as well as student growth, since an objective is to listen to each other attempting to understand the functions of art in each other's lives as well as in the lives of those not present in the classroom setting. If students and teachers do ethnographic-like work as a part of the process of learning, new resources will constantly be part of the curriculum. A teacher who is open and willing to learn from students, and who has set up a learning model where this may be done, is a teacher who encourages growth and stimulation by his/her own example.

By viewing art that functions in everyday life as worthwhile, students can more easily understand how art helps to shape and identify their existence, how it enhances their lives, and how it communicates values to them. This approach provides students with a workable base from which to expand and broaden their understanding. When their own art is acknowledged and appreciated, students should become more open to recognizing and learning about the arts of groups and individuals different from themselves.

6. Encouraging democratic participation in the arts. The proposed approach tends to steer students away from the idea that art is something separate from daily living and that aesthetic experiences occur only in the art museum. Radar and Jessup (1976) support this perspective:

> Art is not a late and luxury development in civilization, unknown when life is rude and primitive and dispensable when the other needs of life become pressing. And with the individual it is not merely a leisure-time interest, but one which goes with him every hour wherever he turns and whatever he does. There is an increasing realization in recent years that the "art for art's sake" theory represents a "minority report." (p. 115)

It is my belief, as well as the belief of many other art educators, that art education should be available to all people. It may also be said that art belongs to all people. By allowing the term "folk" to potentially define anyone regardless of educational background, economic status, or locale, the concept of folk art emerges into the mainstream, allowing us to analyze and appreciate more art forms as potentially having traditional values which are meaningful. Recognizing folk art as viable art may help to encourage more people to participate more fully in the world of visual art, either as creators or as appreciators.

The study of folk art may help to teach us, as well, that artists can also be farmers, loggers, Ukranians, or Old World Russian Believers. Individuals belong to several folk groups at a time and may demonstrate traditions which come from a number of areas. Treasured art is produced by people who center their lives on the mix of many different directions and not simply on "art for art's sake." Art may be seen as an enriching aspect of a person's life without overtaking it, as is often the suggestion in the stereotyped case of fine artists (Ames, 1977, p. 99). This premise does not mean that folk artists do not work hard to perfect their art, only that their art is often seen as a way of expressing values and principles attached to a more primary objective, such as a religion, an occupation, or a particular family remembrance.

This expanded notion of the nature of the arts and how they function in everyday life may help taxpayers begin to see art as a relevant "basic" in school curricula. As Laura Chapman (1982, p. 7) points out from evidence in a Louis Harris Associates Survey, people now see art education as "nice," but not really necessary. Reaching the goals proposed by this article may help to make community members aware that art education is a necessary educational component when appropriately focused.

7. Expanding the notion of creativity. The notion of creativity is often associated with that which is innovative. While the goal of producing objects which are innovative is a most worthy one, it is not necessarily the only way to view creativity. The appreciation of creativity in that which is traditional as well as in that which is innovative should expand the notion of what is important for art teachers to expect and promote in the classroom setting. If we can see that re-creation, remaking those elements of an art object which communicate traditional meanings, has creative aspects, the sole striving for something that is "different" and "new" in art may change. Recreative activities may be personally creative through the newness of each time an object is made or used. Although a church service often repeats the same liturgy every Sunday, few members would think the format uncreative. Few mothers giving birth for the sixth time would think of the act of birth as uncreative because it had been done before either by themselves or by millions of other women. Creativity occurs in the process, and in the individual (artist or appreciator), and this creativity may not necessarily be recognized in the product by an outside group member.

Creativity is not easily measured and may certainly be said to exist in re-creative activities, those expressions which are commemorative and enriching. The notion of creativity is also relative, based on levels of understanding which may change over space and time.

In this context, perhaps a new definition of art is needed, for as Peter Schellin (1973) states:

> If we wish to create a qualitative, environmental education, we can study art to identify society's needs, society's hopes, society's values, society's frustrations, society's grim realities, and its precious fantasies. But we must sacrifice the elitist luxury of defining "art" simply as the products of "artists" who have been trained in the "great aesthetic traditions" or who have innovatively rebelled against them in search of the "new" as an end in itself. (p. 9)

Conclusion

Viewing the folk art process in a folkloric manner enables the teacher to encourage an expanded view of the function of the work of art. From such an approach questions may be asked concerning environmental factors, the folk groups, the individuals, the values, beliefs and attitudes which are communicated, and religious, economic, social, and technological considerations. Style, use, and placement of the object, aesthetic considerations, criticism, and learning mode are also viewed as important, as well as the individual's sense of place, identity, intent, and inspirational factors. How the individual adheres to or tends to break away from the accepted culture is an important consideration to note. Clearly, teaching folk art to students using folkloristic approaches can encourage awareness and understanding of our multi-cultural society.

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Contemporary American Street Murals: Their Defining Qualities and Significance for Art Education

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The movement responsible for contemporary American street murals is generally divided by critics and observers into two competing factions. Extant literature concludes that one pole of the movement produces what are called community-oriented murals and the other, socially non-specific murals (Cockcroft, Weber, & Cockcroft, 1977; Rogovin, Burton, & Highfill, 1973; Sommer, 1975). Both of these murals' forms are predominantly urban. It seems, however, that the literature to date has failed to address a third category of street art--the small town mural. Further, it seems that the inclusion of this third category as a paradigm of mural making demands different criteria for evaluation of the movement as a whole than has generally been accepted.

Development of a bi-polar categorical system is understandable through examination of the history of the street mural movement. The contemporary movement began in the late 1960's, when street murals appeared almost simultaneously in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and other urban areas. Street art emerged, at this time, as a manifestation of social activism by the American counterculture. This counterculture consisted of many united factions including the civil rights movement, anti-war movement, and free speech movement, as well as advocates for sexual and economic equality and ecological preservation. This alliance of minorities felt that their concerns were not adequately or accurately reflected in mainstream media. They set out, therefore, to develop alternative modes of expression. One of these alternatives was street art.

The idea behind street art was to circumvent established institutional structures by taking art directly to people in neighborhoods where they lived and worked. The earliest of these street murals were unsophisticated, collective, and unplanned images such as the People's Park Mural, in Berkeley, California. As with all living things, however, the street art form grew, evolved, and developed into a bona fide and clearly defined art form in its own right. As the street art form grew and spread, it encompassed not only counterculture values and forms, but also those of the social and political mainstream. It is, almost exclusively, these counterculture and mainstream urban murals which are considered in the existing literature, and it is out of this consideration that the polarized definition arises. At one pole are community-oriented murals and at the other are non-specific murals (Cockcroft, Weber, & Cockcroft, 1977).

Community-oriented murals generally consist of specific social statements, often instrumentalist, which "address political concerns" of the local community. Wind of Change (Commonarts: Osha Neuman, O'Brian Thiele, Ray Patlan, Daniel Galvez et al., 1977), a mural painted on an exterior wall of the Cooperative Credit Union, Berkeley, California, is a paradigm of community-oriented murals (see Plate 1). Thematically, the mural consists of a specific statement in which one sees the "people" coming together to overthrow the powers of the corporate business establishment. This is accomplished through an eclectic incorporation of symbols (a common trait in street murals) and powerful formal content rivaling the works of Rivera and Orozco. Community-oriented murals generally evolve from a perceived need within an immediate community to make a statement that would not be well-received through more established media and institutions. In both stylistic and thematic content, these works generally reflect counterculture values and those of ethnic or social minorities. As such, they are normally poorly funded by concerned community members, city improvement grants, or CETA funds.

Plate 1

At the other pole are non-specific murals. The philosophical tenet of the non-specific muralist has somewhat more to do with personal expression than social instrumentalism. A general interest in urban beautification is usually considered as the social motivation or aspect. Generally, the non-specific mural, in the middle and eastern parts of the United States, is stylistically non-objective, geometric minimalism or highly abstracted figurative work. However, the West Coast version of non-specific murals usually takes the form of superrealism; subject matter often includes movie stars, optical illusions, and self-portraits.

The non-specific mural in all parts of the country is often well-funded (five thousand to fifty thousand dollars) and is usually the result of a single artist's design chosen in a locally, regionally, or federally funded competition. Characteristics all non-specific murals have in common are their conceptual and stylistic genesis and their funding, both of which emanate from outside the community in which the mural is eventually located. Almost always, these non-specific murals reflect the aesthetic predisposition of the artistic mainstream. Examples of non-specific murals are thus found almost exclusively in large cosmopolitan areas. Among the predominant muralists working in the non-specific style have been Jason Crum in New York, Larry Connaster in Atlanta, and Kent Twitchell in Los Angeles.

Since the philosophies and forms of both non-specific and community-oriented murals have been discussed elsewhere, it is not the author's intention to further contribute to this discussion. Rather, the author feels that there has been an excessive focus on the community-oriented versus non-specific poles of the movement, with the result that the movement itself, either explicitly or implicity, is defined in the context of these political and aesthetic positions. Because of this definition, the multidimensional nature of the movement is lost. Thus, the intent here is to offer an alternative quality that will allow inclusion of a broader spectrum of murals and processes than is possible within this polarized definition.

At the root of the perceived polarity is a simple problem of demographic misinterpretation. Most existing literature treats contemporary street murals as an almost exclusively urban phenomenon. An extensive search covering fourteen states, from California to New York, and from Minnesota to Georgia, reveals that street murals are not exclusively urban (Anderson, 1983). Indeed, they are not even predominantly urban. Of the almost 200 murals that were located, photographed, and critically analyzed, more than half were in towns with less than 100,000 people. In fact, thirty-one of the murals were found in towns with 5,000 people or less. The assumption that the street mural movement is exclusively urban, reflecting only urban realities, is inadequate to account for the reality of the movement and is a poor criterion upon which to define it.

If, however, both urban and small town murals are considered as part of a larger movement, it is possible to arrive at a better understanding of this phenomenon definition and through that understanding arrive at a more comprehensive definition of the movement. In this context, it seems that polarities established in major urban cultural centers break down in direct relation to the degree of provinciality of lesser cities and small towns that have produced murals. Murals in Portland, Madison, and St. Louis reflect fewer polarities of content and style than murals of New York, Berkeley and the Bay Area of Chicago. This blurring of definitive polarities is even more apparent in smaller towns such as LaGrande, Oregon; Lavonia, Georgia; and Redwood Falls, Minnesota. The substantial body of street murals that exists in America's smaller communities does not fit the criteria of either pole of the urban component. These non-urban murals mix elements of the poles or generate new criteria altogether to substantiate their existence. This mixing of elements and development of new criteria seems directly linked to social conditions from which the more provincial murals arise. Simply put, the intent of small town murals reflecting small town social conditions is not the same as that of the urban murals.

Polarities of thematic content and style that characterize urban murals reflect social polarities that do not exist, at least as institutionalized structures, in smaller population centers. Geometric minimalist murals simply do not exist in small towns because the gallery structure, appreciative audience and other mechanisms of formalism found in major cities do not exist there. Community-oriented murals do exist, but they do not function in the same counterculture capacity as in cities. Once again, it is social conditions that dictate the differences. Small towns generally lack a counterculture population large enough to support the making of alternative murals or their continued existence. Instead, small town murals reflect a much more socially balanced and integrated reality than city murals. The audience for which small town muralists paint is neither a social minority nor the art establishment. The artist does, however, paint for the status quo or majority position. He or she paints for the elk hunter in LaGrande, Oregon, the person with civic pride in Lavonia, Georgia, or the heritage council and tourist trade in Spearfish, South Dakota. A paradigm of the provincial mural may be seen in The Farmer's Mural (1979, design by Sandy Ehler, execution by Bob Bear) in Redwood Falls, Minnesota (see Plate 2).

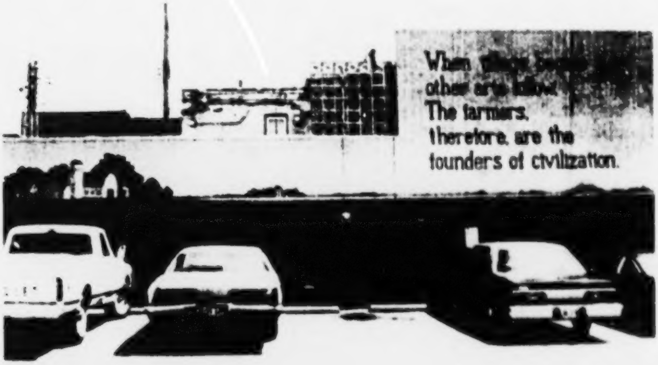

Plate 2

This mural is traditional in all its aspects: style, thematic content, and execution. It depicts a conservative political and social position that is couched in the agrarian work ethic. The message is two-fold: that man shall have dominion over the earth, and that from the toil of the farmer comes the fruition of civilization. The mural is easily understood at the interpretive level because the message is carried in traditional stylistic and aesthetic terms. Thus, at all levels, technical, stylistic, social, political, and even spiritual, The Farmer's Mural relates comfortably to the people who see it, paying homage to the Midwestern farmer's symbiotic relationship with the land.

As represented by The Farmer's Mural, the provincial muralist arises from a given social context and paints for an audience that supports him or her. The difference is that the provincial muralist, more often than not, is an integrated member of the social majority rather than belonging to any distinguishable subculture or social minority. It is at this point that the common trait running through all contemporary street murals becomes clear. Whether community-oriented, non-specific, provincial, counterculture, or abstract, street murals reflect the social, political, and aesthetic positions of the culture or subculture from which they arise.

It is proposed, then, that contemporary street murals, rather than being defined by their political poles, be defined at a more vital and universal core of local specificity. In fact, it seems that the key element in success or failure of an individual street mural is the artist's consciousness of necessity for locally specific style and content. This most integral component of street mural form finds its roots in the nature of the immediate audience. This, along with architectural demands and the artist's propensities and talents, determines the thematic and aesthetic content of a mural. Success of a street mural depends upon its form as an organic growth arising from a perceived need, determined and experienced by the artist in the social context of a community. The natural milieu of the street mural is essentially social and specific in terms of culture or subculture and geographic location. This is what is meant by local specificity.

The greater importance of local specificity as a component in street murals may be better understood through a further investigation of non-specific murals. Community-oriented muralists generally see non-specific muralists as part of the art establishment and representing a politically incorrect position. Rather than being politically incorrect, non-specific murals fail to reach the street mural medium's full potential. The ideal of urban beautification, held by most non-specific muralists, is not one that lacks social intent, as the community-oriented muralists would have one believe. Rather than lacking social intent, non-specific muralists seem to lack an understanding of the necessity for local specification. Non-specific murals do not have a social support base but they do not represent the local population's experiential reality, except possibly coincidentally; non-specific murals are imposed on a local community from the outside. Except in terms of designing a format to fit a specific building, their forms and content normally are in no way specific to the neighborhoods and built environments in which they are found, nor to the people who will see them. Looking at a non-specifc mural, observers can readily see that a mural from Atlanta could just as well be in Cincinnati with no change of meaning (see Plate 3). Non-specific murals can exist anywhere (and that is their strength) but belong nowhere (which is their ultimate deficiency). Unlike specifically local murals, most non-specific murals could even exist as easel paintings.

Plate 3

Finally, a note of perspective on the relationship of local specification, social function of street murals, and larger social context. The first point to be made is that, ironically, it is through local specification that street murals present a broader view of American culture than that presented by the national media representing the mass society. The picture of America presented by its mass communication and technological powers is one of conformity and institutional identity. The suburbs, ranch-style homes, commercial strips, Exxon stations, McDonald's restaurants, and institutional architecture of Tallahassee could be transported to Tacoma and be recognizing as not altering the character of either city. Institutional America is characterized by its sameness. In contrast, every local population and subculture in America has their unique and individual processes, structures, and characteristics. Through focusing on these locally specific qualities, street murals integrally relate to local conditions, and as a group, define pluralistic aspects of American society. This plurality of places and cultures is in direct contrast to the image of America as the great "melting pot," perpetuated by mass society institutions. The contemporary street mural offers the view that American society is in a state more closely resembling suspension. The Chicano-oriented murals of Los Angeles, the ecotopian murals of Oregon, and the walls of black pride in Georgia show the attuned perceiver that the mass culture that dominates America is only one of many cultural viewpoints existing in this country. Indeed, as defined by street murals, localism does exist and may be re-emerging in response to what is seen by some as the excesses of centralized economic and political power. It is a message of American social pluralism that emanates from locally specific murals.

It can be stated, therefore, that the contemporary American street mural movement is socially-defined both in its forms and processes. As stated by art critic and educator Edmund Burke Feldman (1967), socially-defined art: 1) influences the collective behavior of people; 2) is created to be seen or used primarily in public situations; and 3) expresses or describes collective aspects of experience as opposed to individual and personal kinds of experience (p. 48).

The predominant position in the literature about street murals has been that the movement can be defined somewhere between polarities established by community-oriented versus non-specific murals. This defintion is not sufficiently broad to characterize all qualities and conditions of the contemporary street mural movement. Thus, it has been proposed that the essential defining quality and the ultimate guage of a street mural's success lies in local specification. Arising from values, mores, and social and physical conditions of an immediate environment, this locally specific quality paints a picture of America as a pluralistic as well as mass society. In order to understand the pluralistic nature of America through its street murals, however, one must first understand the varying ethics, contents, and aesthetics of the murals themselves. Ultimately, then, the key to understanding the murals and their social role lies in understanding their essential defining quality as local specificity.

If the defining quality of contemporary American street murals is local specificity, therein also lies the most obvious implication for art education. Through locally specific iconographic content, murals paint a picture of America as a multi-cultural society. They help us understand that local values exist within values embraced by the mass culture. It follows that as an institution of the society, education then should incorporate values and structures of the society it serves. This means incorporation of local content as well as centralized authority. What this means for art teachers is that they should incorporate locally specific and locally meaningful art content into their curriculums to balance standardized textbooks, tests, print series, and design, art education, or survey of Western art courses they teach. Embedded within every image, tool and instrument, or course content is a set of values. The values projected by a given textbook, for example, may or may not reflect the social and aesthetic values of a given local ethnic group, or geophysical locale. Thus, locally specific art content is important, if art curricula are to reflect local conditions and if art education is to be credible with a specific local clientele.

Advocacy of locally specific art content may re-initiate the classic debate about whether local control or centralized control of educational institutions is more desirable. Perhaps, at its roots, the debate is more socially-defined than abstractly philosophical. In this context, it is logical to assume that local control would be advocated by those with more local, regional, national, or international influence. It also seems reasonable to assume that, for the most part, those who would advocate local control are those who have not traditionally held power in their larger society, in this case meaning racial, ethnic, social, religious, and political minorities, and also women. Centralized control of educational and other institutions might well be advocated by dominant social, ethnic, and political groups whose positions are reflected by social institutions in power.

There are valid points on both sides of the argument. The dominant institutions that attempt to present the mass culture view are invaluable as the connective thread that holds the society together as one. They give us a standard set of values, beliefs, mores, and points of reference necessary for a collective consciousness and semblence of cultural unity. Yet the varying qualities of locally distinguishable values arising from distinct subcultures in American society are also extremely valuable in determining individual as well as collective identity.

Art is a manifestation, translation, and record of experience. As such, it ideally transmits the values of its maker. The crucial question to be answered by art teachers is--what are the origins of students' values? If concepts, forms, and processes are dictated exclusively from outside the students' immediate experience, the resulting art work will not reflect the students' needs, mores, concepts, or values. A color project for a book, for example, tells us nothing about the life of the student who executed that project. It tells us instead about the student's technical proficiency and values of the author, publisher, and teacher who utilize the concept. In this case, the concept of art as the transmission of the artist's experience becomes invalid. This is not to say that color projects from books should be discontinued, because techniques must be learned. Students must become aware of the values of the larger society around them. Students must be allowed, however, to contribute to the artworks he or she makes. The lifeblood of visual arts is values. To pump this lifeblood, student artworks must carry the spark of individuality which reflects the student's life and experience. This requires an allowance for individual experience arising from learned values to enter into the art curriculum. Once again, that brings the discussion around to the great importance of local specificity.

As reflected by contemporary American street murals, local specificity is a decisive factor in the vitality and ultimate success of a mural. It is not a big step to look at the educational stucture in the same socially-defined manner and see that local specificity can also be a key ingredient in the vitality of the art curriculum. It seems imperative that the art teacher be sensitive to local needs, mores, and values arising from local experience in designing art curricula. Maintaining a balance between centralized instruments, forms, and processes that hold a society together, and locally specific instruments, forms, and processes that define an individual's sense of identity and self-worth is crucial. It is, after all, the collective set of individual aesthetic statements that ultimately defines the values of a culture. The power of local iconography of a good street mural is transferable to not only murals made in schools but to all forms of artwork. The art teacher who is senstive to this aspect of local specificity and consciously attempts to incorporate locally specific art content into the curriculum is contributing not only to the continuation of a program but also to the rich diversity of American art--a diversity which reflects American life.

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Rites of Passage in Multi-cultural Art Education

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> *"...The artist gives form to the nature and values of his time, which in their turn form him."* (Jung, 1973, p. 286)

> *"Human societies, anthropologists maintain, despite their many forms and diverse customs, are all alike in being expressions of mankind's common human nature. Anthropology, of course, aims to clarify just what that nature is."* (Goodenough, 1970, p.1)

Certainly, much of great art has sought to clarify the same. However, the artist, unlike the anthropologist, attempts to do this through the self, while traditionally, the latter's intent is to see human phenomena through the "other." Concepts which apply universally to all cultures remain a matter of debate and a focus for argument. Many concepts, easily recognized within one's own culture, are less easily recognized in other cultural contexts. Their identification is compounded when they relate to art or address artistic motivation, intent or outcome. One major part of cross-cultural studies is that light is shed upon our culture from others. We are too close to see it within ourselves.

The concept of rite of passage is the single universal concept accepted and explored in this discussion. While it may be emphasized to a greater or lesser degree in the thought of different anthropologists, it is personally conceived of as the broadest, yet most basic concept which might be called universal. In this personal conceptualization, rite of passage provides a link between the approach of the artist and that of the cultural anthropologist. As such, it may not only serve to enable our research, but to enrich our own understanding of art as part of the process of formal education.

In Goodenough's words, concepts which are universal are "givens" and "provide foci around which and within which the patterns of every culture crystallizes" (1970, p. 2). As such, these patterns are shared by all humankind. Goodenough's conceptualization of "multiculturalism as the normal human experience" (1975) is borrowed and expanded by Gibson (1975, p. 27). Neither Goodenough nor Gibson equates culture with ethnicity; culture can be a multitude of things; examples could be religion, recreation, and organizations. In this context, out-of-school experiences are also part of the educational process. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to understand the implications of their views through an example of a cultural encounter which might occur in an art classroom. In such a context, their positions would not advocate imitation or replication of art objects from another culture but rather an understanding of commonalities shared by both cultures. Such commonalities arise from underlying forces which identify and animate our lives. Aspects of kinship patterns (family, parenthood, marriage) are familiar to most persons as commonalities of this type. These are easily understood and broadly applied patterns which pertain to human relationships.

Both the cultural anthropologist and the multi-cultural educator are engaged in describing and comparing meaningful distinctions in human cultures based on human relationships. These distinctions and relationships are constructed and pertain respectively to social rights and duties (Goodenough, 1970). Because all human societies must deal with social rights and duties and their ramifications, these may be considered as formal universal elements of culture. Material culture is manifest by building upon these elements. What then, is culture?

Goodenough provides a working definition: Culture is "a set of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting" (1970, p. 99) derived from the expectations one has for others with whom one interacts in frequent and recurring situations. Further, "these standards constitute the culture that one attributes to one's fellows" (p. 99). Multi-cultural education in Gibson's terms is "the process whereby a person develops competencies in multiple systems of standards" (1975, p. 27). This is not to imply a fixed set of standards, but rather a dynamic process, as the individuals who make up the standards are always undergoing birth and death and represent individual variance in mode.

To be part of the culture implies intentionality toward competent behavior in that culture. Acceptable and appropriate behaviorial manifestations of the standards are authoritatively sanctioned by certain members of the cultural group. In most cases, the cultural group, by the nature of its plurality, implies a sense of community. In our own case, as art educators, we are part of a community in which individuals learn art as a major form of enculturation. This conceptualization poses a number of questions, and it remains to be substantiated whether or not we are truly confronting conditions of community in our mainstream society and particularly whether art, as we know it, is capable of creating a sense of community where none exists (Goodenough, 1963). But a more basic issue is the opportunity given by anthropology for application and internalization in a fundamental and productive way for art education. Such internalization, at a personal level, enriches our own understanding of what we do as teachers of art. Accepting the existence of universal attributes of culture as shared by all humankind implies a corresponding existence of markers or forms which serve to delineate the human experience.

Rite of Passage

These cultural forms have been termed "rites of transition" or "rite of passage." "Rite of passage" or "crisis rite" was introduced as a concept by Arnold van Gennep in the early 20th century as a term for

> Custom-embroidered changes vital in an individual's life -- birth, death, puberty, and marriage. Assuredly, these have

> been especially dramatic rites. That is, each society smoothed or cushioned its most important alterations in values, obligations, roles, age status, and relationships. It did so by supplying outlets in time-honored ceremony, formal togetherness, art forms, and charted utterances. (Jacobs, 1964, p. 150)

It is important to note that these forms "expressed and revealed especially intense points of feeling across the time continuum of life" (Jacobs, 1964, p. 151). Cross-culturally, this is not to suggest an over-importance of the superficial aspects of the rite itself. Rather, understanding rite of passage may enhance our own understanding of the maturation process, roles, and values by helping to reveal what constitutes passage as reflected in an individual's behavior within a given society, most importantly, our own.

"The significance of initiation and puberty rites with their elaborate and impressive ceremonial can hardly be overestimated in the religious life and social organization of primitive peoples" (Ruk, 1946, p. 91). These rites "not only mark an epoch of life...they confer upon him all the rights and impose the obligations which are valid for the adult members..." (p. 91). Almost universally within these rites of passage are included the drama of death and rebirth. Arnold van Gennep (1960) specified the three major stages within rites of passage which create its pattern. These are separation, threshold (limen) and incorporation. Each of these occurs in varying scale and time and may be encapsulated within a given ritual sequence or event. Metaphorically, paralleled in these rites is the rise of the state and its continuity, morality, and ethics. Often, this is a renewal of cosmological events that may include the supernatural giving to man of ceremony, ritual and certain culturally indispensable technologies which serve as foundations of a given culture for its perpetuation.

> Rites of passage, the recurring social mechanism that a society provides for the orderly transitions in its social relationships and that serve its revitalization, comprise a series of events that include rituals and ceremonies. (Leemon, 1972, p. 1)

Whatever the specific details, the function of rites of passage and of specific rites within the ritual scheme remain the same. The consequence is the revitalization of society by facilitating transitions in social relations in ritualized settings where the values and relationships of the society are expressed and reaffirmed (Leemon, 1972, p. 5).

Rite of passage can become a metaphor for art itself. Conceptualized, rite of passage is art. We constantly relive and repeat a similar sequential process in every forming process known in art. We enlarge upon our own knowledge, and as the magnitude increases, we cannot help but incorporate ourselves as a new cultural being and culture expands or is changed by this phenomenon. Through every awakening growth and change we are separated from a previous stage or form, engaged on a new threshold, and ultimately revitalized as a species and as individuals. Art at its best never ceases to accomplish this. The account of the blind man and the elephant continues to have meaning, as we cannot help but repeat it. With our own limited perception, we are always striving to gain a greater grasp of the whole and our personal relation to it; this is exactly what children do in what we have named the developmental process. Whether culturally sanctioned or individually invented, art never ceases to involve ritual and transition as we separate ourselves from "otherness" and yet identify with the "other" what is ultimately a part of ourselves. Art is manifest through the reality of these rites, although the ritual aspect may be either intuitive (as in the case of children) or understood (as in some adults). Art does the "work" through the images of the human nature inherent in these passages.

Myth, tradition, and metaphor are always seeking this link with the "other" through endless separations, thresholds, and incorporations --for these rites, in effect, reenact on the individual level a universal process. In our own age, filled with visual richness, space travel has become a new metaphor to enact and empower us on our way. As metaphor, it too parallels rite of passage and ends in reincorporation. Through the mass media, it is shared with everyone. Throughout the human mode of existence, the internal structures and processes mingle with the "content" of what it is to be human.

Culture and Content

In this interpretive sense, Grigsby's (1977) concern that the greatest fault of education is the omission of ethnic material assumes a renewed importance. Certainly, one of the reasons for that omission can, in part, be traced to the Western historical tradition, and more specifically its concerns with form and content, and its emphasis on formalism as an aesthetic theory. McEvilley's (1984) conceptualization of such pairs as dependent terms "which have meaning in relation to one another and as different from one another" (1984, p. 61) may clarify our understanding in the context of this discussion. While no aesthetic theory or theory of preference is adequate in accounting for all art forms--past and present--or all art experience, formalism is, in reality, certainly one of the least adequate, and the corresponding implication of formalism which results in its emphasis on optical properties, is a matter of concern. McEvilley's conceptualization is that "all art is culture laden content" (1984, p. 62) and that we may examine the structure or form of this "series of events" by describing what traditionally happens in separation, threshold, and incorporation. Separation is first marked by a change in one's habitual interaction rate followed by a reducation or cessation of interaction with one's group. Threshold is the conditioning for interaction (limen) with a new group through ordeals or specialized ritual social structures. Incorporation, or the resumption of interaction with the new group, is marked by a difference in rate of interaction.

Periods of such transformation are distinctly marked by an intensification, often dramatically expressed. The movement from one stage to another includes a territorial passage, literally and figuratively. Two particular studies, within our own mainstream culture, have followed this ritual process through these stages in a fraternity (Leemon, 1972) and a sorority (Schwartz and Merten, 1974, Chap. 8). It is the task of members of this group into which the novice will be incorporated to channel and sponsor this stressful transition of the individual under society's control. This is often threatening and disturbing to the society. "The neophytes are liminal persons and are not, therefore, subject to usual societal constraints" (Leemon, 1972, p. 9). However, when the transition is successfully attained the society is recreated and revitalized. There are many detailed accounts of this process throughout anthropological field studies. As educators, aspects of this process are not unfamiliar to us. In an interpretive or metaphorical sense these aspects may be even more familiar, particularly when the function of rite of passage is considered: "Ultimate criticism of an art work...would virtually contain the cultural universe in miniature," (1984, p. 262-263) and lead one to consider the omission of concerns of content and intentionality from formalist theory. Despite the great diversity of cultural heritage and artistic legacy, all art is cultural and ethnic and exists for the most part as material culture. As such, visual art records experience, communicates information, displays wealth and power, renews life, and produces cultural continuity. In McEvilley's terms:

> The experiencing of a work of art, then, is not merely a matter of aesthetic taste; it is also a matter of reacting to a proposition about the nature of reality that is implicitly or explicitly shadowed forth in the work. (1982, p. 258)

Perhaps this is why art that people don't like makes them so angry. Reality as conveyed through art and the insuing interpretation is often compounded in circumstances of cultural diversity. Within culture, through the use of expressive symbols, moral and aesthetic meanings are combined, blended, and shared. The history of world art is filled with these rich metaphors and is fertile terrain for the continuing development of them. For "man, with his symbol-making propensity, unconsciously transforms objects or forms into symbols...and expresses them both in his religion and his visual art." (Jung, 1973, p. 257)

While these concepts are important in their implications for all disciplines, the opportunity to manifest them in art is ideal. Kraemer in World Cultures and Religions (1960) remarked that

> art, being in our present epoch of religious and political diversity and atrophy, the most universal, easily understandable language between men of culture all over the world, and so being practically the substitute religion of today, is a great winner of souls. (p. 159)

Understanding our shared commonality with all human beings is taking many different forms, but with underlying similar patterns. All sociocultural systems have exhibited such formalities. This has impacted upon our educational system, especially at the junior and senior high school levels and is a major concern of multi-cultural education. We see this impact most clearly in sports and athletics; it is not merely coincidental that intramurals and junior varsity are equated with the same general latitude of time at which most cultures formalize a threshold process. Chronologically, this is adolescence to adulthood; as institutionalized it often becomes chronological age. This is not necessarily the case in other cultures or ethnic groups. Among the Omaha, the ability for a child to know sorrow, rather than chronological age marks this threshold.

Our own Western concept of adolescence is culturally relative and unusual in its prolonged extension and ambiguous delay of adulthood (Fry, 1980). This was clarified for me when a graduate student of mine, who had grown up in India during the 1950's returned to the United States and was completely amazed by the status of the automobile assigned as an indicator of individual status, choice of dating partners, and mobility. Although the external forms of the car have changed greatly since that time, its role and function is quite similar today among adolescents. It is not unusual that external forms change more quickly than functions; but certainly, the example of the automobile is most markedly felt among American adolescents.

All objects must be seen as ways of manifesting reality and there are many ways to gain access to reality. Art is ideal because it contains innumerable combinations of form and content. But most culture is transmitted unconsciously throughout the world. And as Kimball states in the introduction to Rites of Passage (van Gennep, 1960), "There is no evidence that a secularized urban world has lessened the need for ritualized expression of an individual's transition from one status to another." Again, seeking an example from the formal educational process, sports and athletics have long been able to most effectively incorporate cultural symbols into our lives. These may be unconsciously or consciously invented, but they are well-integrated, expressive symbols of our lives and culture. It remains for art education to seriously tap available potential resources. "Perhaps a stone can be without meaning, but it is very doubtful that any cultural object, being a product of human consciousness with its intricate weavings, can exist except in a web of intentions and meanings" (McEvilley, 1982, p. 260). In our own technologically advanced culture, there are great opportunities for education to respond to representative forms of our material culture, not to mention our natural environment. The car, clothing, radios, tape recorders, television, and all manner of visual paraphernalia are art forms in the broad sense and elaborate and magnify our present adolescent cultural phenomena. If technology is indeed neutral, which remains to be determined, objects of material culture have the power to impact positively or negatively.

Certainly these objects which are so much a part of our own material culture impact on self-identity, and the structuring of personality and character through the individual's direct and indirect experience of them. Over and above this range of forms, this technology, and the strategies of education, internalization of universal cultural patterns does occur intensely during the period of prolonged and ambiguous adolescence, from junior high school through undergraduate training. Socialization, role commitment, and the desirability of inevitable adulthood are all effected through these experiences. The individual art experience is certainly colored by expectations, anticipations, and knowledge dependent upon the culture and its boundaries as well as by personal training education, and the senses.

Whether or not we can consciously link these non-physical cultural ideas, such as rites of passage and their physical forms produced by the individual within a culture remains to be seen. But conceptualization of formal education in art in this way suggests a way in which it is possible to better understand the cultural domain of education. The same kinds of questions faced by multi-cultural educators in art are pursued globally with great energy in the fields of anthropology, anthropological education, art history and art criticism. Certainly, a great deal of the work being accomplished in these areas has a direct bearing in the future of multi-cultural education and can serve to enable our own research efforts. This possibility is, however dependent upon our own internalization of descriptive concepts with which cultural anthropology has provided us. Such concepts and their terms are fundamental to understanding not only our own culture but other cultures.

Toward Cultural Inquiry

Providing ways of describing and comparing specific cultures, technologies, and their products brings to the surface an initial level of awareness about the ways in which we see things from within or outside of a culture. Traditionally, language theory has served as a basis for cultural description and comparison of all socially meaningful behavior through the study of phonetics and phonemics. The terms *etics* and *emics* are derived from these words (Pike, 1967). Conceptually, these terms are considered by Goodenough (1970) as indispensable for cultural description and comparison. Emic concerns the description of a culture on and within its own terms. Such description must occur before valid etic systems of comparison can be developed; etic concerns description from outside the culture. Therefore, learning how to be competent in a culture implies more than just knowing about the culture. Such learning is most effective when emic knowledge can contribute to etic comparison. Assuredly, this affects cultural aesthetic criteria and standards. For example, one must understand and be able to describe coolness emically to validly compare it etically.

Functional role classifications enter into etic comparisons. Aesthetic concerns enter into these classifications through basic relationships among people. These concerns operate at an enhanced level when we see the "value" of material culture as property. Functional role classifications "have provided one set of presumed universals or common denominators of culture, taking for granted that all people everywhere have similar problems and concerns arising from their common humanity" (Goodenough, 1970, p. 120). The etic view examines the way in which cultures exhibit similarities and differences in the form and content of their aesthetics. Only very recently have etic comparisons begun to be satisfactorily explored; however, anthropological research in technography (the way in which the technical process determines the form) has developed some of the most thorough emic descriptions available. This seems quite logical as there exists greater degrees of access to tangible technologies by the very nature in which they perform functions and create forms. Often, these technologies culminate in products or objects. These objects may be identified with what we etically refer to as "art." Within many cultures, there may be no word or term assigned to these objects which designates or segregates these objects, technologies or their creators as does our own culture. As a science, much etic study is, as yet, unrefined in its accuracy with regard to formal similarities and differences. However the art it confronts can provide rich and productive sources for cultural inquiry on the part of the artist and art educator, for etic concepts can serve to describe the elementary emic units of any culture. It is from this that Goodenough (1970) infers "the universal attributes of men as creators and users of culture. Such universals help delineate the nature of the human species as such." (p. 130)

Systematic typologies do exist in the field of cultural anthropology, although such typologies are less advanced in art education. Perhaps an awareness of the efforts of cultural anthropology can address complexities of which Eisner (1972) speaks:

> In the cultural realm the problem of providing a model is more difficult and complex. It is difficult because the resources for cultural inquiry into art are not readily available, and complex because the model of the cultural inquirer is not as well defined as that of the painter or critic. Yet students can have an image of what an individual does with art when they see and hear teachers relate the character of a particular work to its place in culture. (p. 183)

Such concerns become less complex, and correspondingly more fundamental when Eisner's implications are stated: The individual teacher can remain the most valuable role model in the cultural dimension. Yet the concept of "role model" is somewhat misleading in that it does not necessarily imply the ongoing process initiated and continued by an active learner in the cultural dimension. Internalization of concepts from cultural anthropology can operate in a productive manner by helping to develop and refine the notion of the art educator as cultural inquirer. The inevitable result of such development and refinement is an enriched understanding of possible contributions of art to the process of formal education.

For as Eisner (1972) and Kimball (1974), speaking from the respective viewpoints of education and anthropology, discuss, one of the most fundamental questions is simply: To what end is all of this formal education in elementary and secondary schools preparatory? One major end viewed as important by many persons seems derived from our own cultural emphasis on economic concerns. Certainly, from the point of view of most parents, this is an understandable and valid end. However, it merely reflects values and current acceptable patterns within our own society (Eisner, 1976). Further, like the emphasis on formal and optical properties within a work of art, it is not a holistic view of the range and capability of the educational experience. Rather, it limits the process of human development through an inordinate focus on a single component of what might be considered potential contribution of formal education. Certainly, both cross-cultural and multi-cultural inquiry clarify this in a number of ways.

The Dogon of West Africa are, for example, some of the world's richest people in the sense of the art forms produced within their culture. Yet it is unlikely that many persons within our own culture would choose to trade places with these persons from an economic standpoint, since the Dogon are some of the world's poorest people economically. In a similar sense, we can gain much from an understanding of the ways in which the arts of the aboriginal peoples of Oceania are currently undergoing change through Western acculturation. Such a process of acculturation is not unlike that which occurred in our own country over a century ago, and as we continue to gain understanding from the heritage of our own native peoples, it becomes possible to reconceptualize formal education in a more holistic sense.

Through the role of dramatization of events and forms, a further educational end is the production of better citizens who reflect the entire cultural heritage, not simply the economic aspect of mainstream culture. Advocation of a bipolarized position is neither realistic nor popular. Rather an integrated view balancing these ends is not only a logical, but a vital necessity. In this view, education is seen as a cultural process and may be described as

> The general human process of socialization whereby young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the external environment within which exists the total community of human beings of which they are a part. (Thomas and Wahrhaftig, 1971, p. 230)

When cultural inquiry is conceived of as an ongoing process, it is not unrealistic to expect that we can tap these universal givens by addressing not only *what* art does but *why*. Rite of passage is one way of conceptualizing this, and it in turn better allows us to understand the holistic nature of the art experience. This experience certainly involves "socialization," the transmission of culture, and the development of cultural and[1] self-identity. Within particular conceptual and thematic approaches[2], well-designed strategies can employ multi-dimensional concepts and themes which provide implementation. This seems important because the issues which this discussion raises for encounter have been central to both life and art on a global scale, through individual self-expression, cultural expression, and religious and secular contexts and functions. Conceived of in this way, art is validation of the human experience. Art education, therefore, owes no less to the individual nor should we expect less of art education.

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Meditations on Witnessing a Name-Giving Ceremony by the Oglala Sioux

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> *Indeed, Reason, material Progress, the scientific world view have revealed themselves in numerous respects as simply a higher superstition, based on dubious but well concealed assumptions about man and nature.*
>
> *The truth of the matter is: no society, not even our severely secularized technocracy can ever dispense with mystery and magical ritual. These are the very bonds of social life, the inarticulate assumptions and motivations that weave together the collective fabric of society and which require periodic collective affirmation.*[1]
>
> --*Theodore Roszak*

In the spring of 1972 I received a long distance call from a former graduate student who is an Oglala Sioux inviting me to attend a name-giving ceremony for his son. While it came as a surprise, it taught me the wisdom of patience since it had been my hope for several years, based upon his earlier promise, that he would someday invite me to an in-depth exposure to his culture and his way of life. Now the invitation had come--at a time when my mind was immersed in post doctoral study of another unfamiliar culture, non-Western, yet Indian, on the other side of the world. Thus, the fertile ground for sensing comparisons between two widely separated world-views was present, due to my involvement in cross-cultural experiences since this young man left my tutelage, and his invitational call to me, a kind of honor in return. What is needed is an overview that possesses the discursive perspective as well as the visionary imagination of both cultures involved in the comparison. Perhaps, unknowingly, by weaving back and forth between my own reflections and memories and the testimonial letters of my former Sioux student and friend, I have set out to show how two different cultural perspectives met, contrasted and compared, and moved toward mutual understanding and respect.

Much had happened to him since our last contact at the university. From a position in a white teacher training college, along with a reputation as an Indian artist,[2] he had made a conscious life-decision to return to his home reservation at Pine Ridge, dedicating himself to teaching Oglala Sioux youth to appreciate their rich heritage of Lakota ways, which during the recent past, were rapidly being lost.

In a seminar paper prior to leaving the university, he was to write of his plans for assisting his people:

> A part of my future work now is gathering a body of authentic...literature about the Sioux of South Dakota. From this an anthology of short stories, songs, poems, prayers and oratories about and by Sioux Indians will be written...with questions at the end of each entry: suggested activities in art, dance, music, writing and possible related learning activities (field trips, films, tapes) as a foundation for a "humanities" course in Indian schools in an attempt to reinforce, clarify and bring to a conscious level those aspects of the child's heritage. To date these teachings are neglected, as they have been historically, in an attempt by the Indian to become part of the "American mainstream." In so doing, a mass mental health problem of identification plagues Sioux children and ultimetely leads to anomic and unproductive adults.

And in a letter written to me sometime after his leaving graduate study, he speaks of the ways he is reformulating his viewpoint toward his native origins:

> I have begun congealing and defining my position concerning assimilation, "mainstream," technology and environment. At the risk of sounding naive to those who have a narrow view of what is good for Indians, I am trying to articulate the idea of the Indian accommodating to the society at large in a productive, healthy manner while not necessarily physically becoming a part of the mainstream. My position centers on the fact that we are in possession of and already oriented to a lifestyle and world view (with some modifications needed in the near future) that humanists are predicting is necessary and are pleading for by 1984.

Again, in a third letter after his return to the reservation, he pays tribute to the influence of our two seminars upon his life, which stands as a supportive testimonial to the efficacy of cross-cultural approaches for others who may wish to use them:

> ...I wish everyone could have the benefit of a dual-culture life experience. It is so sad to see people limited by their own cultural blinders. It is such a rich life to be able to choose the contents for one's own ideal self-image from experiences in two life-styles and two very different world-views by examining, evaluating and incorporating, rather than just becoming without ever questioning.
>
> I must mention that it has been through my studies with you at the University that my life has been literally revolutionized in terms of my relations to education, my people, your people, our people and our world. I never believed higher education could be as far reaching as experiences in your classes have been to the unfolding of my future. There are many intangible unidentifiable essences impressed, positively, into my personality as a man, artist and teacher that to this very day are a source of strength and confidence in whatever I do. These have come from your

classes. You would be surprised to know how many silent, imaginary dialogues I have carried on with you.

He then relates that he has taken a position with the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs in a school for some 200 students arriving daily by bus, in a new building with a view of pine-speckled hills, a creek, and beautiful skies. There he is a half-time teacher, and half-time on research to institute an integrated humanities program in grades 1 through 8 combining English language, traditional and modified Sioux visual arts, Sioux music and Sioux literature. Built into the course, he states, is "an element of comparison and contrast between Anglo-American and Indian values." He also is to use and develop films, film strips, single concept loops, tapes, videotapes, records and other materials as part of his research, including the development of a basic text.

Now he had entered upon a spiritual path, apprenticing himself to an indigenous holy man to undergo first-hand instruction and discipline in the traditional sacred rites of his people[3] --purification, study, fasting, prayer and crying for a vision to discover renewed signficance for his life and the destiny of his race. As one chosen by him for having contributed in some small way to his education, along with other friends and teachers, I was being asked, along with my wife, as an honored participant in this drama, the enactment of a ceremony not witnessed by his people for a period of sixty years. With my friend at its center, it was also to include a "give-away" of his possessions, an array of many lovely hand-crafted gifts.

Our association began in my graduate seminars for two consecutive summers several years before which were devoted to the arts of cultures or subcultures other than the dominant culture of the West. As teacher, my intention was to discover whether these alternative lifeways had values to teach contemporary man, so enmeshed in life-threatening crises and dilemmas. From a background of readings and dialogue on contemporary Western man's spiritual condition, each student presented aspects of a chosen culture depicted as more "primitive"; more tribal or communal, more local and parochial than cosmopolitan; more homogeneous than heterogeneous; and less technologically sophisticated than the western European industralized civilization of which we all were a part. Such a focus came at a time when few public schools offered courses in art history or appreciation with content beyond that of our Western heritage. It was also a time when America and other modern nations were witnessing a massive turning of youth and scholars toward the ancient cultures of the East in a search for alternative lifestyles or teachings offering hope for the war-torn, mechanistic, alienated condition of the West. As one just returned from India, still suffering cultural shock in a depressed America, which had assassinated two of its finest leaders, an America involved in a divisive Southeast Asian war, I felt it imperative for students to become more literate in the arts, the values and the folkways of older world cultures at a time of our own cultural stress. Such study was designed to furnish their minds with alternative ethical, intellectual and aesthetic views, perhaps more self-preservative and life-enhancing during a period of anxiety and disenchantment with a blindly accelerating technology with the capacity to destroy mankind with unprecedented impersonal power. I also hoped that preparation of teachers who were more literate and cross-culturally enlightened would benefit future students, offering them insights which might retard or prevent future confrontations which are so potentially destructive and self-annihilating.

The approach to the seminar was based on five tentative assumptions: 1) it may prove less difficult to grasp conceptual and qualitative dimensions of another culture, due to distance and non-involvement, than one's own; 2) exposure to unfamiliar art, ritual and lifeways of other cultures offers vicarious appreciation of experiences the student may never contact firsthand; 3) basic conceptions of man, nature and universe in art and rituals of less complex cultures, removed from our own in space and time, allow for clearer formulation, reflection and comparisons with the acculturated, dominant conceptions inherited from one's own; 4) the arts, ritual and lifeways of more ancient, or Eastern cultures may speak to students from minority subcultures in ways vital to communal harmony and survival of all who belong to a predominantly white, Western-European tradition; and 5) formal, technical and expressive elements of less familiar or more primitive art forms may afford simpler models for critical analysis applicable to more contemporary or familiar art forms later on.

Thus it was in a context of communal, cross-cultural sharing that my Sioux friend introduced us to the arts and lifeways of his native American culture. In so doing, he was to contrast long-held tribal values with those of the dominant culture which had subdued his ancestors, reducing them in numbers and taking up their vast lands. As he said, his people were submerged socially, psychologically and economically, leaving them "without a center," with "the circle broken" and mere shadows of their former selves. Reduced to ignominy and poverty, they called for re-examination of their traditions to rediscover their identity, their dignity, and proclaim their contributions to the races of men. It was in these seminars we were introduced to the dreams of Black Elk--known to his grandfather--and one of the few remaining Oglala holy men who spoke of a vision of unity and resurrection for his people, a dream not to be realized in his lifetime, but one which may be realized before this century has met its demise, depending upon the young Sioux now being educated and instilled with courage to refashion cherished values, and proclaim their world-view's contributions to human welfare for us all. It was from his oral recitations of Black Elk's narrative that we were subjected to the contrast between the Sioux's reverence for and worship of his grandmother-mother earth, prior to the white man's coming, with that same land after the invader's passing, his pollution and predation, his irreverent or aggresive usage of the land to suit his purpose and profit, by and large. We were deeply moved by the aging holy man's cry of sadness at the disappearance of the unpolluted freshet springs; the soft, green mossy banks; the darting fish; the shimmering willows and flambuoyant wildlife near the river bank. But not until we were invited to "live in" with the Sioux--not until we had actually seen and walked the barren reservation lands, or stood by cemeteries testifying to relentless force which drove the Indian back and back into the harsh, infertile plains and arid hills--not until then did the deeper meaning of the American Indian experience begin to dawn on us. Only after conversing quietly with these dignified Sioux and seeing the conditions of poverty in which so many live, did the tragic nature of what had happened become clear to us. And upon learning of other young Sioux who have chosen to rediscover and assert the values of their heritage in the face of mainstream opposition, a sense of wonder and respect for these people welled up in us. It gradually became clear that this younger generation of Indian men and women have the opportunity--at times with the dominant culture's enlightened assistance--to fashion their destiny and build a bridge of communication to the white man's culture which has held dominion over their world.

In preparation for our visit we began reading several works by well-known Sioux, or authors who had known and lived with them firsthand. In this way, we began to feed our virgin interest in this dignified people, with some of the most humane and noble aspirations and conceptions of man's harmonic place in the universal scheme--a view comparing favorably with some of the most respected religious traditions, East or West. It was, however, only after participating in the actual ceremonies on the Oglala Sioux's home ground that the beauty and simplicity of these ritual practices took on added significance when viewed against a background of cross-cultural and interpersonal encounter, giving what little we know of this primal culture, native to this land, richness and depth. Upon our return from the Sioux homeland, the paucity of our previous knowledge of these people became startingly clear. However, we now had enchanting memoirs of our visit which allowed for reflective re-examination to discover what was accurate about our previous conceptions, and what had been biased, inadequate, and wrong. This process began when boyhood memories arose from the dim past where they had remained dormant or forgotten, demanding examination. Some were simple things such as collecting and trading Indian cards which came with a penny square of bubble gum. One side pictured a famous Indian chief with a short biographical narrative on the reverse. Although long ago, it is clear that this hobby did teach the names, costumes and locations of different tribes, along with stories of Indian battles with the white man. Another memory is of listening weekday evenings to a radio program called Adventures of Chief Wolf Paw put on by Wrigley's gum. Whether he existed I do not know, but I do recall the soft, velvet-like cover on the booklet I received by mail depicting many Indian objects to be redeemed, and how avariciously the gum wrappers were sought or traded one summer in hopes of trading for a genuine Indian drum. Imagine my disappointment when the program went off the air that fall, leaving me with 375 useless pieces of wampum and a jaundiced view of the broken promises of the adult world. Yet the memory of a few objects I did redeem remain fresh and clear--a copper wolf paw pin, a genuine arrowhead, the Lone Wolf's Manual of Indian sign language with which I spent delicious hours. A sixth grade image of model canoes and teepees made from birch bark is also clear, along with sand table miniature villages made in school. One large sepia print of the first pilgrims and the Indians celebrating the first Thanksgiving comes to mind. I even duped a few fourth grade friends to pay a nickel to see me dressed in Indian headress and mocassins, alias my "Indian cousin," and being ridiculed at the time. The most vivid artistic memories of Indians are of a series of pencil enlargements on manilla paper drawn from small prints of Cyrus Dallin's famous bronze equestrians, including the Appeal to the Great Spirit, done in fourth grade. I even recall making lead pencil rubbings of Indian head and buffalo nickels, as well as Indian head pennies from my coin collection as a youth, and noting the same Indian head was the logo for the local Shawmut Bank, if memory fails me not. Finally, there are misty memories of brightly colored Indian calendars, along with pulpwood ink drawings, and Howard Pyle's dramatic illustrations of Indians--looking bronze, athletic, proud, manly and sometimes fierce--for such novels of Indian life as Last of the Mohicans and Deerslayer by James Fennimore Cooper are recalled.

Born and raised in a part of the country devoid of Indian children, my first contact with American Indian dance occured while in boy scouts, age twelve or thirteen. Our scout leader arranged to have a local eagle scout with two younger boys appear at a troop meeting dressed in full Indian regalia. The frightening noise of their shouting and stomping as they leaped unexpectedly from the stage sent chills up my spine. It was a startling experience with vital rhythm and power including the beating of the drums. Little did I realize that decades later I would stand on a Sioux reservation behind a group of Sioux men, my entire physical sensorium pulsating, vibrating, trembling to the sound and rhythmic pulsations of their beating upon huge drums as the rest of the men and women rotated in opposite directions in a circumnabulating dance. There is also a vague but distinctly pleasant series of memories of an Indian mailman named "Bill" who brought our local mail daily to our door, and who befriended me, and who I respected mightily for his clear-eyed countenance, his athletic prowess, since he habitually swam several miles each evening in a local pond, after walking many miles each day.

My last memory of persons or things Indian in youth is perhaps the most impressive, my adolescent admiration for a tall and statesmanlike scholar and theologian, who on occasion, came from the city university to preach a sermon in our small Methodist church. A full-blooded Indian (we were always told), his English name was Warmingham, his Indian name, Kadoya. To the eyes of my youth, he was one of the most eloquent, dignified and statuesque human beings I had ever met. He had a gift of poetic speech, weaving the tale of Adam and Eve, for example, into a spell-binding metaphor of primeval love and disobedience that made my heartstrings sing, especially when recited in a deep, melodious baritone voice. My most precious memory of this giant of a human being goes back to an invitation to visit him in his sumptuously comfortable home, with a scholar's study which was lined from floor to ceiling on all four walls with impressive, multi-colored, encycloepedic looking works. And to punctuate my visit, he took down and handed me a small book of his original poems, taking time to sign his name, "Kadoya" on the frontispiece, a volume still in my library. Let these terse remembrances and inter-connections cease for now. I shall return to the ceremonial and to some of the thinking which led our Sioux friend to such an experience in the midst of his people.

While living as a teacher with Sioux children on the reservation in his home town, he wrote rather poetically of his return to the land of his childhood:

> ...for just as the collaborative poem[5] repeats, "I have come home," I, too, have decided to come home and stay here.

> Cynics call it returning to the blanket. Indians call it finding the answers to one's greatest problems in one's own culture. I have purchased land adjacent to my childhood home on the reservation in a beautiful little forested area with a stream. Above it lie mountains with pine trees and white eroded cliffs. There is one log cabin on the place and I am buying others to be torn down and rebuilt to form my studio-home.

He also describes taking excursions into the hills with his son, visiting swimming holes and attending powwows (Indian dances) as well as visiting relatives, stating "We are both renewed and ready to continue more vigorously living the lives we must." His letter ends with the statement, "The best part is having a safe identity where my work, life and leisure are united in one lifestyle so rich in rewards and lingering afterthoughts." It was in the spring a year later that a second letter arrived, describing the more profound changes taking place due to his decision to undergo several traditional religious ceremonies of his tribe, not only for himself, but to revive their use among his people. One problem was to locate a holy man who still knew the forms and meanings of the Sioux rituals to guide and instruct him, and to help arrange the public aspects of the ceremony to which we would be invited. A few exerpts from his letter will convey in his own words the nature of his experience better than any paraphrasing:

> The significance of life seems to be constantly before me these days as preparation for my coming of age takes place and a new threshold with multi-dimensional vistas is gradually appearing. I think whatever has been written about conversion must be true and what has been written about levels of mysticism and transformation must also be true. Perhaps since you have studied Eastern religion, you understand the intensity of religious experience that is beginning to unfold within me.
>
> I am taking first steps into the rather powerful subculture of practicing Indian religion in its ceremonial and ritualized forms and am literally swept off my feet into an inner world of profound attitudes about the way of man in a cosmic order that pushes the boundaries of one's thinking beyond mundane perceptions of the world, as one catches glimpses of a world beyond, yet within and above all things. The symbols and overt forms of practice are perhaps more meaningful as they are derived from my own ethnic heritage and, at last, I am free and able to worship in a form befitting my world-view and at last the two are consistent.
>
> My mentor is a fine holy man whose power or guardian comes from the eagle. Thus, he has what we call Eagle medicine. It is under his guidance I will do two of our sacred rites, Inipi, or the sweat lodge, and Hanbleceya, or lamenting or crying while fasting or attaining a vision. I have been granted three full days and two nights or five days as counted according to religious time periods, at which time I will fast and pray in the wilderness by myself. The sweat lodge will take place before and after Hanbleceya as an

> integral part of it. I can explain more about it after you come and it is over.
>
> Four days later will be the Hunkapi or taking of relatives and the Name-giving of my son...circumstances in my family have set me thinking of also getting a new name at that time. The Hunkapi is a ritual adoption of a person or persons to be one's relative(s) and the sanctification or setting apart of that child's being adopted or adopting. He becomes one upon whom much attention and good will is lavished and in whose name his relatives giveaway to the poor, needy and those who sing in praise of him. Social giving, as you will see, is the overt form of honoring a person, the recipients being those who sing and dance for the one being honored, the old, the needy, and special guests. The sincerity and prestige of the honored one, his sponsors and tiyospaye (extended family) are reflected in the quantity and quality of things given away so that several things are being said: In ritual giving, 1) we think so much of this child that material goods are nothing compared to the esteem and love we have for him...to show this, we give it all away, (2) we are generous and unselfish at this time so that this child will learn this virtue and be this way when he is a man, (3) we want you to think well of this child and remember this day...to help you remember him, his name and this day we give to you the finest that we have, (4) we like the Indian ways (traditions) and so we suffer (sacrifice: work hard, gather, collect, create and do well) in order to perpetuate our customs, (5) I (the man of means: me) am brave and courageous and afraid of nothing, not even poverty. To show this I give it all away because I am man enough to create it all again.
>
> To be practiced in everyday life so the child will be generous: (6) we are one people, all related. We must remember this. (Do unto others as you would have them do unto you). Share what you have even if it is your last or even if it is with a poor, hungry, helpless dog or other animal in need. (7) Material goods are not to be loved above people, but used to meet human needs, so that people may live.

The dignity, simplicity and profound ethical and communal nature of the values expressed in such a ceremony should impress us as observers from the dominant culture within which these assertions are being exercised by a minority people who have been neglected, damaged and oppressed. The insertion of the golden rule so universally held by Christians serves as a reminder that the larger culture has no priority or pre-eminence in this area, especially as one considers the history of Indian-white relations during this nation's historic westward expansion and intrusion into the original native Indian's domain.

One practice of especial interest to us was the giving away of gifts in honor of the child at his name-giving, rather than giving him the gifts. Since the intent is to make the child generous later on, this example or model of adult generosity on his behalf might well be studied by us all, since it is our practice to shower the child with gifts (with the opposite result--self-seeking or selfishness--often being the more apparent). In this ceremony, the Sioux child was to see his father giving away many beautiful blankets, quilts and shawls, as well as two horses in his name, in a ceremony in which the entire community including his near and distant relatives shared. In addition, our Sioux friend, being an artist, designed many of the patterns or motifs to be sewn or woven into the gifts at his request. Of interest also to us was a sign of Sioux wealth from the past made evident in the present, namely, the number of elk's teeth a man owned, since an elk's tooth was once worth two horses. Evidently an elk has only two such teeth, and is very difficult to capture, whereas horses were plentiful at one time out on the plains. The little Indian boy's handmade garment for the ceremony was impressive, since there were thirty or forty elk's teeth stitched into it.

A year later I was to receive a letter or two from our Sioux friend telling of more recent and deeper commitment into the lifeways and traditional religious rituals of his people. An exerpt follows:

> The face of existence has so many expressions...today the world is smiling as frost has changed the landscape you saw in green to an array of autumnal hues and the meadowlarks seems to be pecking their final meals on the lawn before they depart.
>
> My pipe fast in June was a fine time with "spiritual success" and an added bonus of family unity. The medicine man, his family and my extended family and friends camped out in the hills a mile from where I was. While I was on the hill they took turns keeping the sweat lodge fire going, doing the chores associated with camping, and visiting, talking and singing of things pertaining to Lakota ways. They, too (the family) shared in the retreat from daily "world affairs" and came home renewed.
>
> In June I assisted with the re-wrapping of the sacred legendary and original pipe of our people at a northern reservation in this state. I was chosen along with a young lady to be the first man or honor guard while the pipe was outside of its little house and while the new wrappings were put on. The significance of these matters is kept within the context of the Indian world and those that maintain the philosophy and religious teachings of the pipe.
>
> In July I assisted in a Sun Dance at Rosebud, a Sioux reservation east of here. My two cousins danced and so did Catches, the medicine man who gave us our names, as you may recall. This was a four day dance with the piercing taking place on the fourth day at about mid-day. I was responsible for sewing eight eagle feathers to the arms and back of Catches and also piercing the flesh on his chest, inserting a scewer, and tying the rope to the scewer. The seemingly strange activity of this rite also has its significance which could really be better explained in person. The pierced person must then pull away from the thong which is attached to a centrally located "tree of life" in the center of

> the grounds, and break the flesh. All of this is done to drumming and singing of sacred songs and amidst much praying and crying as the participants are reminded of their mortality and humanness, but expected to transcend also into an awareness of their "specialness" in the eyes of the Wakan Tanka.

Anyone who has seen the film, A Man Called Horse will recall the drama of this painful, sacrificial offering of one's body as a plea to the eternal spirit, Wakan Tanka, for the renewal of the community in the future.

No less than a world authority on primitive religions-sacred and the profane, Mircea Eliade, attests to the universal presence and identity of meaning in such sacrificial rituals in primitive or tribal practice from time immemorial.[8] After referring to the torturous initiatory ceremony of the Mandan Indians, which in its description fits with that portrayed firsthand by our Sioux friend, he adds a note from George Catlin, the renowned Indian painter, who said that "the way in which the young men endured this terrible torture verged on the fabulous: not a feature of their faces moved while the torturers were butchering their flesh..although the victim was suspended in the air, and made to spin like a top, faster and faster, until the wretched man lost consciousness and his body hung as though dislocated." But in a section on the "Initiatory Significance of Suffering" he puts the Sun Dance into a more universal perspective:

> What is the meaning of such tortures? The first European observers used to speak of the innate cruelty of the natives. However, this is not the explanation: the natives are no more cruel than the civilized. But for every traditional society, suffering has a ritual value, for torture is believed to be inflicted by superhuman beings and its purpose is the spiritual transmutation of the victim. The torture is, in itself, an expression of initiatory death. To be tortured means that one is cut into pieces by the demon-masters of initiation, that one is put to death by dismemberment.... "killing" the profane man and enabling him to regenerate himself...sufferings, both physical and psychic, are homologous with the tortures that are inseparable from initiation: Illness was esteemed among primitives as the sign of a supernatural election, and was therefore regarded as an initiatory ordeal. One had to "die" to something to be able to be re-born; this is, to be cured, one died to what one was before, died to the profane condition; the man who was effecting this cure was another, a new-born man--in this case, a shaman, a mystic.

The parallels between such sacrificial actions, though the ceremonies differ, are obvious to any Christian who accepts Christ's sacrificial death as an eternal offering, transforming mankind from the old Adam to the new Adam, in a single historical act.

Eliade concluded this discourse by stating:

> ...all this compels us to conclude that the mystery of spiritual regeneration consists of an archetypal process which is realized on different planes in many ways; it is effected whenever the need is to surpass one made of being and to enter upon another, higher mode; or, more precisely, whenever it is a question of spiritual transmutation.

Addendum:

Almost a decade has passed since my last contact with my Sioux friend and former student. In an effort to locate him and share my intention to publicly share this article with a professional audience, I learned he is now living in Canada, and has been to Europe and South America on several grants, and most recently has spent his summer touring collections of American Indian artifacts in European and Scandinavian museums. There he has found some surprising treasures, which he plans to go abroad to document and record when he returns to this country. In a way, by only now making public in this way the history of my in-depth contact with one of our most historic, native American cultures, I have come "full circle" since it is offered at a time when the mainstream culture is now being flooded with testimonies and literature making clear the rich cultural heritage and lifeways which must be preserved if the ongoing health of a nation devoted to pluralism, freedom of belief, speech, press and assembly is to long endure.[9]

Footnotes

[1] Roszak, Theodore. The Making of a Counter Culture, New York: Doubleday, 1968, 14
148.

[2] His work had been exhibited widely, and in the Museum of Contemporary Crafts in N
York City, and had been featured in Art News.

[3] For a full narrative description of the seven rites of the Oglala Sioux, see Joseph E
Brown, The Sacred Pipe, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972.

[4] Neihardt, John C. Black Elk Speaks, New York: Pocket Books, 1972.

[5] A collective poem about returning home written by a group of Sioux children.

[6] Little did we realize that on that day I would be honored, along with three other wh
persons who have contributed to his education, by being called into the circle to receive a
of a star quilt or blanket, many of which he had been collecting, or working on for two yea
to be dispersed on this special occasion.

[7] This simple contrast is but one of hundreds of differences to be found between differ
cultural mores and values which are often difficult if not impossible to see or admit from t
perspective of one's own cultural biases and upbringing. For a recent treatment of pr
Indian lifeways and the dominant American cultural pattern, see: Jamake Highwater, The Pr
Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America, New York, Harper & Row, 1981. On p. 20
states: "Cultures cannot be understood from the perspectives of an "objective" science, bec
comparisons are inevitably made with the values of a single outside culture.

[8] Eliade, Mircea. Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter Between Contempor
Faiths and Archaic Realities, New York: Colophone Books, Harper, 1975, 206-209.

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[9] Arthur Amiotte, the subject of this article, since the incidents described in this writing, moved from the Pine Ridge Reservation to Standing Rock Reservation after his first four years of apprenticeship with a spiritual mentor. The purpose of his move to a northern reservation was to assist the people there in reviving their sacred ceremonies including the Sun Dance. He left Standing Rock in 1982 and is now teaching in Canada where he went to assist the Canadian Dakota, a group of Eastern Sioux, in reviving their ceremonies and is a visiting professor of Native Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba. The Dakota moved to Canada after the 1862 Minnesota uprising. Arthur Amiotte has also been active in publishing several works, including the forward to the new illustrated version of the Sacred Pipe by Epes Brown, University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. He also published a recent article on the contemporary vision quest of the Oglala Sioux in an anthology entitled Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations by Sam Gill, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California, Spring, 1983, and a second article, "The Road to the Center," in Parabola, Volume 9, Number 3, Society for the Study of Myth and Traditions, New York City, Fall, 1984. He is also preparing several pieces on the role of rituals in the persistence of oral tradition for an Encyclopedia of World Religions. In 1983, Mr. Amiotte received his Master of Interdisciplinary Studies in anthropology, native art and native religion from the University of Montana.

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Images and Concepts Brazilian, Canadian and U.S. Art Teachers Interpret as Stereotypes in Their Students' Art

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In his autobiography the author Wright Morris (1981) recalled:

> *One Sunday in March I had a bad toothache and stayed home. In the rotogravure section of the Sunday Tribune I saw this drawing of a wolf with his fangs showing. I had never seen anything finer. Using paper I had bought for my art history notebook, I sat down and made a copy of it, using one of my father's indelible pencils. What I had done impressed both my father and me.... On the front page of the Daily News I saw this cartoon drawing of Calvin Coolidge. The likeness was not a copy, but it was wonderful. How was it done? In such a way I fell under the spell of art.* (p. 111)

Although his youthful art ambition was not sustained into an adult vocation, in reflecting on his life many years later, Morris conveyed the strong meaning these experiences continued to embody for him. His account may raise a question for us: Why were these images so appealing to him? Our uncertainty is increased if, as I suspect from his description, we consider our own likely responses to those images--a cursory glance, a fleeting judgment of banality.

When Thomas Munro (1956) went to visit Franz Cizek's classes in the 1920's, he was enthusiastic about seeing in operation what Professor Cizek stood for, which, according to Munro, was "more freedom for the child to look at the world and to experiment in congenial ways of expressing himself in some artistic medium" (p. 237). Munro was somewhat surprised to notice that the art works produced in these spontaneous and nurturing conditions exhibited strong similarity. He suggested that unconscious cues from the teacher, student imitation, and current art seen outside of the school might be the reasons. He commented that it is a common experience of teachers that pupils imitate each other, and that no amount of praise for self-reliance can stop them. He also observed that students are sure to see "pictures at home, the shop windows full of prints and paintings, as well as magazines and posters" (p. 239).

Three decades later, in 1956, staff members at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City published a study of "Clichés in

Children's Paintings." In it, Victor D'Amico stated that "A definition of a cliché in painting might be: a borrowed shape, color, form or organization about which the individual has done no thinking, has had no feeling, and which he has not interpreted in his own way" (D'Autiolia, Note 1).

In 1981, a national judge for the Scholastic Art Awards commented on what he described as "a rigidity and reliance on cliché in the art of older, that is, high school students. He explained, "There was a noticeable lack of "idea" in their works. In fact, I can remember only one or two pieces that combined fantasy, wit and a sense of satire. The rest relied on proven themes--animals, houses, cars. . . . Many of these drawings lacked the artist's point of view. . . . To many still lifes, too many flowers and bottles of wine." Another judge remarked, that "In the watercolors there was an overabundance of a too familiar view of land with or without snow, trees and the ubiquitous semi-delapidated farm buildings in the middle distance" (Scholastic Art Awards, Note 2).

Evidently, the concern for and the phenomenon of what art educators refer to as stereotypes has persisted for some time. Conventional formulas and often over-simplified conceptions do not trouble all educators, however. The September, 1981, issue of *Early Years* contains the following suggestions for teachers under the label ART:

> Have available 18-inch squares of yellow, orange or red construction paper. The children free-cut a large circle from a color square. They paste the circle on an 18-inch square of a second color. The children then cut sun rays out of the scraps of paper from which the circle had been cut. They paste the sun rays around the circle. The rays should be arranged so that they do not touch each other or the edge of the circle. The children cut off any ray ends that extend past the edges of the square. With black crayon or marker, the children draw facial features on the circle. (Your green pages, p. 103).

While Walter Smith might have empathized with the procedure, although not the subject matter in this activity, it is an instance of what Kramer (1972) called the perversion of an idea. Teachers recognize the prevalence of the sun image in children's pictures: One elementary art teacher told me, "That sun almost always sneaks into a picture," while another confided that, "This drives me crazy, I see the face in the sun so much." However, there is a vast difference between recognition of interest in a subject and prescription of it.

In order to collect data concerning stereotypes, schemata, and personal meanings in student art, 36 art instructors, teaching various levels of students, ranging from elementary to college, were interviewed. Each of three interviewers (Zurmuehlen, University of Iowa; Sacca, Concordia University, Montreal; Richter, Santa Maria University) interviewed twelve teachers on two separate occasions: the first to collect the teachers' initial responses; the second to garner their reactions to the ideas of their colleagues. Zurmuehlen conducted research in the United States. Sacca conducted research in Quebec, Canada. Sacca and Richter carried on research in Santa Maria, Brazil. The following section reveals the results of these interviews.

U.S. Art Teachers

The art teachers with whom I talked were aware that subjects of which they conceive as stereotypes may have importance for students, especially for elementary children and those of junior high age. A university teacher revealed, "I feel a little ambivalent about stereotypes. I think they're something that's part of development.... Children come into the experiences that all human beings have, they pass through them, they acquire them, and they take them along with them." He used the concept of "mimicking" as a key in clarifying his view of stereotypes and added that they are done in a "performance" attitude in which, as he put it, "Someone is acting like a human being."

Almost all of the art teachers were willing to give me what one of them referred to as "an inventory of images," although they had a little more difficulty with my request to represent some of these on paper. Among these images the elementary art teachers named and, in some cases, drew were curved M-shape and V-shape birds, stick figures, "trees pretty much always this way, a circle on top of a pole," smile faces, hearts, and rainbows.

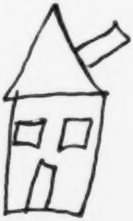

Figure 1

Concerning this house shape a teacher said, "Now this is interesting because these children don't live in houses that look like this (see Figure 1). Some of them live in trailers and apartment buildings and what have you, but they draw this shape time and time again." Crowns, clovers on St. Patrick's Day, and hearts on Valentine's Day were mentioned, and she observed, "They write LOVE all over, or draw football helmets, footballs, or NFL."

Another teacher told me, "It seems like the big thing that's in right now is the rainbow....It usually has a cloud by it or sometimes the sun." She continued by citing the lollipop tree, the rectangular house with a triangle on top, mountains with snow on them and, this year, a little Hawk emblem and roses (a reference to The University of Iowa's playing in the Rose Bowl). She mentioned that "in the past, boys, especially, were always really interested in football, but it usually was national leagues and they would draw football helmets in which they just inserted whatever team happened to appeal at the time." She also included cartoons, Garfield the cat (the most popular), Dungeons and Dragons, and wizards. She recalled about a particular 6th grader, "Almost every single thing he's done this year has been a punk rocker" and said, "Once he's got the punk rockers drawn, then he never knows what to do with the background." She told me, "Well now the big thing is PacMan. We did clay foods to make meals and many desserts were PacMan candies." She added, "It's like pulling teeth to get a background (when they draw these images) even though, like with PacMan, there is a background in the game, and it's kind of an elaborate one, but very rarely will a child even think about including that." She suggested the reason might be "when you are playing the game you're interested in eating up the little dots, and you are doing it on the grid, but your center of attention is your player."

Another teacher noted, "You always have to see both ends of the rainbow and the top, not just part of it." She said about the heart, "They think of it as a design, not as a picture of something. They'll put faces in them or make hearts into flowers. Boys, and some girls too, make football fields that look like this and swimming pools" (see Figure 2).

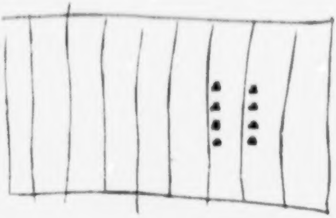

Figure 2

Another junior high school teacher noticed, "With the girls everything is hearts, or balloons, or rainbows and I'm always using the term 'cutsie' in class." She told me that her classes were working on flip books and said, "I have a girl that's going to have a heart that breaks apart, and that's what the action is going to be." She also talked about the boy who "has the whole Atari scene moving, and the ship, and something coming in and blowing up the ship. It's really, really nice. Technically, he has done a very good job on it. But I think it's like one of the games that you see over in that shop in the mall." She added, "I do have a student doing PacMan also, which is the most popular one." Incidentally, her experience is confirmed by Electronic Games magazine whose readers chose PacMan as their favorite.

"Cartoons are real big with this age--Garfield and Snoopy. If they draw at home that's generally what they draw. They usually fill the whole sheet of paper with one frame in a comic like that. If they think the whole thing makes sense by itself, then they'll do that. Snoopy, now he's real easy to draw, lying down, I guess, with his nose in the air and his stomach and his feet; there are just three big jumps there." Along with several others, this teacher was conscious of the evolving character of some stereotypical images (see Figure 3).

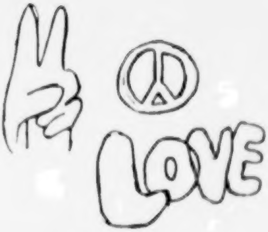

Figure 3

She told me, "I've been teaching now for twelve years. When I started, everybody drew the peace sign. Some people really did it fancy. Or they could all draw the hand like this, and they had a real stereotyped way of drawing that too, and I can't remember how they did it. Then they all lettered. Girls do this, they make fat, bubbly letters like this. They still make fat, bubbly letters, but they don't write love. Love, peace and understanding. Patriotic things seem to be coming back in style. I didn't see that all during the Vietnam years. Nobody drew army people. That was out with this age group. But now they are drawing guns, a lot of guns, and American eagles and army helmets."

A junior high teacher asked his students how they used to draw, and he jotted down the ideas they gave him which you saw represented in Figures 4 and 5. He added, "They wanted to come up and tell me more things. They were having fun. In fact, I had kids volunteer to bring me their portfolios of all their art work so I could look through them." In reflecting on these images, he remarked, "I have junior high students, fifteen and sixteen years old, that still fall back on these themes and become embarrassed. They forget and do them on their paintings and pictures." He also confided about snow topped mountains, "I remember drawing as a child and feeling like that was the best part of the drawing. It was that snow on top of the mountains. And why I don't know." He, too, acknowledged that fleeting appeal of some stereotypes, saying, "The last stereotype that comes to my mind is the lightning. Everybody was doing the lightning and it was tied to the comic strip "Flash Gordon." Another example he gave was, "Girls would write notes to each other using bubble gum lettering (see Figure 6). This was back four or five years ago. If you couldn't do that thick lettering, you just weren't with it." The current manifestation is his observation that girls in junior high school "try to change their handwriting style and they would rather try to work on that more than actually drawing objects. They will repeat their own names or somebody's that they know real well. They'll fill up a whole page, or a whole notebook just filled with solid names. They almost make a visual picture with the lettering, writing, but you'll never see a boy do that. If they've got colors they'll go with colors. Then they'll do designs like a heart or a sun that are made by writing their names to fill that area. This is 1982, right here. What they are doing right now."

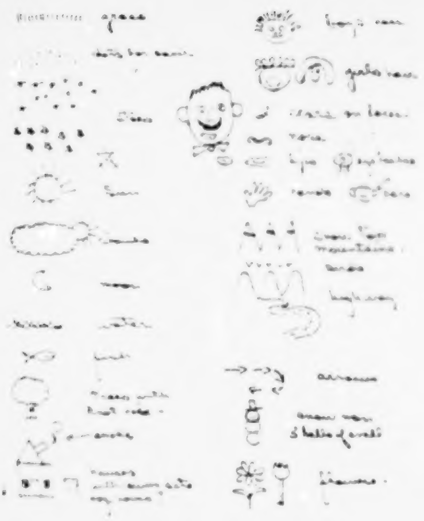
grass
arrows
flowers

Figure 4

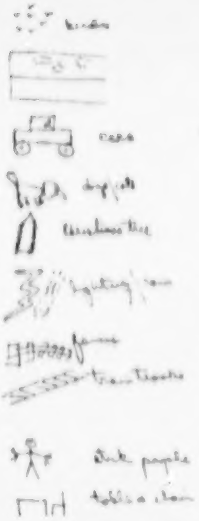
birds
cars
Christmas tree
stick people
table & chair

Figure 5

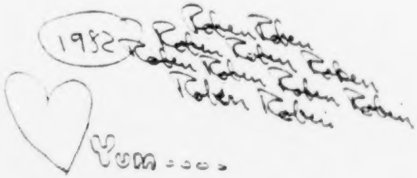
1982
Robin Robin
Robin Robin Robin
Robin Robin Robin
Robin Robin Robin Robin
Yum

Figure 6

He described boys as being "really heavy into cars, like the street rods, with a block, and engine block, and on top of it comes the manifold and then probably somehow they get a header and they go with another header, and it almost gets to the point where it's just a joke, where they've got an air scoop at the top and if it was actually a functional car you couldn't see to drive the blasted thing cause the motor would be covering up your vision. They concentrate on that motor to the point where that's the whole thing, the power of that engine." The boy's drawing (see Figure 7) is an example of two more images which the teacher characterized as stereotyped. In describing these guitars and speakers generally, he said, "I call them almost miniature phallic symbols the way they draw these little guitars with pointed, erect-type shapes on them, and they're real geometric with all

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kinds of little knobs on them. They just go crazy on this, and they'll build speakers next to this guitar, with more speakers they can pile up on top like building a pyramid of speakers."

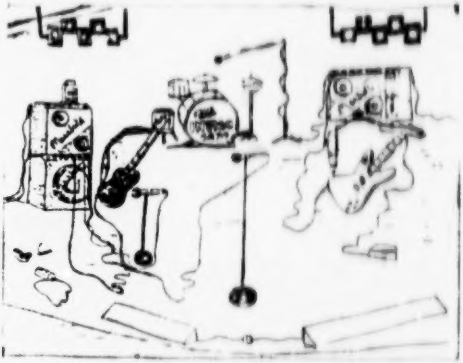

Figure 7

The university teachers' conceptions of stereotypes sometimes were lifficult, or impossible, to represent graphically. For example, this instance of the recurring theme of shifting stereotypes defies quick pictorialization. He related, "I remember at the University of Denver, and this was in 1959, I was looking for a graduate program at that ime. The whole set of the studio was to the letter what was happening n New York. Paint was all over every place, on the person. I said to one of the graduates, 'Do you ever do anything with the figures?' This guy kind of looked off into space and he smiled and he said, Well, no, I think they work with that maybe in some of the courses in llustrating or graphics.' At that time the figure was never attended to n the majority of schools. It was really taboo, drawing was looked upon with great suspicion even. So, whereas in the past the figure vould have been the stereotype and everybody and his brother would nave been working with the figure in every art school in the country, now the figure was not in vogue and nobody in his right mind was vorking with the figure and there were all these other kinds of gestures and affectations both in the person and within the work."

A faculty member who teaches silk screening lamented about his tudents' tendencies to deal with images in a predictable way: "It's unfortunate. You know photographers want to make photographic mages, designers want to make really hard-edged images with drawing hat is very cosmetic and painters want to do everything that they ossibly can do to violate any sense of a defined edge."

For one university teacher stereotypes were conceived of as rocesses or, as he put it, "the different kinds of methods by which he images are put together." The ship (see Figure 8) is a recollection rom one of his childhood drawings. He remembered "making it just as

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black as I could. You know, scrubbing back and forth and taking my finger and kind of polishing it, too. It really glistened as black. It just seemed to be very mechanical getting this as black and as shiny as I could." He saw the process of mixing color as a stereotype: also "I would bet my whole savings with you, little as that is, on the fact that we could go into a class, and if I told them to start painting the first day, I'd find eighty percent of the people with very white paintings. The only way they seem to be able to understand mixing of color, initially, is by working white into everything. Obviously, one of the things we do in Painting I class is learn to mix color, but I'd feel a lot more confident with color mixing if I felt that they could start with real clear opinions about this fabric that I hauled in today which really was brown and white with some red dots in it. But it seems white with a little brown, and little white-brown in it, a little white-green in it. It's a rare student that commits himself or herself, color-wise." Another university teacher talked about "a ritualized kind of approach in which they'll hold their hand one way and only one way. They have a bag of tricks." One junior high school teacher also commented on a process stereotype. She said that her students "love to work on the potter's wheel because that's the way clay things are supposed to look, but they hate to do hand-built, textured things because that's not the way it's supposed to look. They all think that clay should look really smooth, like it's machine-made."

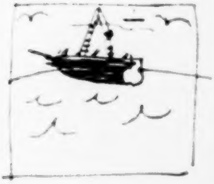

Figure 8

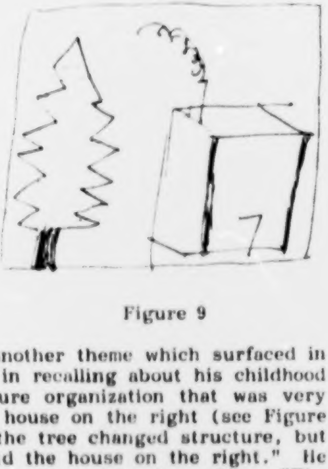

Figure 9

Organization as a stereotype was another theme which surfaced in these interviews. A university teacher in recalling about his childhood drawings said, "I had an idea of picture organization that was very often a system of a tree on the left, a house on the right (see Figure 9). The house changed structure and the tree changed structure, but the tree always went on the left side and the house on the right." He noticed this among his students as well, observing that, "The organization of the drawings and paintings of beginning people is very much a given size. I almost want to refer to it as a grid because there's like a given size so the shapes fall through it and then the marks within the shapes follow the same pattern, if they get enamoured of a certain gesture. They don't even have to get excited about a certain make to repeat it so the drawing begins to have that kind of schema where all the shapes are the same, or, more particularly, all the marks and gestures. They don't understand that this acts like looking through a screen door to flatten it." A junior high teacher told me that "little girls that age seem to feel comfortable drawing space, dividing it up and then filling it in with colors."

Another kind of stereotyping which emerged as a theme in these talks was that of incorporating devices from the art work of others. Sometimes this was a conscious effort, as it was for the elementary art teacher who told me, "I remember I was in second grade and my sister who was in third grade told me how to draw eyes and it was just a big U with some lines (see Figure 10). Now I thought that looked real pretty. I went to school and started drawing all my eyes that way. Well, the teacher said those eyes are closed. It never occurred to me that they were closed because I thought they looked so pretty." A university teacher said, "It's shocking to watch students mimic clichés and conventions without understanding that they are a kind of measuring stick of all culture and not really their individual response to things. I had one student last week in photography when they were making self-portraits. She actually photographed herself partially nude on a bed, on a white furry rug, and it's not like she had the distance from that kind of image to make a parody. It's an extreme kind of cultural baggage in terms of seeing yourself in relationship to these clichés." The same teacher recalled that he had learned to mimic someone else's drawing. He said, "It was a kid who was twelve and I was probably seven. He could draw and paint a figure of a dragon. I would draw his dragon over and over again. I would always come up with an image that, although it was his image, it was one that I could count on. I never took a chance, I mean I was the younger kid. So my drawing looked exactly like his but I would just do it endlessly and endlessly, whereas everytime he would draw, because he understood it in a certain way, he was capable of showing his dragon in different environments. You know, it could either be in the water or out of the water. I couldn't; I could just do this one thing over and over again."

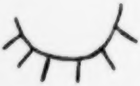

Figure 10

His account manifests two themes which emerged as these teachers struggled to define stereotypes: the first was certainly about the image, or process, or organization, and the second was the social sanctioning of it. As one junior high teacher explained, "It's been done before. They know they can handle it graphically. They know it's not going to be made fun of." An elementary art teacher defined a stereotype as "something that is accepted and repeated, not necessarily because you actually believe in it but because it seems the thing to put down, or you think it's cute, or you can't think of anything else." For another it "seems to be an image that a child uses to resolve something that he or she is not really interested in." She viewed execution, rather than the idea, as essential for determining a stereotype, and she recognized that however much "they may look alike, they seem to be putting more emotional involvement in some of these. I can see those little girls working for hours on these rainbows and I certainly wouldn't see that sort of interest sustained in some of these figures and birds." Social sanctioning appears to be a ground for sustaining such interest, just as it does for beginning freshmen students. A university teacher told me, "Weird, that's a favorite word, as in 'I really like that, it's weird.' That's seen as very desirable and their portfolios are packed, filled with that kind of material." An elementary art teacher described how fourteen of twenty-five cut and torn paper pictures by second graders came to have rainbows made from a particular veriegated colored paper, "They picked up on the rainbow paper in the scrap container. It was there and I think it just tended to spread." Another elementary art teacher's comments affirm that social sanctioning is an important characteristic of stereotypes. She said, "I think that's why mountains end up in backgrounds in a lot of kids' work. They're not aware of many different ways of using that negative space in an interesting way. And they know they are supposed to have something in the background, and they know mountains are big so they're going to break up the space." A university teacher remembered tracing his hand and thought "it was a way of having absolute control. Kids' lives are slightly out of their control so they'll try to do something that's predictable." He related this to a story that a friend had told him: "When her little sister was eight years old she put the farm animals on diets. Her own body was changing and this was a way that she could get some control." A junior high teacher expressed her students' need for certainty: "They'll do this if they can't think of something better because they know that they are good at drawing rainbows, they know that they are good at drawing hearts, and if they want their flip book to be good, they want to draw something they are good at drawing. And they are not going to take the chance on drawing something they might not be successful at." She also speculated that the flip book assignment, because it demanded producing an image eighteen times, may have encouraged stereotypes images. However, more of the elementary and junior high teachers agreed with the teacher who told me, "When I say you can draw anything you want that's when they go back to the security of stereotyped images." A recent article in Time magazine proclaimed that "new times demand new stereotypes," and a junior high teacher seemed to echo this notion when she said, "Well, I think that the balloons are just recent. If I had talked to you a year ago I don't think they would have been into the picture as much. You know it was pigs for a while, pigmania, on everything. Not as much as this balloon thing. It's really gone wild." Her explanation for the waxing and waning of popularity of these kinds of stereotypes was, "A lot of it is what's happening downtown." So I walked around downtown and found rainbows and clouds, hearts, and LOVE, balloons, stars, butterflies, Garfield, Hawk emblems, and, of course, PacMan. I also noted the extent to which electronic and video game images had permeated the visual environment--a recent issue of Mad magazine featured "mad invaders" with images composed from grids depicted on the cover.

Most of the teachers volunteered what might be called "remedies" for stereotypes. They also expressed concern that such strategies may be a bit paradoxical as their intentions are also to respect the ideas of their students. One teacher voiced her feelings: "I've always been of the opinion that there is something authentic in a child's work. I let them do it. Even though I may just go bananas looking at one more Hawk."

Canadian Art Teachers
Elizabeth Sacca

The art teachers I interviewed let me know that they had been thinking about stereotypes, and several said they would really like to talk about them. They described the kinds of personal meanings reflected in students' work as well as meaningful rigidities in it. The art teachers speculated about the causes of stereotypes and how they are dealt with.

Deciding what does, and does not, have meaning to another person is not easy, and these teachers emphasized their need to know the student and the student's work very well. One teacher said, "Identifying a stereotype takes a considerable amount of time and quite a bit of insight into that person's inner working." She told me about someone trying to decide whether a picture was a stereotype. "It showed two hills with the sun coming up and a little girl standing under a tree. It was very rigid looking, like a paper doll image. But the teacher said, "It's filled in with so much intention. It could be cliché but somehow it isn't."

A university painting teacher echoed this theme in discussing schemata as constructional devices in the art of children and adults. He said, "I agree it is difficult to separate the schema-thing from the stereotype. The one I know best is the one Arnheim describes as the development from the scribble-thing to the circle, which then does duty for a sun, or for a number of things, a tree or a person...or the development of a rectangle which does duty for a house, or a person." He continued, "but it's a thing which is re-invented by each child, so I guess after a long, long time it becomes a meaningless repetition. But is it a structural form or is it a stereotype?"

"Delacroix's idea of drawing by ovals," he said, "is a definite structural device for constructing a configuration which then does duty in many different directions." He told me about Dürer's notions of approportional circles for constructing the human figure. "So," he said, "there's a fine line; a judgement of when the thing is a valid construction device, and when you're really talking about a mannered kind of repetition."

He talked about the child discovering the circle, and later using it in a creative way: "I saw in some textbook, the child wanted to draw two men sawing a tree, and the saw was just a line and a bunch of circles, and the men were constructed with circles, too" (see Figure 11). He added, "I don't think we find this in adults; we don't find that they have that range....They'll often just get stuck in that.... and don't know what to do. They're not as inventive in using the thing!" He continued, "You get them into a studio situation... painting students who have not had enough experience in developing configurations, in drawing. They're placed in a situation and told to paint. And what I've noticed is, a similar thing occurs which happens to the young child...; the natural tendency is to make designs that go 'round and 'round and 'round." "This," he said, "arises out of the general sort of gesture that's involved in putting the material on the surface."

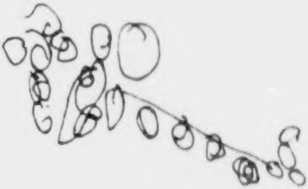

Figure 11

He continued, "You can see it in the paintings downstairs (in the students' gallery). What often happens is we offer them something else. So that you will see something like a grid formation of one sort or another, however disguised or loose it might be!" (see Figure 12).

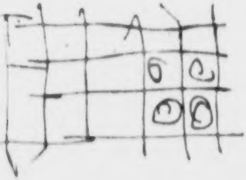

Figure 12

"It's given by someone else, either another student, or by osmosis. They find out that that's a way to do it. Sure that's a stereotype. This is one," he stressed, "they'll hang onto and it's very difficult to break out of because it solves a lot of problems. It solves the whole problem of designing. Each cell or unit is equal, the painting can't fail."

"I wonder," he said, "if art-making isn't dependent on stereotyped forms, the schema." He was impressed with Gombrich's "making and matching," the notion that without the schema, without the notion of the head as an egg, you can't draw it.

He paused and reflected, "I think it's a very deep question, this whole thing. I think it operates at every level. Maybe the problem is the transformation of the stereotype or the schema into a personally meaningful configuration.... The invention is the most important part of it." He wondered if, after the initial invention, images very quickly become stereotypes.

An elementary teacher explained this in another way: "There are certain images or certain ways of representing things that are slightly rigid and others that are more flexible, more supple, more given to intuitive knowing." She described her student who does hearts all the time: "I mean after two years and she's got 4,000 hearts lined up, and to me it is a kind of rigidity. Yet everytime she's using different materials, it's done a different way. And this involvement with the materials is just incredible, the way this five-year-old mixes colour, uses colour, embroiders her hearts. It's curious because it's as if she doesn't need to represent pictorially...." She continued, "Some of them are beautiful, really beautiful. I could see there is a kind of rigidity, there is a kind of 'stuckness' to it, but when I see the kind of energy she puts into it and her commitment to it, it's just the same as other children doing very complicated themes and very complicated relationships of objects and elements in space."

While none of these elementary teachers likes to see stereotypes in students' work, they all said that stereotypes provide some emotional satisfaction for the child. One emphasized the restrictions of a child's working for adult and peer approval, and felt it showed lower emotional satisfaction for the child. Others talked about a child's pleasure in drawing something recognizable and accepted children's working for adult approval as an important part of their lives.

One teacher described young children's love of Snoopy, their pleasure in drawing him, and the media's exploitation of their feelings: "Snoopy is a character that you love because of the cartoons... I guess you want to represent something that you really like, something that makes you laugh. So it's because you like it, that they would want to reproduce it." She said, "It's what they're brought up on, what they see, the media, the comics, in the newspaper, on buses, everywhere. Buttons, clothes, advertisements on Saturday morning cartoons, unbelievable. They have a whole series of things you can buy: Snoopy's house, the Snoopy toothbrush, somebody gave my son a Snoopy ice crusher--you put syrup in and make these cones. They push Snoopy stationery, buttons and clothes, everything and the kids want it."

An art supervisor described elementary school children's stereotypes as, "spring flowers, daisies looking like this and tulips looking like this... a schema that never changes (see Figure 13). The very earliest one is the sun, usually in the corner. "The stereotypic house doesn't reflect the kind of houses that most children actually see.... They often live in suburban bungalows or high rises or something that rarely looks like that (see Figure 14). Basically they are stereotypes when they're repeated without really thinking." She emphasized the importance of knowing whether or not thinking is taking place and whether or not the student is working something out.

Another person cited her daughter's use of a cartoon-style face with the nose in profile (see Figure 15). She said that she did not know where her child picked it up, but that it appeared repeatedly in the midst of much more intricate and complex drawings. She did not believe that her daughter even thought of the nose as in profile--but just accepted it.

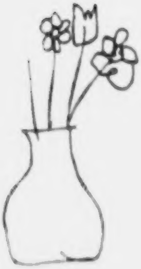

Figure 13

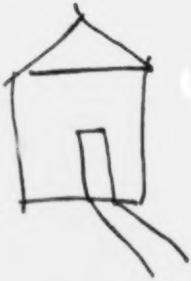

Figure 14

Teachers cautioned against rejection of rigid-looking work. An elementary teacher showed me a mask she said would not occur to us as extraordinary but that it was extraordinary for the boy who made it. He was an unhappy boy who did very little work in class. When he started the mask all he wanted to do was rip two holes in a piece of paper for eyes. He became involved in engineering as a means of tying the mask on his face and continued by incorporating a cup from an egg carton for the nose which he fixed with masking tape. He coloured the face and added whiskers.

Other elementary teachers also discussed media, saying they prefer paint, clay and crayons to pencils and rulers because they see pencils and rulers as fostering stereotypes. One teacher laughed at her one restriction in a generally open class: "No rulers!" She said children associate rulers with learned "school behaviour" - control and trying for "perfection." This concern, she thinks, blocks a child from getting a personally meaningful image with a pencil and ruler. Another teacher said, "Pencils means control and perfection to children, and they end up doing tiny stereotyped things." She gave examples: "This is your little mouse with the ears like this, little face, little body, and the curly tail (see Figure 16). I can't even remember how they do it. That's the kind of thing.... They're always little I find, very, very little. Cute things." Teachers noted that clay and paint are used in less stereotypic ways but that each medium is prone to a different kind of stereotype.

Figure 15

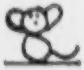

Figure 16

Secondary school teachers described another form of rigidity - the themes that students repeat. They noted that students can invest these with more personal meaning if they are encouraged to do so. One teacher cited as examples of stereotyped themes invested with more personal meaning: sunsets, trees, mountains, death, demons, black magic, horror, the handsome young man and the glamorous young woman, romantic scenes, medieval scenes, and science fiction fantasy.

These are the other kinds of stereotypes they see: (1) compositional - placing an object well within a blank page; (2) meandering or geometric lines filled in with colour; (3) holiday images, such as pumpkins and rabbits; (4) associations of one medium with one product -- such as linoleum block prints with Christmas cards; (5) characters borrowed from the media, including Mickey Mouse, The Incredible Hulk, Star Wars personalities, symbols for music groups; (6) punk figures; (7) a way of looking at art -- admiring what they would call "reality," technical skill and a certain kind of romantic imagery -- the copy-a-calendar type (not a personal search); (8) doing a work that looks like what they think art is, such as a generalized still-life because still-life is art not because of interest in the specifics of that still-life; (9) technical rigidities, such as each object with shades of one colour with black added; (10) the artist as a spontaneous person, and the closely related notion that; (11) art is quick, that art is based on inspiration and does not require work.

One teacher described students' intense interest in fantasy. He feels they prefer imaginary worlds presented in the media to their own. They adopt media characters and modes of representation and are less able to develop their own means of representation than students were 10 to 15 years ago. He said the meaning is in the stories their pictures tell, and these stories have become more standardized in approaching an ideal life depicted in the media. He also sees students using a code: "A figure represented in a given pose, or with certain clothes becomes larger than life and is understood by peers as representing a certain kind of person." One example he gave was drawing a face in shadow to show that the character is mysterious.

At the university level, teachers noted, and usually lamented, the effect of mass media on their students' values. One teacher said, "I think stereotypes are becoming more prevalent because people are finding it more and more difficult to get inside themselves." "For me," he said, "it's directly related to photography and to reproduction, and how the camera has allowed us to pull everything together in a superficial way and see the things without their meaning. Do you know what I mean?"

"A sort of mechanical recording?" I asked.

"Exactly. So students do that with space now. They do that with colour, they do that with one object's relation to another on a flat surface, it always comes out the way it looks in a magazine. Most students would rather look at slides than look at the real painting, because, if you will, it's been cliché-tized, it's been stereotized. Photographic form is itself a cliché in today's society. It's easier for them to read; it's more agreeable. The information has been processed."

He told about the change in a slide: "The scale gets changed, the textures get changed, the colours get changed. The liveliness of it, the organicness of it is altered." Most students today, he lamented, will want the teacher to show slides when the artist is having a show right around the corner. "When they do go to New York they don't really go to see those paintings. They go to get reinforcement, particularly in New York reinforcement of this thing I'm talking about, this photographic world."

"So," I asked him, "they're looking for the thing they have in their heads?"

"Right," he said.

He continued, "Since so many people around the student look at the stereotype and go, 'Oh, that's nice, I recognize that!' you've got an easier existence." He was agitated thinking about it and continued, "Things are coming in packages. It's a way of packaging art. It's a way of packaging people." This teacher later described children's schemata as "attempts to describe the real world. But later in art school it's not. It's an attempt to describe art."

"To reproduce art?" I asked.

"That's right. So that's where the problems begin. There are ways of getting around it; lots of teachers do it. They develop little schools. They believe in the master kind of theory. Now that's helpful, because then the student doesn't have to make decisions. It depends on how the teacher teaches it, too. Some of these people really do push these kids to make decisions. But the end responsibility is not the student's. The students end up painting reasonably decent paintings with reasonable understanding but they all look like the teacher's."

Another teacher described several stereotypes: (1) the landscape, picture-postcard style; (2) a way of brushing the surface, brushing a certain thing in a certain way; (3) an Expressionist style; (4) the size of canvas ("It's a mystique, the bigger the better"); and, (5) working on canvas. "I am," he said, "trying to convince them to work on masonite or paper because it's cheaper. de Kooning worked on paper."

He continued, "Where we once had the abstract expressionist stereotype that art could change the world, maybe we have now gone to the opposite stereotype; students who really don't feel the dignity or the grandeur of making a work of art, so they don't try to put their beliefs or attitudes in it. It's a lack of belief. Concealed in their images is a value system that I can't define, but I can feel is there."

He speculated that we are entering an era in which visual intelligence plays a larger role and that computer games are training for a new kind of thinking which is essentially visual. "The result," he said, "may be that the function of art changes. If students are coming to us to learn a visual logic, maybe they're diverted from using art as a means of expressing a transcendental thing and are using art more and more as a way of learning about their own logical processes vis-a-vis the visual world. Something like what we have always done, but with a different aim."

In conclusion, these teachers identified stereotypes in their students' work and attitudes and all of them insist on knowing the student and the student's work thoroughly before being able to label something a stereotype. Some teachers of young children emphasized that even a rigidly repeated pattern may have emotional meaning that we cannot detect -- therefore we must check ourselves because the meaning may be invested where we least expect it.

Does work repeated for adult or peer recognition or approval reflect low emotional involvement? Elementary teachers differed in what they thought about this. Some said this was the lowest level of emotional involvement; others said this was important to the child. At the same time all the elementary teachers valued more flexibility and individuality in the children's work, and would prefer to see fewer stereotypes.

At the secondary school level, teachers were working within, and around, the students' rigidities. The themes and techniques students value and persist in using, are accepted and the teachers work to help develop other levels of meaning and to erode whatever rigidities possible. At this level teachers worry about students' stereotypes of artists and artists' processes but mentioned that teacher's stereotypes about art are part of the problem.

Students' efforts to reproduce art, or recognizably approved imagery are a major concern. It probably is the most fundamental and persistent stereotype. Through helping the students to overcome their technical and theme rigidities, the teachers feel they may have some impact on this stereotype.

At the university level, teachers feel they confront very rigid stereotypes about the nature of art, that is, the students' efforts to make things that look like art and have little to do with personal meaning. They find it extremely hard to get students to experiment, to explore other possibilities or to engage in a personal search once "easy solutions" have been picked up from others. The teachers expressed frustration with the students' emotional isolationism, which keeps the students from seeing other works of art, from understanding their work's relation to other works of art and from exploring and enriching their own repertoire. University teachers expressed two different attitudes toward schema. One is that students can adopt their teacher's general schema and invest it with personal meaning. The other is that students must develop their own schema or adopt from more varied sources.

Brazilian Art Teachers
Elizabeth Sacca
Ivone Richter

The teachers interviewed in Brazil were also concerned about stereotypes and described the tendencies they see. They reflected on their students' motivations for repeating these patterns and discussed meaning in even the most rigid. They talked about the roles of schools, adults and media in creating stereotypes. Many recalled with surprise, and even delight, their emotions when repeating their favorite drawings as children.

Schemata by young children mentioned most frequently were the human figure, the house, the landscape. The middle-school teachers mentioned their students' self-criticism and their need to use recognizable symbols such as the broken heart, the eye with tears, and the personified tree. University teachers saw their students' stereotypes as easy solutions, solutions students think are "safe."

One of the university teachers smiled at herself when she recalled her childhood and told us, "I can draw the whole landscape (the house, the tree, the mountains, the winding road, the lake with ducks and the V-shaped birds). I'm remembering that my mother used to save them because of the details (see Figure 17). You know, I used to crowd the drawing with details, details, details, and I used to work on a drawing for hours."

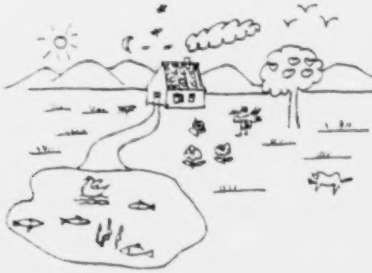

Figure 17

She made this analysis: "I think that it's the same for all people. The expressive part comes first; maybe this approach is a bit romantic, but I think that it always starts from the schemata of their affective life. Then they start relating to the world.... The child is linked to one vision of the world which is from his own perspective: the mother, the father, the house. It's very related to the world, to the emotion, but it starts creating an addiction -- a graphic addiction. The person starts automatizing the gesture."

The other teachers also emphasized the affective lives of young children reflected in their drawings of the family and the house, and, for boys, also cars. "They love drawing cars. The details, the windows, the antenna, the door. Seen from above, and also the road. The race track, that's incredible (see Figure 18). There are many cars, flags, many flags. As at any age there are some students who elaborate their drawings."

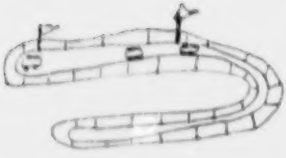

Figure 18

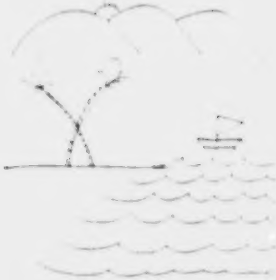

Figure 19

Something else which teachers reported seeing is the landscape with palm trees (see Figure 19). A teacher remembered her own feelings on finding a new landscape and her joy in repeating it. "I remember one time I saw a chocolate bar that had a landscape different from anything I had ever seen, and I spent a long time repeating that landscape (see Figure 20). It was a new thing that I saw, but it was a copy.... There was a hill here, and here on top there was a house -- a wonderful house that appears in part. I know that just part of the house appears and not all of the house. It had many details. It was different, because it had a high road. It was as if the house were higher with the road passing through the hills or as if a cut had been made on the road."

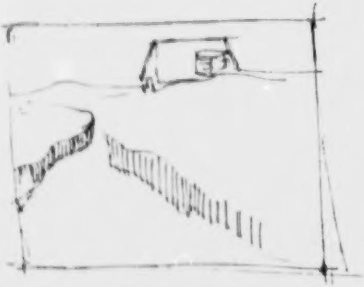

Figure 20

Other teachers described the process of a schema's becoming a stereotype through the influence of adult taste. "Suddenly the problem of age arrives..., the child starts being aware of adult judgement and starts being conditioned.... Sometimes the student comes to tell us 'Oh, teacher, I don't paint; I don't draw, because one time people told me that my drawing was ugly.' That means that we don't know many things which take place in the background of the child. Even the parents say, 'Oh, what a drawing! What is that?' The child starts turning inward, starts being ashamed."

On the other hand, what the adult accepts and encourages was also reported as conditioning the child. "I think that when we start overseeing children and they start creating the stereotype, because it's cute, they make an effort to improve on its cuteness. Then the child starts adulterating the expression... and then starts being addicted."

Many teachers emphasized the children's observation and direct experience as methods of helping children find their own means of representation. "I remember going to the zoo in Saupacaia when I was still in high school; the teacher encouraged drawing landscape. I remember the landscape I did at the zoo; it was an observation drawing. That's something that I liked very much--water, the trees--it was detailed. It was not the images, it was just the detail of the landscape."

Another recalled his experience seeing weddings and drawing brides. "I can remember exactly the emotion I had when I did them. I had an incredible attraction to everything majestic -- everything grandiose, and for me the bride, the figure of a bride was awesome... that long veil, that thing entering the church. Then I always drew crowns of flowers in the hair, something very big... always a long veil (see Figure 21). I don't know, sometimes the bride disappeared in the middle... always triangular and always with a crown... everything that would be high and big, incredible. And I had a very strong emotion when I drew these brides. I was full of awe, and I loved to go see the brides in person."

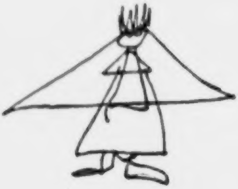

Figure 21

Teachers were concerned that children are not able to draw with authenticity when their perceptions are based more on pre-established forms of representation than on their own direct observation, and they think this is often the case when a child experiences things through the media. "When a child sees an airplane, it's difficult to see the airplane as it is in real life, because they see the airplane more often on TV or in a magazine. As a result, I think that they already see things like that in a frame and as figures -- already drawn or already photographed. Then I think that they do not have the opportunity to smell the airplane, to feel afraid of it, something very monstrous that you can feel only when you are very close. Maybe for that reason it becomes a stereotype for being something already framed on a flat surface."

Some time ago TV often showed Fittipaldi, the Brazilian world racing champion, and many children drew long cars with hugh tires. "While some of them were still drawing the house, the family, the tree and usual landscape, others with more power of acquisition were doing more drawings of cars. The more advanced drew cars and airplanes. They were more concerned with these contemporary things... I think this is very linked to their socio-economic situation...."

Many teachers were concerned with the effect of social conditions and poverty on mental development of children. "Another aspect that must be considered when we're studying stereotypes, is the mental development of the child. Because the student with better cultural (living) conditions is more developed than the others, but suddenly we find students in a very low social milieu who are very creative, and in that case, there's a drawing that's a whole story and shows a lot of involvement. And it seems that the explanation is more interior than visual; they talk more about the drawing than they really draw."

Children from lower social classes were described by a teacher as "more naive in a certain way -- more childish.... In spite of that they have great creativity. Even drawing the house, each one has their own emotional language.... In adolescence, the social aspect is much more impressive in this kind of drawing. Some children draw a lot of technological elements, more sophisticated drawings of sound equipment -- something the child of less means doesn't draw. The children with less money sometimes draw the car, maybe as an expectation -- a status symbol that he would like to have -- the car, but he doesn't use the rest of his drawing."

Recalling the 1950's when the first cars were fabricated in Brazil, a university professor told us, "In my childhood all children drew cars... the car in motion, and the car was this one! It was the Volks of the epoch. It was the invasion of our consumer market. In terms of the car, the aspiration of the middle class was the Volkswagen. The house didn't change. The man. The woman. Oh, how could I forget that? The flag. I drew it a lot when I was a child. Everyone drew it. These are the symbols. They were the drawing of aspirations. It was the house, the car, the family and the country. Then basically we were inculcated with these by school, and still today this is happening. The dream of the stability of a nation."

The basis of one teacher's early art experience was copying from a first-grade reading book and other texts. She remembered copying a cat and was amazed that she recalled his name, "Faisca." She also remembered drawing flowers all around the edge of the page. I don't remember having space for work, then everything was little." A university drawing teacher told us that when a child asks her to draw a cat, her immediate reaction is to draw that cat she copied from reading books when she was a child. "I have the impulse to go over that representation. That's something that stays in you strongly."

Another stereotype that endures: "Oh, the duck that the parents do; it's so typical of parents. Piles of children's notebooks with this drawing, but it wasn't the child who came up with this duck; the parents did that. Then this duck made with number "2" appears in the drawing of the child (see Figure 22)."

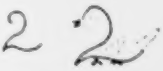

Figure 22

Also passed on from parents to children is the Easter rabbit. "Then they do the rabbit as their father taught them. There will always be a rabbit as their father taught them. Who would dare say this isn't a rabbit! Then all the Easter cards have a rabbit like that."

"Since the primary school, since the first contacts with the family and society, they are always working with these things: cards for Mother's Day, posters from Gaucho Day, always things that people can understand.... Probably the child would not do the gaucho in his daily work; it might be too difficult. Then the child prefers to make this gaucho very stereotypic (see Figure 23); for instance children would put in all the elements of the gaucho's outfit that they know."

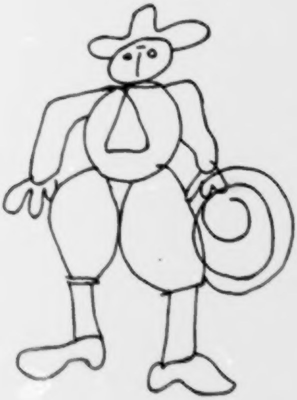

Figure 23

A primary school teacher told us that according to her experience, "The influence of the teacher is the worst. At home there is some influence from the parents, but it's more the teacher." Two university professors talked about this process. One told us, "The representation that comes from school is less elaborate, because schools are already automatizing people. All people draw the rabbit the same, the basket the same, the Christmas tree the same." The other questioned the school process. "What is a school in that stage? It's an adaptation of the child to a predetermined schema. They will have to learn to stay seated for hours. They will have to learn norms of sociability. They will have to learn schemata of conduct. They will have to learn schemata of representation. In this stage it stops being a manifestation and starts being an exercise of fitting into schemata." Many strongly criticized the use of mimeographed drawings in schools as exercises fitting children's expression into stereotypes.

All teachers interviewed considered these mimeographs the worst perpetrator of stereotypes because the children see the drawing of the teachers as "wonderful - there on the paper" and the children have to color that drawing. Each day children receive an "incredible deluge of mimeographs." These inhibit the children and they attempt to draw the same way. Once this happens, "they are already prejudiced, then it's very difficult work to get them free, because they can't understand why they can't do that. We start motivating, stimulating them to make another kind of work. 'But why? It's so beautiful like this!'" In many interviews, we heard that the children are not encouraged to develop their own personal styles, and that they think they will get the teacher's approval and affection only when they copy or make drawings like the teacher's or like other adults!

A drawing teacher wondered if this type of education hindered the development of her own work, because for many years she drew "just three kinds of stereotypes." She found some compensation in coloring. "I remember that in school, the teacher put the drawings on the board: butterflies, beetles, watermelons, vases with flowers, this kind of element that we copied and had to color. Then the work was mostly coloring, because the drawing came from the blackboard. And I loved coloring, because it was a new thing; what I was creating there was the color. Then I used to take home the work of my friends to color, and coloring the work of others gave me a feeling of doing something of my own, because then there was no consensus on this issue."

Secondary teachers were concerned with the stereotypes from elementary school, as one said, "Sometimes we're saddened to see what happens in terms of development. The little student from the first grade goes on to the second still repeating. They haven't had their taste awakened, and they're still in high school repeating the same things, and of course this way they will never like to draw."

Seventh- and eighth-graders become self-critical and are embarrassed to draw in this "childish" way, and they search for other ways. "The first thing they do is re-use the symbols they already know, and they are sure they will function. They would never dare -- or maybe they don't think that it would be good -- to search for a new symbol, because maybe they are afraid of not being well understood. The most important for them, is the message. Yes, because someone asked them to transmit a message, then they want -- they need -- to have the security that the message will be understood. Then they search for something that all people understand. The heart, for instance, or the eye with tears." Others are hands holding people, the personified tree and a big face with the nose in profile.

Stereotypes were also described as appearing out of context to communicate a message. One student drew a work with "lines that really showed her emotion... but at the end she was not completely content with the drawing and put in a heart broken in half, just when the work was getting good results."

Both elementary and secondary teachers were concerned with the use of the ruler. "A serious problem is when the art teacher is working only with geometric design. After that the children only want to draw with the ruler. If it's a circle, they start trying to get a coin the size they need. (They love the little ruler with the geometric shapes cut out.) With that they create a hundred and one things. It's an escape from the drawing itself. They feel secure with this geometric tracing, because they don't have to draw."

Another thing that often happens in secondary school is copying: "bringing in some work that they have already copied, thinking the teacher will not notice... even magazines or art history books -- they try to copy. They bring the copies to class as though they were great novelties."

The lack of confidence that begins in adolescence continues at the university level, according to university teachers. They feel their students bring stereotypes with them and use stereotypes to hide difficulties with their work or to provide easy solutions. One form of such a stereotype is the sudden intrusion of a more childish representation, a kind of regression. "They will make this series of trees, and suddenly they put this little house of Hansel and Gretel. I almost scalp them (see Figure 24)."

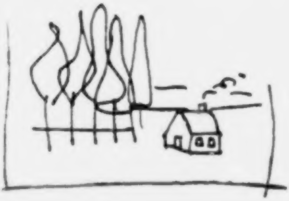

Figure 24

Another form of stereotype used as an easy solution is the amoeba form which runs rampant in university drawings and paintings. One professor described her amazement at the quantity of ameobae in the students' work. "This is the most common stereotype. Then they don't even care to explore the possibilities of the amoeba form. Afterwards, some go on to this more organic drawing, and some go to more geometric language. 'Oh, because I don't know how to draw.' I want to make it clear that these are beginning students. In the next stage, after they have left this they start doing the little boat and sunset. They have a very romantic vision -- archaic, but anyway, it's according to their age. And afterwards, the ones who want to make a more sophisticated drawing try to imitate album covers, try to give them more flair. Others, who have already made up their minds to go into textiles, go for flowers.

A university teacher analyzed historical influences, noting that Brazil has always received models of art from other nations or traditions. He referred to the French mission that brought the model of Neo-Classicism in the 19th century. In this century it was Bauhaus and, more recently, American influence. "The information itself arrives here out-of-date in a part of the world a bit distant from things... then a big confusion occurs. Students lose their own identities as persons, lose this identity of how to represent."

University teachers considered use of rigid compositional devices to be stereotypes (see Figure 25). Symmetrical compositions are used because of the ease with thich they solve compositional problems. The only variation is in the technique, not in the structure. Another device mentioned was the attempt to balance elements like trees on the left with the sun or the moon on the right.

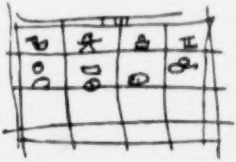

Figure 25

Pure color was considered another easy solution. "Their color is always pure. The dominant one is red. Afterwards the green, the yellow -- always the pure color, never a mixture. When I say green, it's the green right out of the tube, not one that is discovered. There is no concern with harmony, with a study, with a search for a particular color. Then this also creates a stereotype. It goes against individuality."

Teachers complained about "some kind of surrealism" that appears in the students' work. "Then they think that creativity is that, the representation of weird things like bleeding feet, thorns, forms like that... dry branches, a more surrealistic drawing, their idea of surrealism anyway, sometimes the moon behind it, like this... yellow, lots of yellow, sometimes with black to give the impression of dark-light. And I think it is due to demands made during high school. Some kind of exercise given to them which is valued."

According to another teacher, "There is no one who doesn't draw landscape, and very romantic landscape. Trees -- there are many. Always the moon, the sun. The trees all form the same pattern -- one cypress." With a note of irony in her voice she concluded, "You know, I'm talking about the students who are entering the university, because afterwards, the poor dears will be conditioned to us, too."

* * *

Shared Themes

Readers, undoubtedly, have observed concepts and images repeated by the art teachers from Brazil, Canada, and the United States as they reflected on represented stereotypes in drawings that were mentioned by all of the teachers. In many instances, such as the "house [that] doesn't reflect the kind of houses that most children actually "see," particular images are common to all three countries; others, for example the gaucho in Brazil and the video game figures in the U.S., appear specific to those countries.

Organization as a stereotype is a theme which emerged in interviews from all three nations. The grid as such a device is a shared experience, especially by university art teachers.

The use of color in a meaningless, stereotypical manner is mentioned by teachers from all the countries. However, the concern in Brazil is with colors applied directly from their containers without any mixing that may individualize the color choices and, perhaps, relate them to specific objects or situations. In Canada and the U.S. art teachers lamented that their students assume a limited stereotypical formula in mixing colors: Canadian teachers noted that frequently black is added to all colors, while in the U.S. the ritual approach observed is "working white into everything."

In their description of stereotyped pictures, teachers often mentioned that an object is drawn without any background, suggesting that to their students, context is either unnecessary or unimportant for such conventional images. Perhaps this is because, as we heard over and over, a stereotype is easily recognized, so it does not require a situation for identification. It is intriguing to reflect on such contextless images as physical analogies for the attitude characterized by many of the teachers as lack of emotional involvement. This attitude was attributed variously to experiences mediated through commercial promotions, comic strips, TV, colored slides of art, magazine representations of art, and other people's notions about art. In one form or another these art teachers acknowledged the importance of social sanctioning and social situations in developing images and concepts in art. However, they feared that "students lose their own identities as persons." Stereotypes in art, then, become a manifestation of that meaninglessness. Mute evidence for the value which these art teachers attach to direct experience may be noted in the frequency and vividness with which they spontaneously described their own early recollections as they struggled to interpret stereotypes, schemata, and personal meanings.

Perhaps a university teacher from Iowa sent a message from all of these teachers when he said, "Everyone seems to have an interesting story to tell. Their problem usually is they are not identifying their own story; they are trying to draw like Michelangelo. And if everyone drew like Michelangelo it would have nothing to do with art. It would all be very boring."

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The Influence of Traditional Art Forms and Media on Secondary Art Programs in Kenya

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Traditional Kenyan education emphasized the value of the individual as a member of a cohesive society through conformity to tribal customs and morals. Social traditions and beliefs unified members in their shared responsibility for the preservation of their society. This relationship between the individual and society was in contrast to that fostered by the British system of education, which stressed individual success at the expense of social conformity (Kenyatta, 1953; Mutva, 1975).

Because literacy was a prerequisite to economic success, the schools became the only avenue through which the Kenyan African could rapidly attain economic well-being and social mobility equal to that of European Whites. Anxious to gain status and wealth in this context, the Kenyan African oftentimes ignored and rejected the indigenous culture and the socio-cultural value of traditional education methods. As "everything pointed to the eventual triumph of Western culture over the indigenous" culture (Mutva, 1974, p. 11-12), later attempts to rekindle traditional non-economic values failed because of their half-hearted implementation.

Like the African educator in general, the Kenyan educator is today committed to a double objective reflective of this history:

> (1) Education must help to modernize African society and give it dynamism and resourcefulness so that it is not out of step with contemporary modern societies;
>
> (2) Education must help to conserve and to rehabilitate African culture in such a way that it will be worthy of respect by other nations (Makula, 1971, p. 37).

In art education, adherence to this double objective has meant the introduction of traditional arts and crafts into the school program. Such an introduction aims to develop both an awareness of and appreciation for this aspect of Kenyan culture. To what extent this is currently being accomplished remains to be thoroughly researched. This paper serves as a brief introduction to educational discussion concerning the incorporation of these aspects of African traditional culture into the Kenyan school curriculum, and more specifically, secondary school art programs. The investigation was limited to secondary schools for a number of reasons. In all Kenyan primary schools art is mandatory, process-oriented, and seeks to develop "the whole child." At the secondary level, however, art is an elective and the curriculum, still influenced by the British educational model, dictates a classical approach to learning. As well., secondary schools are traditionally held in high esteem by Kenyans as indicators of economic success and higher education. This is understandable as the 1978 illiteracy estimate was placed at 40%, and most primary school students cannot attend secondary school. Thus, although they may come from various socio-economic levels, students in Kenyan secondary schools are a priviledged class. Because these schools prepare Kenya's future leaders, the author was most interested in observing how these factors affected art education at this level.

This study was undertaken in preparation for a brief trip to Kenya in 1981, at which time the author was able to visit art teachers in four secondary schools in and near Nairobi. Observations of student work and teacher interviews provided limited but first-hand knowledge of ongoing art programs. To further understanding of art education in Kenya, this paper presents the African rationale for including a knowledge of African culture in the school and art curricula, describes traditional Kenyan art forms, investigates the history of Kenyan art education and discusses current art educational practices as observed in four Kenyan secondary schools.

The African Educational Rationale

Educators in developing African nations, such as Kenya, face a dilemma in formulating educational policy. Makula (1971) notes that:

> the education system in Africa must be designed to produce an African child who lives in three worlds; he must be rooted in his immediate culture and mother tongue, [as well as] be able to find his way in the new all-African culture and at the same time be in touch with development in the world at large. (p. 37)

Designing such an educational system is a difficult task, for at the heart of the dilemma lies an economic problem. Developing nations face interminable difficulties attempting to improve crop production, foreign market relations, and economic stabilization to insure a decent standard of living for their citizens. Because these difficulties are so acute, government policy makers advocating "education for development" often view the country's educational system as the vehicle to rectify these problems. But, as Myaju (1972) notes, "A purely economy-oriented education has disastrous consequences in Africa" (p. 6). With such an orientation, one is faced with introducing major educational changes with no local investment opportunities, limited foreign aid, and unequal taxation policies to support such changes. Although there is a need for well-trained doctors, engineers and managers, these individuals also need to understand the cultural and social setting of their societies.

As long as African nations preserve the colonial philosophy of education in their schools, however, such individuals are unlikely to emerge. Still prevailing as one of the most important values in East African education, for example, is individual success, which brought social status and economic wealth to colonial whites and Asians and was expected to bring the same to Kenyan Africans. Instead, advanced education tended to alienate Africans from their society because their education taught them to speak English, not their native tongue; do office, not manual work; sing European, not tribal songs; and absorb European, not traditional culture, (Mushanga, 1972). Fafunwa (1967) advises that:

> If African education is to develop the whole child and not estrange him from his own culture . . . the present [European] examination system of education [should] be supplanted by a system of education that is pupil-centered. (p. 75)

Such a system would respond to the students' cultural experiences, formulating curricula to achieve full integration of the educated African into a social system still influenced by traditional African values and beliefs.

That the desire exists among African nations to root education in African values and heritage relevant to African societies (Busia, 1964), is seen in the following directive formulated by members of the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference:

> African educational authorities should revise and reform the content of education in the areas of curricula, textbooks and methods, so as to take account of the African environment, child development, cultural heritage and the demands of technological progress and economic development, especially industrialization. (ECA/UNESCO cited in Makula, 1971)

This mandate requires the incorporation of past African traditions as well as those of present day African society. This would encourage the East African to develop a self-identity within his or her society instead of adopting foreign, particularly British, customs. Most educators view this "unfolding of the African personality'" (Makula, 1971, p. 35) as the final goal of the new African society, which, when achieved, will have developed a people with self-respect and an "appropriate identity" within their culture (Majaju, 1972).

In the area of art education, similar mandates have been made. Most contemporary East African art education writers stress the importance of incorporating the African environment and cultural heritage in art lessons. They suggest subject matter relevant to the students' lives and traditional background (Trowell, 1952; Udo-Ema, 1965), as well as the use of traditional tools and media (Castle, 1966; Kareithi, 1967; Msangi, 1975). As Fafunwa (1967) explains, art is more than aesthetic and artistic expression; it expresses African philosophy, religious views, and the "the African psyche and personality." She feels that "to neglect these vital aspects of a truly meaningful and extremely pertinent educational process, is to kill the very soul of African education" (p. 75). It is important that African traditional culture be included in the educational program, yet not to the exclusion of the colonial tradition and contemporary African culture. Excluding one or two of these aspects would be a one-sided approach to the actual life experiences of the African child. Educational planning, especially in the arts, needs to address all aspects of the students' social and cultural experience. This would mean, as Fafunwa (1967) points out, including a balance not only of African but European art forms. This is consistent with the 1965 directive expressed at the Teacher Education

Conference for East Africa. Teachers were called upon to provide the means for the conservation and evaluation of the cultural aspects of the community in order to safeguard the existing traditional, cultural values and strengthen the social fabric of the people (Urch, 1968, p. 98). More specifically, East African art educators were encouraged to base their teaching content on traditional African values and the cultural heritage (Coates & Coates, 1971).

The Kenya government policy toward the inclusion of traditional African values and cultural heritage in art programs can best be assessed through the latest government syllabus for secondary art (1976). An examination of this document reveals an emphasis on the importance of the environment as a source of inspiration and knowledge, but a corresponding lack of emphasis on traditional art forms and media. Overall, the syllabus philosophically advocated a realistic and experimental approach to subject matter, technique, and teaching methods. Suggestions for subject matter included themes from everyday urban and village life, school experiences, festivals, ceremonies and entertainment. Technique suggestions listed drawing, painting, lettering, modelling, carving, tie and dye, batik, collage and craftwork. Course objectives included, among others: the development of students' artistic potential; emotional, physical, spiritual, and mental growth; manual dexterity; appreciation of the beautiful; visual language of communication; ability to do teamwork; sense of color, line, form and structure; sense of selection and arrangement; skills of inquiry about the environment. Both an interdisciplinary approach and inquiry mode of learning were advocated, but observation from nature, demonstrations, and story-telling were the only methods suggested to achieve these objectives. Evaluation procedures for the East African examinations given after Forms IV and VI were briefly mentioned, but no specific suggestions were given for summative or formative course/student evaluation.

It is understandable that the first government syllabus for art would exhibit initial weaknesses and inconsistencies, since historically the arts have not been included in Kenyan curriculum planning. The reasons for this are intertwined with the cultural context for producing art and the development of the Kenyan school system. Although not constituting as rich a cultural tradition as in West Africa, Kenyan art forms are nonetheless products of a particular society which deserve attention in educational curriculum planning. Some traditional Kenyan art forms are discussed in the following section in the context of the societies which produce them.

Traditional Kenyan Art Forms

Traditional art forms exist in Kenya but are part of a cultural context unique to East Africa where nomadic or agro-pastoral societies have predominated. In these societies the division of labor, lifestyle, and social structure influenced the development of the arts. Men, as herders and war farers, had little leisure time to carve wood or be artistically productive; whereas, women, as farmers, had some "leisure" time to fashion utilitarian objects out of sisal and reed. This agro-pastoral life pattern made it inconvenient to develop decorative arts or collect statues and masks for homes which would soon be abandoned (Brown, 1972; Bascom, 1973). In addition, most of these societies were egalitarian, governed by a council of elders. Great art traditions in Africa, however, usually developed in hierarchically organized societies where "art served to maintain the authority of the ruler by exalting his position . . . [and where] there were wealthy clients who support the artists" (Bascom, 1973, p. 184).

Both nomadic and agro-pastoralist societies developed art forms primarily for utilitarian purposes although it is documented that ceremonial wood and clay figurines were made by a number of Kenyan societies (Miller, 1975). The pastoralist mode of expression was usually "visual in its preoccupation with geometric designs or oral through its use of poetry" (Hartwig, 1978, p. 62). As a rule Kenyan pastoral societies did not require mask or figurine representations of ancestral or spiritual forces because the ancestor's presence was felt to exist through the kinship practice of giving children an ancestor's name, or naming them after an ancestor's character trait or profession. If a child was given the name of his mother's father, for example, it was not uncommon to hear the mother call her child "my father." In this way the presence of the ancestors was so real that no mask or figurine could replace it (Hartwig, 1978).

Sculpted figurines were used by a few societies like the Kamba and Duruma in ceremonies associated with medicine, sorcery and the dead (Brown, 1972). The Cluruma are the only Kenyan society which carved wooden masks. These were used to trick people into becoming slaves, as were leather masks, common among the Duruma, Samia, Kuria, and Walinda. Often these were fashioned from crude flat leather pieces to which teeth, feathers, and seeds were glued with hardened honey. More common, particularly along the coast, were carved stoppers on medicine containers, realistically portraying humans or abstract designs, varying according to the type of medicine and illness treated. Coastal medicine men also used staffs for consultations, embellished with carved human heads (Brown, 1972).

The Kamba, known traditionally as great artisans, fashioned spoons, stools, and stoppers of wood in the 19th centry. Carved gargoyle-like figures were used once to guard Kamba houses from evil spirits. Current anthropological research suggests that carving wooden masks was also a traditional Kamba art in the 19th century. Contemporary Kamba artisans make a variety of decorated calabashes, pots, stools, baskets, jewelry, and forged-iron implements (Miller, 1975).

The Kisii traditionally used the soapstone found in western Kenya to make pots for storing fat, pipes, bowls, and other domestic items. Soapstone powder often was applied to the skin as decoration for funerals, circumcision rites, and festivals. Since the First World War, Kisii carvers have made geometrically stylized animal figures, ashtrays, candle sticks, vases, and mugs for commercial sale (Miller, 1975). The Watusi and Barundi make highly decorated baskets of sisal and grasses which are so tightly woven that they hold water. They also make wooden vesels marked with finely burnt patterns (Leuzinger, 1960).

The pastoralist way of life also influenced the development of another art form--personal decoration and body ornamentation (Brown, 1972). Kikuyu women distended their ear lobes by attaching large copper disks to them and covered their arms with long copper wire bracelets (Leiris & Delange, 1968). In northern Kenya, Turkana, Samburu, and Pokot nomadic pastoralists were and still are known for elaborate modes of personal ornamentation influencing clothing style, cosmetics, and coiffures (Cole, 1974).

Traditionally, clothing in Kenya for both men and women was made from animal skins, beaten tree bark and grasses, since neither cotton nor flax was grown and the few sheep herded were the non-woolbearing type. Ceremonial dress was constructed from the same materials used for everyday dress but embellished with clay beads, feathers, leather strips, hair, sisal, etc. About two hundred years ago bark cloth and skins were discarded in favor of brightly colored printed cloth imported from Europe.

Traditional Kenyan art forms are part of a cultural heritage reflecting the life style of a pastoral and agro-pastoral people. This heritage permeated every aspect of traditional Kenyan society including religious, social and political customs. The institution of a formal educational system in Kenya, however, had its roots in a foreign culture which strongly influenced educational content, intent, and school population. This is reflected in the history of Kenyan art education.

The History of Art Education in Kenya

A number of books (Anderson, 1970; Cameron, 1970; Court & Ghia, 1973; Kornadt & Voigt, 1970; Lugumba & Ssekamwa, 1973; Sheffield, 1973; Stabler, 1969; and Weeks, 1967) document either the history or the socio-political and economic factors influencing the Kenyan education in general. While there is presently no definitive study of the history of Kenyan art education, these sources provided the background for a general overview of its development.

The education of the young, largely the concern of the community in the traditional Kenyan education system, was closely linked to the people's traditional customs and way of life. With the arrival of missionaries in about 1910, changes in the traditional educational system were manifest and the history of an established school system in Kenya began. Mission schools taught rudimentary agricultural skills for increased crop production as well as reading skills to enable students to read the Bible. Traditional arts and crafts were not included in the curriculum because they reflected traditional customs and beliefs not considered an inherent part of education. Teachers and educational authorities endeavored to suppress the practice and appreciation of the arts, because conversion to Christianity was more difficult if faith in ancestral deities was expressed and maintained through the arts. Yet the reasons given for the exclusion of art were the time and necessity for English instruction as well as the scarcity of funds and untrained staff (Carline, 1968).

In 1903, when European settlers began arriving in Kenya, they were concerned with the quality of education that their children would receive. Thus, by 1911, the Colonial Government formally became involved in education, forming a department of education to assist in the education of Europeans living in Kenya. This department developed an educational system which provided separate schools and educational programs for the European, Asian, and African populations (Lugumba & Ssekamwa, 1973) and established separate advisory committees for the three social groups (Sheffield, 1973). An academic education was provided for European and Asian children and an industrial/agricultural education for African children (Lugumba & Ssekamwa, 1973).

Art education did not figure prominently in the colonial educational system for two reasons. First, the need to train designers for industry, while important in the competitive industrialized Western nations, was not essential in the primarily agricultural colonies. Second, it was generally assumed that traditional art forms were not valued among the indigenous societies thus obviating the development of art appreciation in the schools. The new interest in child art at the turn of the century, which influenced both art education method and content in Western countries, had no immediate impact on the colonial educational system. While art was included for the first time in the syllabus at the newly founded Alliance High School in 1926 (Stabler, 1969), it is not mentioned again in any Kenyan syllabus until 1976.

The tripartite colonial education system created a number of social problems, the most serious of which was racial stratification and the paradoxical role of the school not as agent of socialization for Europeans, but as agent of social mobility for Africans (Anderson, 1970; Sheffield, 1973). Until Independence in 1963, attempts to allieviate racial stratification and improve educational programs for Kenyan Africans were negligible. After Kenyan Independence, Africans largely accepted the structure of the colonial school system inherited from the British. "Education for nation-building" became the political slogan of the governing party, the Kenya African National Union. The main objectives of this aim were first, to furnish society with skilled workers; and second, to inculcate social values to enrich people's lives (Court & Ghai, 1973). More government and self-help (Harambee) secondary schools were established to meet the first objective. But it was the second objective which influenced the acceptance of art into the school curriculum. Because of this objective, the Kenyan government in 1976 introduced art as a separate subject in all primary schools and as an elective at the secondary level. Corresponding syllabi were developed for distribution to all teachers of art. As the 1976 government syllabus for secondary art [illegible]s essentially the formal curriculum in use at each of the four secondary schools visited by the author, it is discussed in the context of the program observed.

Current Art Education Practices in Kenyan Secondary Programs

The course content of Kenyan secondary school art programs depends on several factors: (1) the traditions of the local people, (2) the locality of the school, (3) the accessibility and cost of materials, (4) the respect given to local crafts, and (5) whether certain crafts are traditionally practiced by men or women in that area (Udo-Ema, 1965). Art teachers are encouraged to invite local crafts persons into the classroom to demonstrate indigenous techniques, including comb patterns, patternwork with cassava (manioc), or clay modelling (Kareithi, 1967; 1970). Student participation in gathering local materials, such as cutting banana fibers and sisal, digging clay, and gathering other kinds of materials, is also encouraged. Students thus gain not only first-hand knowledge of the process involved in producing art work but of the source of materials used in that process.

Two types of materials are used in the Kenyan art programs--natural and manufactured. In the Nairobi secondary schools natural materials, such as clay, banana fibers, and sisal as well as manufactured materials like charcoal, yarn, and paper, had to be purchased. In the rural areas natural materials were found in the surrounding area, while man-made materials were either purchased or fashioned by the students themselves.

Most secondary schools require students to supply their own brushes, pencils, some paint and sometimes paper to be used in art class. The school provides the remaining art supplies depending on the allotted budget. At Alliance High School the art budget was roughly @2.00 per student and 205 students were enrolled in art courses (1981). At Pagani High School the art teacher was not aware of the precise allocation but was provided with all the basic items, such as paint, crayons, and paper, needed for the art program. Both of the above-mentioned schools had a large African student body. Students at the Arya Girls' High School, most of whom were Asian and members of the merchant class, were expected to purchase their own art supplies. The art teacher sometimes taught lessons which required expensive materials, such as muslin, batik wax, dyes, or acrylic paints. The Asian students were able to purchase these costly supplies more easily than their African classmates, who were unable to participate in this learning activity due to the lack of materials.

There was little evidence that students acquired knowledge of or practical experience with traditional art forms and media in secondary art classes. In school visits it became apparent that although most Kenyan traditional art forms were either three-dimensional or body decorations, this emphasis was usually lacking in secondary art programs. Although the 1976 Government Syllabus for Secondary Art suggests modelling, carving, construction, and craftwork as techniques for use in addition to painting, drawing, and printing, the former seemed to be ignored in actual practice. Except for some hand-painted calabashes produced at Arya Girls' School, no three-dimensional works were observed. Discussions with secondary art teachers revealed that many teach for the national examinations given after Forms IV and VI (corresponding to grades 12 and 14 in the American education system), rather than according to the Government Syllabus for Art. Since these examinations test the student's ability to depict natural objects in a painting or drawing, this may account for the emphasis given this particular form of expression in the secondary schools. In addition, since most art teachers had not yet received a copy of the 1976 Government Syllabus, they could hardly be expected to meet the objectives stated therein.

The absence of a study of East African art was particularly noticeable. Although the examinations include a section on art history in addition to the practical section, there were no questions about East African arts. In the East African Certificate of Education Examination given after Form IV, the student chooses questions from among five art movements or cultures, ranging from Classical Antiquity to 19th century French painting, and including the arts of Central and West Africa. However, the advanced version of this examination, administered after Form VI, omits the section on Central and West African art entirely. In teacher interviews, it was learned that few students opted for the art history section of the examinations anyway, because of the lack of slides, audio-visual equipment, reproductions, and good books from which to study. The inclusion of an art history section is praiseworthy, although it would seem to indicate that such content was actually taught in secondary art programs. Observations of these programs and teacher interviews, however, revealed that this section is quite irrelevant to the students' actual educational experience, which does not include a study of historical or contemporary art forms from any nation.

Conclusion

The influence of traditional Kenyan art forms and media on secondary art programs has been minimal. Even though Kenyan art educators are encouraged to consider these traditions when planning course content and activities, non-traditional art forms and media provide the basis for art lessons in actual practice. To alleviate this problem, Court (1981) recommends that the Art Education Syllabus be revised "to draw a closer link between art education and (a) visual learning, (b) culture, (c) child development and creativity" (p. 71) and that greater emphasis be placed on the use of local materials in art class. The revision of the syllabus alone, however, will not solve the problem unless art teachers are prepared, willing, and financially supported in instituting recommended changes. Improved availability of art materials, visual aids, and audio-visual equipment, as well as improved art teaching methods are necessary for successful implementation of traditional and contemporary African art forms in the secondary art program. But a far more fundamental question underlies the current situation, for the meaning and role of education in Kenyan society remains to be questioned and defined. As long as education is perceived as the avenue to economic success, leading to improved social status, neither traditional nor contemporary African art forms will play a significant role in education. Only when these issues are confronted and resolved, can Kenyan art education be based on the cultural experiences of the African child and seek to attain a balance between traditional and contemporary values.

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An Overview of the Influence of American Art Education Literature on the Development of Japanese Art Education

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Since Commodore Matthew Perry's squadron of ships arrived in Japan in 1853, Japan and the United States have interacted culturally with each other by way of the vast ocean which is regarded as the bridge by which Far Eastern and Far Western areas encountered each other and became integrated into one world. The field of art education is no exception to the long exchange between the two nations. For research in modern Japanese education in general, several comprehensive books are available in English, such as Anderson (1959), Passin (1965), and Kobayashi (1976). Although these three writers provide their own view of the epochs of Japanese modern education history, I would like to propose, following Anderson's book, three epochs in the development of modern Japanese education in general as follows: "(1) The introduction and development of modern education, hereafter referred to in the text as the Initial Modernization Epoch (1872-1937); (2) the conversion of education to the needs of a nation at war, or the Wartime Epoch (1937-45); (3) the building of a new democratized system, or the Democratization Epoch (1945 to the present)" (Anderson, 1959, p. 2).

In the field of art education in Japan, there has been a great deal of American art education literature which has been translated or introduced into Japanese during each epoch, except for the unhappy Wartime one. The purpose of this paper is to trace the American influence on Japanese art education in each of these three epochs.

The First Influence of American Art Education

The British influence on Japanese art education in the earlier period of the first initial modernization epoch was as influential as it was in America, typically exemplified by the case of Walter Smith's great contributions to American art education in the 1870's. For example, the first translation of a textbook on art education, what we call the Seiga Shinan (Guide to Western Pictures), was translated by Togai Kawakami[1] and published in 1871. This book, was suggested by the Ministry of Education in Japan (established on July 18, 1871) for use at the elementary school level, in accordance with the regulation of the first modern comprehensive educational ordinance[2] issued on September 8, 1872. It is an industrial and mechanical "drawing manual by Robert Scott Burn, a British writer who specialized in introductions for self-teaching of artistic and mechanical subjects." His book, *Illustrated London Drawing Book* (London, 1852), "contains lessons in pencil sketching, figure and object drawing, perspective and isometric drawing, sketching in crayons, and engraving in metal and wood." In addition, his *Self-aid Cyclopedia for Self-taught Students* (London, 1863) was translated and incorporated into the *Seiga Shinan*, plus some "essays on architectural, mechanical, and engineering drawing, ornamental drawing and design, mechanics, and steam engine design" (Rosenfield, 1971, p. 194). Yet, comparing the original text with the translated book, Kaneko (1981) indicates that the "translation of Burn's book can be seen as almost correct, though with some additions and modifications of figures" (p. 19) according to the translator's idea. One such modification of figures is the fact that an illustration of a student drawing some lines on a blackboard, which is found on page 21 of Chapman's *American Drawing Book* (New York: J. S. Redfield, 1858), was added to the opening page of the translation of Burn's book (Kumamot, 1973; 1982). This is, I think, the first influence of American art education on Japanese modern art education.

During the Initial Modernization Epoch

However, the impact of American art education on the Japanese, from the end of the nineteenth century to the present, except for the Wartime epoch, has been more influential than that of other countries, especially in the practical aspects of teaching art. Let us examine the translation and the introduction of American art literature into Japanese. During the initial modernization epoch, Cross's *Light and Shade: A Manual for Teachers and Students* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1897) was translated by Akira Shirahama and contained in the appendix of his book (1904) entitled *Zuga Kyoju Ho* (Methods in Drawing Instruction). In this book, Shirahama also includes several pictures which were reprinted from Tadd's *New Methods in Education* New York: Orange Judd Co., (1901) found on pages 72, 90, 124, 127, 160, 165, and 171 (Shirahama, 1904, pp. 82-92). A picture on page 160 in Tadd's book can be seen in the recent fine art education text by Chapman, *Approaches to Art in Education* (1978), on page 4, top. Tadd's work on art, real manual training and nature study, emphasizes, according to Belshe (1946), "the cultural value of arts in industrial training" (p. 61) and makes three suggestions: the correlation of drawing with all other objects, improvement of aesthetic taste by practice in art, and encouraging children to create design. It also provides that "a study of artistic objects would profoundly influence the aesthetic preferences of individuals" (p. 62). Tadd's influence was not limited to Japan; it also extended to Germany. Like the recent American researcher Smith (1982) who points out Tadd's impact on Germany,[3] a Japanese researcher of arts education, Seki (1925), also indicates the impact:

> ...Tadd proposes drawing with both hands and 'rotation of the branches of work' [which means multi-media follow-through[4]] as a new method in which children in every grade not only draw but do such things as designing, modeling, and carving. As an example of work, children first of all draw a figure or form on paper, next they model it in clay and finally they carve it in wood. Tadd believes that drawing ability may be increased by clay-modeling, which in turn may be improved by wood-carving, and this designing

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> may improve their creativity. This trend, which almost paralleled the British trend, contributed greatly to the innovation of German art education. (Seki, 1925, pp. 316-317)

Beyond the impact of Cross and Tadd on Japanese art education, subsequent American influences are demonstrated by the following: The first comprehensive modernized nation-wide textbooks of drawing in Japan were made in 1910 and depended partly on the six volumes of Froelich and Snow, *Textbooks of Art Education* (New York: Prang Educational Co., 1904); Munsterberg's *The Principles of Art Education* (New York: Prang Educational Co., 1904) was translated into Japanese first in 1915 by Shimoda and second in 1921 by Nishimiya: and Bailey's *Art Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914) was also translated in 1920 by Shimoda. The above American impact on the Japanese is corroborated by Dobbs' most recent article. He writes:

> ... In fact, the influence of the United States can be traced to before the turn of this century, when Professor Akira Shirahama at the Tokyo Fine Arts School studied the approach and materials of the Massachusetts Normal Art School, at which Walter Smith had created the first major public school teacher training program in drawing beginning in the 1870's. The Japanese art text of the early period also shows the impact of Prang's books and the manual arts heritage. Further influence can be traced to Ernest Fenollosas at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Arthur Wesley Dow at Teachers College, and Henry Turner Bailey's *School Arts* magazine. (Dobbs, 1983, p. 8)

At the time, such writers as Shirahama and Shimoda contributed greatly to introducing American art education trends at the turn of the centry in Japanese. First, Shirahama was an expert Japanese-style painter, trained at the Tokyo Fine Arts School, now Tokyo University of Arts, and he was the first chair of the Normal Course of Drawing which was established at the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1907 as the first comprehensive art teacher training division in Japan, much like the Massachusetts Normal Art School in the United States. Shirahama's American-European art education survey trip took over three years, from March 18, 1904, to March 21, 1907. He spent the first half of his trip in America, particularly in Boston at the Massachusetts Normal Art School. Kaneko (1978a) presumes that he enrolled in the fourth year and studied in the Teacher's Class of "Pedagogy and Supervision" which offered "methods of teaching and supervising drawing" (Bailey, 1900, p. 36) or else he studied in the fifth course which aimed "to prepare students to fill positions as supervisors and teachers of drawing in the public schools" and in which the fourth year of the course was devoted to "preparation for the teaching of drawing" (Buckley, 1908, p. 329). Although he spent the latter half of his trip surveying British, French and German art education, he was more impressed with American art education than that of other countries. What he learned from the Americans was, first; the public school teacher training program in drawing at the Massachusetts Normal Art School which he translated into the Normal Course of Drawing at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Secondly, he learned the systematic approach to art curriculum in the public schools in the United States. Shirahama played a great role, with the support of other Japanese art educators, in developing the first modernized art curriculum for the public schools of Japan. His direction for a new curriculum development under the influence of the United States resulted in the publication of *Shintei Gacho (New Textbooks of Drawing)* which appeared in 1910 and consisted of a volume each for grades one to eight. This was prepared as the only national textbook for nation-wide use by the Ministry of Education in Japan. In making and writing the new curriculum of the textbook, Shirahama referred mainly to Froelich's and Snow's *Textbooks of Art Education*. It "contained illustrations to be reproduced with exactness as exercises in learning to draw" and was "often published in series with one volume for each grade level." This made it possible "to spread the teaching of art principles throughout the school years in a systematic way (Belshe, 1946, p. 82).

What the *New Textbooks of Drawing* in Japan contributed to Japanese art education heritage is, first, the innovation of curriculum reform in the public schools of Japan. The textbooks offer a modernized scope and sequence of art curriculum based on a sytematic and incremental content borrowed from American art education. Secondly, it swept away the "nationalistic reaction" in art education. This reaction in "the area of fine arts seemed to have reached a fanatical stage when, in 1885, the traditional techniques of brush and *sumi* [Indian black ink used in Chinese and Japanese painting and calligraphy] were restored in elementary art instruction, replacing the pencil drawing" (Haga, 1971, p.235), which had dominated art instruction in the elementary schools of Japan in the 1860's and 1870's. In spite of Fenollosa's great contribution to the "nationalistic reaction" in both art and the art education field, it is a historical irony that modern Japanese art education was built up completely on the exemplary model of American art education.

There was also another ironical fact in that both Shirahama and Shimoda were interested in Dow's theory and practice of art education which was based on the traditional Japanese-style painting theory and practice that Dow acquired from Fenollosa. For instance, Shirahama reports that during his stay in America he had the experience of observing Dow lecture at the Teacher's College, using a projector to show Italian works of art, providing a comparison of the works with Japanese color prints in order to describe color in the Italian works (Shirahama, 1908). In another article, Shirahama offered a justification of art education which emphasized "creative imagination" and "composition." He writes:

> Children naturally tend to have some aesthetic quality so that we should encourage them to develop their mental and aesthetic growth. In aiming for such an end, we need such materials as models and reproductions in artifacts and plants, animals, and landscapes in nature. It is a fine method that we show children many kinds of reproductions for the works of great old masters because these works not only represent natural beauty but express their ideas in which their own philosophy of humanities is symbolized by a sense of beauty, subtle imagination and great thought. To draw models, to study nature and to appreciate works of great masters' art is to make children understand what composition is by the building up of harmonious beauty through color, shape and

> space relation. As a result, children's intelligence and aesthetic ideas are developed. We must help them to be stimulated and to inquire into their work. It is the purpose of drawing as a regular subject within the school curriculum to make creative imagination available to children's minds. (Shriahama, 1907, p. 44)

It seems that Shriahama learned "creative imagination" from Froelich and Snow's textbook in which many illustrations "appear to have been designed to stimulate both an interest in art activity and a sensitivity to the beauty of nature" (Silverman, 1982, p. 174) and also that he based his idea of "composition" on Dow's book Composition (1899). But the fact that his attention to both ideas remained only mere interest and has not developed fully is evidenced by the bad transformation of Textbooks of Art Education into New Textbooks of Drawing because the former aims to help children perceive poetic imagination through "nature study" as "an integral feature of art education programs" (Dobbs, 1972, p. 51), whereas the latter offers children a strict, standardized teaching approach to "drawing education" (Kaneko, 1978b, p. 48). On the contrary, Shimoda in his book of 1924 applies Dow's "synthetic method" of art education (Dow, 1908) by proposing that drawing and manual works, both fixed within school curriculum as a regular subject at the time, should be integrated into one subject of fine arts education. Thus, he pointed out that the New Textbooks of Drawing traced only the surface of the Textbooks of Art Education (Shimoda, 1972, p. 37).

The Taisho Era (1912-1926) in Japanese modern history is the period of "Taisho Democracy" which is "not limited to political matters, but includes the broad range of liberalizing tendencies and the swing of the pendulum back to enthusiastic borrowing from the West that characterized the period" (Reischauer, 1981, p. 171). In the field of education in general, especially during the post World War I period, "there was a revival of interest in democratic education. Some of the younger Japanese scholars studying in the U.S. observed progressive education and found in John Dewey's writings what they considered a systematic educational theory based on democracy. Several of the students translated into Japanese Dewey's books School and Society, The Child and the Curriculum, Democracy and Education, and Reconstruction of Philosophy. Twice Dewey was invited to Japan to lecture, first in 1918 at Waseda Universtiy, where he spoke on "The Philosophical Basis of Democracy, and again in 1919 at Tokyo Imperial University where he outlined his instrumental philosophy." As a result, the "influence of his writings and lectures could be observed especially in the higher normal schools. The Japanese also brought to Japan such persons as Helen Dalton, William H. Kilpatrick and Carlton Washburne (Anderson, 1959, p. 14).

The Japanese art education field also responded to the liberalizing tendencies at the time. There began the remarkable movement of art education in 1919 which began to change art education philosophy. It was the "free-expression movement" in teaching painting. It was advocated by the insightful painter Kanae Yamamoto (1882-1946) who "was trained as an engraver of Western style line-block for book and magazine illustration, and later spent several years in Europe" (Sullivan, 1965, p. 149). On the way back to Japan, in Russia he had the experience of appreciating a children's creative exhibition of painting in Moscow. He was impressed greatly by the children's art at the exhibition so that when he came back to Japan, he proposed the idea of "creativity" to Japanese art educators, replacing "imitation" or "copy drawing" (Yamamota, 1921). Keitoky, a recent researcher in Japanese art education history, regarded this movement as follows:

> This movement, which was reported in newspapers and magazines, received great public attention and began to pervade the field of art education. This movement, advocating creativity in the practical field of teaching art, was the first comprehensive non-governmental movement in the modern history of Japanese art education, and although its contribution was great, the idea of free-expression in painting was finally regarded as mere representative painting, because it emphazied the method of encouraging children to paint pictures out-of-doors and because it lacked the theoretical basis of child-centered education, as well as the methodology of how to teach children to draw and paint. The reason why the idea of creativity, based on Western individualism as emphasized in the beginning of the movement, dissolved to a mere representative mode in teaching art is partly due to the limitations of Yamamoto's character and thought, but mostly to the fact that individualism and the psychological point of view were not truly understood at the time.... Therefore, it can be said that the introduction of creativity and self-expression into Japanese art education was not until after the war. (Keitoku, 1980, pp. 25-26)

For this reason, Dobbs concludes that the "ideas which were to profoundly affect American art education and to change its late nineteenth century industrial orientation to one based on child study and progressive education are absent from Japanese art education until after the World War and the impact of American Occupation" (Dobbs, 1983, p. 8). This is not entirely correct because it ignores the historical fact that there has been a free-expression movement during the period of modern Japanese history of art education which researched many theories of children's development of drawing in the context of psychological inquiry. For example, Mamoru Seki was one of the scholars who contributed to the study of child development in drawing and painting at the end of the initial modernizing epoch in the field of Japanese art education. Seki borrowed the idea of delving into the developmental stages of children's drawing from European and American psychologists. He dealt with Stanley Hall's view of children's drawing, citing Chapter XX of "Pedagogy of Drawing" in Educational Problems Vol. II (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1911), (Seki, 1925, pp. 379-383; Seki, 1931, pp. 349-357). At the same time he discussed many scholars such as Barnes, Brown, Buhler, Cooke, Kerschensteiner, Levinstein, Lukens, Rouma, Stern, and Sully. What he continually emphasized throughout his books (1928; 1931) is the idea of the function of "imagination" in children's drawings which would be the open door of art education. He points out the idea of drawing as an art based on imagination from the time of the Greek philosopher Aristotle to the present. Thus, "the teaching of art is regarded as the cultivation of the student's mind and is realized from encouraging them to continous rebirth of spirit and internal growth on mind" (Seki, 1928, p. 237).

In addition to tendencies such as these in art education, i.e. the free-expression movement and child study, Japanese art education was affected by the modern design education system of the Bauhaus in the mid-1930's. But these three trends did not completely pervade as common ideas of art education until after the post-war period because Japanese art education during the Wartime epoch was concentrated on militarism and nationalism and, like American children, "made stereotyped posters for the war effort and they mass-produced patriotic mementos and decorative items for organizations" (Chapman, 1978, p. 15).

The Democratization Epoch

Except for the unfortunate wartime relationship between Japan and the United States, America's impact on art education in Japan after the wartime epoch has been great. Dobbs provides the information about reconstruction of Japanese art education in the earlier period of the democratization epoch. He writes:

> ...the first set of national standards in art education provides an excellent example of Japanese penchant for successful assimilation. It seems that during the American Occupation bureaucracy, a man was charged with setting rules for the art classrooms, as part of the larger effort to reform the Japanese schools and provide a foundation for the development of democracy. This gentleman drew upon the curriculum of the state of Virginia, and thus "The Virginia Plan" was established for Japanese art education. Whether apocryphal or not, the story indicates the reliance which Japanese formal art education in public schools has had upon American writers, at certain points in its development. (Dobbs, 1983, pp. 7-8)

The story Dobbs describes is well-known to Japanese art educators because it was included in a comprehensive book of the history of Japanese art education written by Yamagata who had the main responsibility for setting up the first national standards, called "course of study" of art education, with the support of Civil Information and Education (CIE), which was a staff section of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers and which was responsible for educational matters (Yamagata, 1967, pp. 773-779). The CEI indicated the need for a course of study that would "provide a detailed outline of pupil experiences and teaching materials for each course at each grade level, with suggestions to teachers as to the use of these materials and the guidance of pupil experiences" (CIE, 1948, p. 192). It also provided such subject titles in art education as "Practical Arts" at the secondary level and "Arts and Handicrafts" at the elementary level (CIE, 1948, pp. 196-197). The first exemplary model of the "Course of Study" in art education was set up April 9, 1947, whereas Fundamental Law of Education and School Education Law were promulgated March 31. Its course of study has been revised and renewed four times (1951, 1958, 1968, and 1976). In the earlier part of the democratization epoch, such American art education literature as

Winslow's Art in Secondary Education (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1941) and Ziegfeld and Faulkner's Art Today were influential in the Japanese art education field (Arai, 1948). The idea of "art for daily life" contributed to the reconstruction of Japanese art education at the time because the idea was reflected in the first exemplary model of "Course of Study" in which the aim of arts and handicrafts was to make children contribute to the improvement of their life style.

Since then, numbers of books and articles by American art educators have been translated and introduced in Japanese. Let us examine the translations and introductions of American art education literature briefly. Prior to the 1960's, the chapter "Individual Dynamics Expressed Through Color Usage" of Alschuler's and Hattwick's Painting and Personality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947) was translated into Japanese in 1949 while other chapters, "Individual Dynamics Expressed Through Line and Form" and "Space Usage and Spatial Pattern," of their book were also translated in 1953. Lowenfeld's The Nature of Creative Activity (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1939) was available in Japanese in 1959. His other book Your Child and His Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954) was also available in Japanese in 1956. Lowenfeld's impact on Japanese art which was already translated into Japanese in 1953, became gradually apparent from the early 1950's. For example, Takeuchi attempts to sum up the content of Lowenfeld's landmark, Creative and Mental Growth (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), in his articles which appeared in the journal Biiku Bunka (Magazine of Art Education from the August 1952 issue to the May 1953 issue, this being an official journal of the Biiju Bunka Kyokai (Society for Art Education) in Tokyo. Takei also makes an effort to summarize Lowenfeld's thoughts on art education in his article which appeared in the October 1953 issue of Kyoiku Bijutsu (Art in Education), an official journal of the Kyoiku Bijutsu Shinko Kai (Socity for Art in Education) in Tokyo. Fukamizu translated the 8th chapter of Lowenfeld's book into Japanese which appeared in Art in Education from September to November 1957. Other American art educators whose articles or books were translated into Japanese are Victor D'Amico and D.F. Johnson. A part of D'Amico's Creative Teaching in Art (Scranton, Penn.: International Textbook Co., 1955), focusing on the teaching of graphic art, was translated in the October 1957 issue of Art in Education, while his other article "Coming Events" appeared in the September 1958 issue of School Arts in the United States, and was also translated in the February 1959 issue of Art in Education in Japan. Johnson's "Creativity: A New Challenge" in the October 1958 issue of School Arts was translated in the January 1959 issue of Art in Education as well.

During the mid-1960's, Art in Education continually offered reprints of articles by American art educators: Lowenfeld's "The Adolescence of Art Education: (Art Education, Vol. 10, No. 7, 1957) in the June 1960 issue of Art in Education (Muro trans.); Eisner's "Imagination and Materials" (School Arts, Vol. 58, No. 7, March 1959) in the July 1960 issue of Art in Education (Ue trans.); Zeigfeld's address (presented in the INSEA Congress in Manila in 1960) in the February 1961 issue of Art in Education; Lowenfeld's "Commentary" (Research in Art Education, ninth yearbook, 1959) in the October 1961 issue of Art in Education (Ue trans.); and Eisner's "Curriculum Ideas in a Time of Crisis" (Art Education, Vol. 18, No. 7, October 1965) in the March 1966 issue of Art in Education. Because of Japanese interest in the American art educator's focus on "creativity," Lowenfeld's Creative and Mental Growth (3rd. edition, 1957) was finally translated into Japanese by Takeuchi, Takei, and Horiuchi and published by Reimei Publishing Co. in 1963. As a result, the idea of "creativity" was instilled in the field of Japanese art education from the 1950's to the 1960's, although there was a great deal of objection about "creativity" as a single justification for art education after the 1960's in the United States.[6]

For American art educators, it should be most interesting that Lowenfeld's landmark Creative and Mental Growth as well as Read's Education Through Art is still "the 'text' to be read by art educators" in Japan and is the "only manual" to be kept "in hand or on the shelf as one" experiences "the child and his art" (Beittel, 1982, p. 20) in the field of Japanese art education. One of the reasons why Lowenfeld's translation has been read by Japanese is that his book provides useful supports which justify the idea of creativity as (the) purpose of art education. During the 1950's, three major non-governmental associations which innovated Japanese art education were established. The first of these is the Sozo Biiku Kyokai[7] (Society for Creative Art Education) founded in 1952. Those who attended the Society promoted the idea of creativity in the field of art education which goes back to the "free-expression movement" in art education during the Taisho Era. In the 1950's, the contribution of the Society was so great that "art teachers are convinced that art can be something more than what they thought before" (Muro, 1957, p. 8). Japanese art teachers who attended the pilot seminar in 1952 held by the Society for Creative Art Education "met to exchange ideas and report on new experiments on the teaching of art." They agreed that "art is not only a subject in which pupils created art work but also a wonderful opportunity for enhancing their personalities" (Muro, 1957, p. 10). In the effort to change Japanese art educators' idea to a creative approach to art education, Lowenfeld's fine thought provided a theoretical foundation for Japanese art educators during the 1950's and mid-1960's. For this reason, the creative orientation to art education in Japan blossomed rapidly in the 1950's, and, concurrently, Japanese art educators' great attention to American art education increased quickly.

However, the great leadership of the Society for Creative Art Education which promoted creativity as a single justification for teaching art withered rapidly in the latter part of the 1960's because the Society overemphasized the so called "child centered" methodology. Instead of the Society, the Zokei Kyoiku Center[8] (Plastic Art Education Center), founded in 1955, initiated a trend of pre-war Japanese art education which emphasized a modern design approach to art in education derived from the German Bauhaus system, and thus dominated the leadership of Japanese art education during the 1960's. This was in response to the beginning of Japanese economic and technological development. The focus of the Center was to instill such concepts as line, color, mass, organization, surface, movement, space, construction, texture, and so forth in the field of Japanese art education. The approach to design education advocated by the Center was not so much an aesthetic or artistic one as an instrumental one corresponding to Japanese economic and industrial development. However, another association, the Atarashii Eno Kai (Association of Innovating Children's Painting), founded in 1959, criticized both the creative and design approach to art education and promoted socialism in art education which was "seen as a means of meeting" socialistic "needs, whether they be needs directly related to art or not" (Eisner, 1972, p. 8). As a result of this transition from a theoretical interest of Japanese art educators in the 1950's to a practical one in the 1960's, attention to American art education decreased after the Tokyo Conference of INSEA in 1965.

In the late 1960's, the new trends of American art education after the work of Lowenfeld were dealt with in a book by a Japanese art educator in which such American art educators as Burkhart, Eisner, and McFee, found in Readings in Art Education (Waltham, Mass.,: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1966), were discussed (Ue, 1967). McFee's "The Foundations of Art Education," included in her book Preparation for Art (San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), was translated into Japanese by Takei and published in 1968. Since then, Japanese art educators did not become interested in the trends of American art education again until the beginning of the 1980's.

After more than ten years' absence of American influence on Japanese art education, except for such Japanese translations outside the field of art education as Eisner's Confronting Curriculum Reform (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971) and Gardner's The Quest for Mind (New York: Alfred A Knopf Inc., 1972), and also others related to the field of art education such as Kellogg's Analyzing Children's Art (Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1969) and Arnheim's Visual Thinking (Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press, 1969), "today the traffic in American art education literature is considerably heavier, and professors and graduate students are aware of such publications as the Art Education Journal" so that "it is clear that increased sharing is taking place" (Dobbs, 1983, p. 8) between Japan and the United States. For example, I have translated such articles, all of which appeared in the Art Education journal, into Japanese in Art in Education as Eisner's "The Relationship of Theory and Practice in Art Education" (1982), Beittel's "Lowenfeld and Art for a New Age" (1982), and Madeja's "Computer Graphics: The New Subject Matter for the Art Curriculum" (1983).[9] Furthermore, the most recent Japanese translation of American art education literature is Brittain's Creativity, Art and the Young Child (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1979), available to Japanese art educators since November, 1983.

Conclusion

This extended account of the influence of American art education literature on the historical development of Japanese art education reveals only the surface of what Japanese art educators have learned from the Americans. The major American contribution to Japanese art education is that it has given us the impetus to modernize our art education system, even if the American and European tradition of scientific art teaching has uprooted our traditional art teaching, based on the training of Japanese-style painting, which Dow noted as "one of the forces tending to uproot our traditional scientific art teaching which does not recognize Dark-and-Light as worthy of special attention (Dow, 1913, p. 53).

The Japanese edition of Lowenfeld's Creative and Mental Growth is now in its fortieth reprint. However, the recent Japanese interest in American art education is not a practical one but a theoretical one. For those who are concerned with research in art education at the higher level, if there are some things that we can learn from Americans, they are such matters as the publication of specialized research journals like Studies in Art Education and Journal of Aesthetic Education, offering doctoral courses in art education, systematic curriculum developments like CEMREL's Aesthetic Education Program, continually holding large-scale conferences like that at Penn State in 1965, and the computer distribution system of information in art education like the ERIC Clearinghouses. This expansion of the American art education field, particularly in the past three decades, should serve "as food for thought as we make choices for the future" (Carson, 1981, p. 46) in Japanese arts and aesthetic education.

I also believe that "a communication network among scholars interested in cross-cultural research in art education needs to be established" (Eisner, 1979, p. 34). And I would be happy if this paper serves as food for American thought in cross-cultural research in art education.

Footnotes

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[1] His contribution to art education is described as follows: "The Meiji government used Togai's skills also in the Ministry of Education, where he and Takahashi Yuichi conducted research into methods of art instruction. Togai's translation of Robert Scott Burn's teaching manual appeared in 1871, and the next year he and Takahashi promulgated lessons for elementary schools based on careful descriptive drawing of objects in a modified Western manner using pencils instead of inks and soft brushes. This system remained in effect until 1885, when Fenollosa, Okakura, and others forced the return to one based on traditional methods" (Rosenfield, 1971, p. 198).

[2] Japanese art education within schooling started in 1872. "Since the establishment of the educational system in 1872, drawing, as a part of general education, has been reckoned as one of the courses of study to be provided in elementary schools. But it was not actually instituted until the issue of the Elementary School Ordinance in 1880. The regulations of that Ordinance provided that there should be a course of drawing in elementary schools, where the local circumstances made this desirable. Consequently, in a few schools this course was established, but most schools did not have it" (Ministry of Education in Japan, Education in Japan: Part 8, Art Education. Tokyo: Ministry of Education, 1910, pp. 19-20.

[3] Smith pointed out: "The memory method may have been introduced to Kershensteiner by Johannes Ehlers, one of three remarkable art educators working in Hamburg as the nineteenth century merged into the twentieth. Ehlers claimed to have derived his ideas from a work published in Germany in 1899 under the title of Neue Wege zue Kunstlerischen Erziehung den Jugend: Zeichnen-Handfertigkeit Naturstudium-Kunst, which had been written by an American, J. Liberty Tadd, director of the Philadelphia Public School of Industrial Art, and originally titled New Methods in Education: Art, Real Manual Training, Nature Study" (Smith, 1982, p. 27).

[4] Tadd states: "Perhaps one of the most radical features of my method, apart from those of ambidexterity and memory drawing, and one that must be understood as being applied in all our schools, is the rotation of the branches of work. The pupils do not take a course of drawing alone, or of modeling alone, to be followed with another course for a certain period, but in every grade from the lowest the children are required to work in the four departments of drawing, then in soft clay, and then in tough wood carving. By drawing all forms first on paper, then in soft clay, and then in tough wood, all the possible physical co-ordinations are acquired in the different materials. The work of making form in clay reinforces the drawing; carving in wood reinforces the modeling. Designing forms in clay and wood, as well as on paper, [illegible] originality and invention, or the exercise of creative capacity at every step of the work." (Tadd, 1901, p. 5)

[5] An exhibition where CIE provides a number of American children's paintings for Japanese was held in Tokyo in 1947 (K. Masuda & Y. Murakami, Bijutsu Kyoiku Shi Note (Note of Art Education History), Tokyo: Kairyudo, 1983, p. 147).

[6] Two vivid examples of criticizing for a creativity orientation to art education are shown in the following: "for teachers to say that they 'promote creativity' is inadequate justification for the practice of art education, for again ethical problems are buried under the apparent facts of creativity" (D.W. Ecker, "Some Inadequate Doctrines in Art Education and a Proposed Resolution," Studies in Art Education, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1963, p. 76), and "art education is not the only field of learning through which general creativeness might be cultivated. In this respect, it is not unique. The contribution of art experience toward the development of general creativeness should not be minimized" (S.G. Wold and W.R. Hastie, "From Research and Theory to Teaching Practice," in Hastie, W.R. (Ed.), Art Education. Sixty-fourth Yearbook of the NSSE, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 345).

[7] This is the same with "the Creative Art Association which develops teaching materials" (Dobbs, 1983, p. 9), but its contribution to Japanese art education during the 1950's lay not in developing teaching materials but in changing Japanese art educators' ideas to a creative approach to art education.

[8] Dobbs also describes "the Plastic Art Education Center, founded in 1955," which emphasizes "design, derived from the Bauhaus principles. It is no coincidence that Walter Gropius toured Japan in 1954" (Dobbs, 1983, p. 9).

[9] Eisner's article (Art Education, 1982, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 4-5) was translated into Japanese by A. Okazaki and reprinted in the October 1982 issue of Kyoiku Bijutsu (Art in Education, Vol. 43, No. 11, pp. 26-28); Beittel's article (Art Education, 1982, Vol. 35, No. 6, 18-21) was translated into Japanese by M. Nagamachi and A. Okazaki and reprinted in the October 1983 issue of Kyoiku Bijutsu (Vol. 44, No. 11, pp. 29-32); Madeja's article (Art Education, 1983, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 15-17) was translated into Japanese by A. Okazaki and reprinted in the January 1984 issue of Kyoiku Bijutsu (Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 26-28).

[10] Japanese art education at the higher level has not developed its own research field, because "Graduate programs in art education began to develop in Japan during the 1960's, but at the present time these are limited to masters degrees offerings. A few Japanese graduate students have completed work in the United States and returned to work in their country. Traditionally art education training has been the province of professors in related areas such as design" (Dobbs, 1983, p. 9), painting, sculpture, crafts, and theory and history of art. At the present time in Japan only eleven universities have their master's program in art education, but all Japanese professors of art and art education in the school of education do not have doctor's degrees because they are not required to have it in order to become a faculty member of a university.

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Song of the Coyote: Freeing the Imagination through the Arts

Sawyers, Phyllis, and Henry, Frances. *Song of the coyete: Freeing the imagination through the arts.* New York: American Press. 1980.

According to Cheyenne legend, the "song" of which the title speaks is that of the "gentle trickster of learning." The trickster, coyote, or artist, is the transformer and founder of culture; part of his "song" is present in each of us. By bringing together aspects of this "song," Sawyers and Henry invite us to examine its unity and diversity and to find it in ourselves, as we free our imaginations. Their ideas are certainly not new. They have set for themselves a task of some difficulty if only from a scholarly point of view, but at no time did this reader doubt their motivation or their sincerity. Their approach is also quite timely, as art educators increasingly focus on multi-cultural and cross cultural aspects in research.

Acknowledging their debt to Jung, Sawyers and Henry gather material from many cultures, distant in time and space. They then group this material into chapters, the titles of which reveal commonalities of human experience. A number of the titles or subtitles are predictable, such as those on "Mandalas," "Passion and Intellect," and the "Visionary Seeker." Others are surprising, such as the chapter titled "Analogies Between Stars and Works of Art." Yet this chapter drew together ideas about time and movement from such diverse sources as the writings of Shakespeare, the myths of the Taos and Hopi cultures, and Oriental religion. Each of the nine chapters is equally rich in multi- and cross-cultural interdisciplinary content. Each ends with one or two pages of suggested activities which invite the reader to explore some aspect of the content. One such activity for the chapter on "Stars" is a movement exercise in which the participant attempts to discover the capabilities of the body in creating circular movement. While this reader is familiar with these activities through their inclusion in elementary music curricula, it may well be that increased kinesthetic awareness is important for learners of all ages.

Because of the volume of material and the diversity of sources, there is always the possibility that a text of this type may become superficial, and lose part of its capacity to stimulate the reader and provoke thought. Sawyers and Henry are to be commended for their choice of quotes, some of which are rather extensive. For the reader who wishes to pursue their sources, the authors provide a complete bibliographical entry in the footnotes following each chapter.

The most distracting element of the text, upon this reader's first examination, was that the authors made no attempt to write in non-sexist language. Statements such as "Man sees himself reflected in the mirror of his art, he sees there his fears, his hopes, his most profound strivings," (p. 4) struck this reader as unnecessary and annoying. An increased consciousness of the need for non-sexist language is perhaps common to all art educators of this generation. A closer examination of the text does not make the language any less annoying, but it does increase the understanding of the difficulties inherent in English when it comes to "practicing what we preach" about communicating in a non-sexist manner.

The physical attributes of text present some problems, perhaps moreso because many readers are oriented toward or trained in the visual arts. The jacket design is not particularly successful and possibly would mislead a reader to assume that it is a book about wildlife in general and coyotes in particular. The text and the halftones are printed in brown ink on tan stock, while the color plates are on white stock. As might be expected, the color plates break up the cohesiveness of the text; further, they are of uniformly poor quality. Possibly this is due more to the process (color xerography) than to the authors' choice of materials. Shadows of dust and fiber cloud these color images and are most distracting. The halftones from photographs are somewhat more successful than those made from drawings by Sawyers and Henry. While Henry's strong reliance on contour is suitable for her sketch of Apollo, she seems at a loss when unable to rely on this skill for her portrait of Mozart. Sawyers' illustrations suffer from the fact that the directionality of line in the cross-hatched areas does not convincingly contribute to the illusion of form--much needed in her renderings of architecture. Placement of the halftones on the page is yet another problem; often they are placed too low, giving the opened text an unbalanced appearance.

In spite of these negative visual characteristics, the contents are worthy of the purchase price. As a sourcebook for undergraduates enrolled in art education or interdisciplinary arts and humanities courses, it can serve as means of consciousness-raising. Many of these students have little understanding of their own tradition in the arts, and perhaps as we attempt to foster understanding of their own tradition, we can provoke and stimulate their interest in other traditions. In so doing, perhaps we can encourage the student toward self-directed inquiry into the common aspects of human experience in diverse cultures. From such inquiry can come research hypotheses which may lead us toward a better understanding of ourselves and the practice of art education. Song of the Coyote may well be a means of introducing students to multi-cultural and cross-cultural aspects of art education.

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The Visual Arts in Multicultural Education

Loeb, Helga, Slight, Phil and Stanley, Nick. The visual arts in multicultural education. London: University of London. 1984.

This collection of three papers evolved from the United Kingdom's "Ethnographic Resources for Art Education Program" and contributed to the 1983 conference, "The Visual Arts in Multi-cultural Education." The basic objective of the project was to "get teachers and students to re-evaluate their own thinking and practice" by broadening the European-focused art and design curricula in the schools and elsewhere. The papers were organized to proceed from the general to the specific--covering a general philosophy of art, curriculum development, and specific constructs inherent in an ethnographic approach to art education. The authors stress that these are working papers and do not represent any finite conclusions.

Analyses and development in the area of multi-cultural visual arts education is certainly to be commended. A recent review of multi-cultural arts content in the United States revealed minimal exploration of the relationship between inter- and intra-cultural experiences (Sherman and Rodriquez, 1983). Yet, given the five-year history of this project, the twenty-five pages presented in this booklet leave us with a thirst for more information. The authors are addressing important issues somewhat after the fact; in addition, a basic philosophy and approach to the project would have been a desirable precursor to investment of funds in curricular materials.

All of the papers assume a "marketplace of ideas" approach to multi-cultural arts education. Teachers and students are urged to explore a wide variety of cultures but criteria for evaluating these experiences are not explicitly provided. There are two major issues raised by this approach. First, why is it important to experience a wide variety of values and art forms? And, second, are all approaches equally valued in the current marketplace of society and, if not, what criteria are to be used in evaluating them?

Stanley advocates a "transformationist" or cultural pluralism model as opposed to the "transmissionist" or ethnic heritage model. Although he recognizes the importance of ethnic heritage studies to development of self-worth among minority students, this information may be better obtained through other channels and does not provide a rationale for general education in which all students are to be given "competence in multiple cultures." It is not clear from Stanley's paper why such competence is important, but the underlying assumption is that exposure to a wide variety of cultures will expand the students' range of choices and enable them to become critically reflective of their own experiences and that these are worthwhile educational goals. He suggests starting with a "technical education" (e.g., examining the variety of approaches to symbolization in clay) and combining this with a "critical perspective." This approach is seen as lending itself to the students' opportunity to make personal choices and decisions. Ethnographic references are needed because they influence what formal qualities we see and raise issues about the various roles of art in society. Stanley acknowledges potential value conflicts but could provide more direction on how these are to be addressed from a "critical perspective."

Loeb's paper is more direct in addressing the role of the school in reinforcing particular values, yet, liberal waffling is still evident. She begins by paralleling ethnographic art education to comparative religion courses which encourage students "to learn about religions, as systems by which human beings order their lives (and)...to interpret and understand the customs and practices of others, without necessarily adopting them as one's own." She cites church and family as places where children are nurtured in religous values about which the schools then provide a critical and comparative perspective; the schools are to provide both the inculcation and the broadening. Having professed to focus on the latter, she proceeds to outline three values which should be emphasized in an ethnographic art education program: 1) common needs, common problems, and a comparison of solutions; 2) celebration of diversity and 3) exploration of how cultural influences spread and interact. Even these few explicitly stated values can become problematic and the potential conflicts should be more thoroughly addressed by these authors. Furthermore, is engaging students in a wide range of cultural experiences without a more explicit set of evaluative criteria socially and morally responsible? All media and ideas do not enjoy equal competition in society and, it would seem, that the schools have some responsibility for reinforcing human equity. Even if teachers were given preparation which enabled them to assist students in the "imaginative construction and personal interpretation of a variety of art forms and values," an ability which, I believe, requires considerably more attention than the authors seem to acknowledge, should teachers also be required to determine the value systems by which these experiences are evaluated or is any evaluation valid. Surely the evaluation of materials, methods and the role of 'art' in society, should not be left solely to personal choice. The societal and moral consequences of such choices must be addressed and, for this, some value guidelines need to be established.

Certainly Slight's emphasis on encouraging students to personalize what they learn about other cultures by adapting information from a first context experience (historical/cultural) into a second context experience (the contemporary world) is important. Yet, students' individual choices and actions in the contemporary world have broad implications, and evaluative criteria for examining these consequences must also be elaborated. If, for example, students from the West Midlands Comprehensive School Project on Portrait Pots adapt first context information into a second context and produce self-portraits in clay which embody genderist notions, shouldn't teachers be asked to explicate the negative consequences of genderism to the construction of a society committed to human equity? I suspect the authors of these papers assume that racist and sexist value systems will be explored by teachers and students in such a way that their detrimental effects on an ideal social system are communicated. By failing to explicitly address such general values, however, teachers, schools and curriculum developers leave open the possibility of a totally laissez-faire, personal choice emphasis. This reinforces the idea of the artist, as an individual without societal constraints, who is free to choose any form and manner of expression. In addition, it is 'value avoidance' in that it leaves it up to other societal factions to instill values such as sexual and racial equity.

In summation, the three papers collected in this SOAS document begin an exploration of issues central to delineating the role of the visual arts in multi-cultural and cross-cultural education. The curriculum projects which are referenced sound exciting and the commitment to growth and reflection indicated in these papers is encouraging. Further examination of the role of the school and curriculum in values of clarification, reinforcement, and teacher preparation geared to engaging students in the suggested processes will be forthcoming.

Reference

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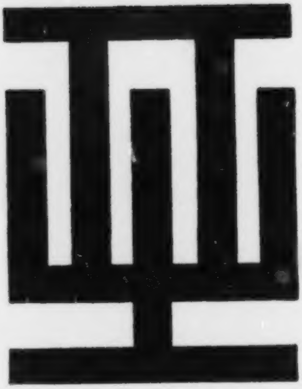

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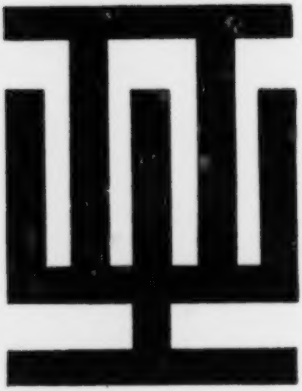

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JCMRAE 12/85 3:1

Editorial

Twenty-some years ago I attended my first National Art Education Convention. At one of the international meetings, members of the Cairo Institute of Higher Learning gave a presentation on using art as the core of the curriculum. Although I knew the concept, this was my first encounter with it being put into practice. This experience also gave me my first exposure to an international dialogue in art education.

Many years later, I experienced my next significant international experience. During the spring of 1971, I was contacted by USAID/TEACH Corps to see if I might be interested in working in Nepal with their teacher training institutes. My initial reaction to the opportunity was one of "What possible use could I be to the Nepalese half-way around the world?" With the exception of an awareness of Mt. Everest, I had little knowledge of the country, or the people and their cultural values. The question that kept coming back to my mind was, "Of what value can this experience be for those involved?" I did accept the position for the summer, and returned for an additional three months the following summer. Needless to say, it did prove to be a valuable experience and had an impact on me personally and professionally, especially in the dimension of intercultural and global education. I have continued this interest, and had the opportunity last Spring to attend and participate in two international meetings. The first was a Regional Seminar: On the Role of Art Education in the Development of the Gulf Arab Citizen, Doha, Qatar, March 1985. I and Gil Clark (Indiana University) from the United States, and twelve other members of the international art education community were invited as consultant/participants. This was the first joint meeting of art educators from the Gulf States. In addition to papers presented by guests and individuals, working papers were submitted by each state regarding its country's progress and support of art education. The seminar concluded with the adoption of reports of three commissions: (1) curricula, text-books and periods; (2) class rooms, tools and equipment; (3) teacher preparation. The reports will be reviewed by each state's Commissioner of Education and Culture. The seminar proceeding will be published and available in the near future.

The VIIth Regional Congress of Europe, Middle East and Africa, Bath, England, April 1985 was the second meeting. The theme of the Congress was: Many Cultures, Many Arts. This Congress provided an opportunity to visit with numerous art educators from around the world on cultural identity and realization through arts, understanding the arts of different cultures, cultural interaction and cultural change, and cultural minorities and cultural maintenance. It was during this Congress that I had the opportunity to hear David Best, Professor of Philosophy from the University of Wales again, and I am pleased that we were able to publish an article by him in this issue. I can highly recommend his new book, Feeling and Reason in the Arts, published by George Allen and Unwin (1985). For those interested in art and design education, Brain Allison, of Leicester Polytechnic, Great Britain, has just published the *Index of British Studies in Art and Design Education*. It is the definitive listing of all known researches in or related to the specialized field of art and design education which have been carried out in Great Britain. The Congress also provided me the opportunity to meet Helga Loeb, Phil Slight, and Nick Stanley. Their book, *The Visual Arts in Multicultural Education*, was reviewed in the last issue of the Journal. They now have developed a large number of excellent curriculum materials on a multi-cultural theme. I encourage you to contact them if you have a need for such material.

In *Studies in Art Education* (1968), I reviewed Segal, Campbell; and Herskovit's book: *The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception*. Although I found their review of literature excellent, I was critical of how some of their research was conducted. I still have these concerns. However, after my experiences in working in another culture, primarily my month stay living with a tribe of Djuka Maroons in the interior of Suriname, limited by the lack of a common language, working with a translator, experiencing difficult transport and living conditions, lack of on-site materials, and so on... I have developed a greater appreciation for those who have spend years in the field and devoted so much of their time, energy and resources to helping us better understand ourselves and others. Authors in this issue share their experience and expertise from philosophical research to field research. The Journal provides a means for disseminating their scholarly findings and interpretations to an interested readership.

Editing the Journal has provided me the opportunity to reconfirm, with the readership, the value of art and the role and effect of art on the individual and the dynamics within the societal, cultural, and environmental contexts. Certainly a valid concern to anyone involved in a multi-cultural or cross-cultural venture is the consideration of questions and reevaluation, leading not only to change but to growth within and across cultures. The better we understand ourselves in relationship to the world community, the more effectively we can develop within our own culture context.

With this issue I end my term as editor of the Journal. I want to thank the dedicated editorial board members, reviewers, and authors for their time and effort regarding the Journal. Certainly a note of appreciation is due to the Journal staff and the University of Missouri-Columbia and Chromacryl for their support. Ron MacGregor will serve as guest editor for the 1986 issue of the Journal. The majority of articles will be selected from the research presentations given during the 1986 CSEA/USSEA Conference in Vancouver, Canada, July 1-5, whose theme is: Exploring Cultural Backgrounds, Exploring Cultural Futures. For information regarding the conference, please contact: Graeme Chalmers, Dept. of Visual and Performing Arts in Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6T 1Z5. The next editor of the Journal (1987-1990) will be announced in the 1986 Spring USSEA newsletter. Until that time, I will continue to accept, process and send to reviewers any manuscripts that I receive. Again my gratitude goes to the USSEA Executive Board and the membership for their confidence in me to conceptualize and serve as the first editor of the JMCRAE. Editor, Lk

Concepts and Cultures.

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Introduction

I shall first outline those aspects of my views on the objectivity/subjectivity issue which are required as a foundation for my thesis on the grounding of multi-cultural arts. I have written and spoken widely on objectivity and subjectivity and cannot consider the general question here. (See my recent book, 1985, for a more detailed account).

My thesis is that concepts cannot be purely private or subjective, but must be objective, in the sense that they are derived from shared social practices, including language and art forms. There is a crucial sense in which those concepts determine man's understanding of reality, and his thoughts and feelings. This has important implications for the most fundamental questions concerning the understanding of the arts of other cultures.

Objective or subjective?

The question of the objective or subjective status of artistic meaning, appreciation, value and experience is, in my view, the most important theoretical issue for the arts in education. Yet many arts educators slide confusedly and unwittingly between subjectivism and objectivism; or try, despite self-contraditions, to have it both ways; or, more usually, confidently proclaim subjectivism while inevitably depending upon objectivity in their teaching and practice.

Stated simply, the problems are as follows: the subjectivist rightly insists on the importance of individual experience and involvement in the arts; on the importance of feeling and creativity; on the differences of opinion about the meaning and value of the same work of art. He cannot see how these are compatible with objectivity. On the other hand, no teaching or learning is possible unless there are objective criteria in some sense for progress, evaluation - even self-evaluation. Thus the dilemma for the subjectivist teacher of the arts is that, as a teacher he or she must encourage progress, so that each individual student can develop to the maximum his or her artistic potential. Yet as a subjectivist the teacher cannot do this, since an inevitable consequence of subjectivism is that artistic meaning or value depends solely upon the private or individual feeling of each student.

Clearly there could be no justification, on a subjectivist view, for including the arts in education, since it denies the possibility of criteria for progress, and for reasons given for artistic judgements, Yet subjectivists rarely recognise the untenability in their own position. But, to repeat an example I often use because it is such a classic and true case, on a visit to North America I was told of a notable exception. A dance professor who is a convinced subjectivist recognised the consequence that on a subjectivist view there can be no criteria whatsoever for what counts as art, and good, bad, improved, perceptive, profound etc. Thus she was unable to object when some of her students, as their dance performance, simply sat on the studio floor eating crisps. Despite her commendable honesty, she was fired.

So the fundamental problem for arts-educators is how to reconcile the importance of individual feeling and differences with the educational requirement that there must in *some* sense be objectivity, or judgement and evaluation can make no sense. Let me emphasise that. As the dance professor commendably recognised, to be a consistent subjectivist she has to accept that absolutely anything goes. After lecturing on this topic and failing to convince dance students taught by this same professor, I said, "All right, if you are so sure that dance is a purely private, subjective matter, I hope you have just enjoyed my dance performance." The point, if I may be boring enough to state it, is that on a subjectivist view there are no limits whatsoever, so anything, even my lecture, can count as art. In which case, of course, *nothing* can count as art, since subjectivism removes any meaning from the term "art."

However, let me repeat that subjectivism is by no means entirely misconceived. On the contrary, subjectivist assumptions arise from a recognition of the important aspects of artistic experience mentioned above. Yet all too frequently these important insights are exaggerated and distorted to the point of philosophical confusion and educational disaster.

At the other extreme, the objectivist, although satisfying the educational conditions for assessing progress and thus learning, seems to deny what most of us would want to insist are the most important aspects of the arts, such as the development of feelings, creativity, fresh vision of life, sensitivity to individual differences. The insistence on objective criteria seems to be incompatible with these vital aspects of education in the arts.

It should be emphasised that the terms "objective" and "subjective" are often highly misleading, and "objective," in particular, in discussion of the arts, can create emotive barriers. Hence it might seem wiser to avoid the terms altogether. But the main issues can be brought out most clearly in these terms, so it is worth the risk. May I appeal to readers not to make assumptions about the meanings of these terms before considering my argument *in toto*. The main motivation for opposition to the thesis that artistic meaning is objective will prove groundless, since the important insights of subjectivism will be shown to be part of the more adequate account of objectivity which I shall offer. At the same time, the educationally damaging implications of both subjectivism and oversimple objectivism will be discarded.

In arguing for objectivity, there are various things I am not saying, and it is worth emphasising them at the outset. Objectivity, in my sense, is *not* incompatible with individual progress and feeling;

objectivity is not a matter of single, authoritarian interpretations and evaluations; objectivity does not imply that artistic judgements should be scientifically or quantitatively assessable; and, perhaps above all in this context, objectivity is not to be confused with the absolute or universal.

Although for economy I shall concentrate mainly on appreciation, my argument applies equally to the creator and the spectator; to the artist as well as the audience and critic. Too often my arguments on this issue are misunderstood as applying solely or predominantly to the spectator. That confusion is itself usually based upon fundamental misconceptions in philosophy of mind, such as that whereas objectivity may apply to appreciation, the experience expressed in art is a subjective matter.

One further point. I in no way endorse behaviourism. I mention this because one well-known art-educator, after hearing me speak at a conference, said to me afterwards that he thought that I was a "radical behaviourist." And others have taken me to be a "modified behaviourist." So let me make it clear that I am fully opposed to behaviourism as I am to subjectivism.

The question of educational consequences is not separate from the central philosophical question. The question of objectivity in some sense is that question of whether knowledge is possible, and, as Plato insisted, the question of knowledge is inseparable from the question of whether there can be learning and teaching.

I argue, then, that given a carefully qualified conception of objectivity as, roughly, the possibility of giving reasons in support of judgements, artistic judgements are as fully objective as scientific judgements. The common assumption that the only objectivity is scientific is seriously misconceived, and often stems from a misunderstanding about the character even of scientific discovery.

The kind of subjectivism to which I am opposed, because it is disastrous for the case for the arts in education, is that which assumes, to put it in the words of one writer, that artistic judgement and appreciation are solely a matter of individual psychology. Despite its prevalence, this kind of view is both incoherent and damaging, in that it removes completely, as irrelevant, considerations of the qualities of the works of art themselves, since all that counts is the psychology of the "appreciator." I write "appreciator" since, of course, there is no sense to the notion of appreciation on this view. And once again, the notion of education could make no sense.

Nevertheless, there is something important in this subjectivist notion, since an artistic judgement is, at least often, partly the expression of the feeling and valuing of the appreciator - but only because of the qualities of the art object. So the subjectivist puts the cart before the horse - or rather thinks that the cart can travel without a horse at all. For one values it, and feels about it as one does, only because of the objective qualities of the work one is creating or appreciating. Without those qualities one could not make that judgement.

Interpretative reasoning

A further common source of confusion on this topic is what I call "the argument from disagreement." This takes it that artistic appreciation cannot be objective because there can be such radical differences of opinion about the same work of art. I shall say more about this in a moment, but even on cursory reflection it can be seen that differences of opinion do not imply subjectivism. On the contrary, there can be disagreements only if the disputants are considering qualities of the work. A subjectivist view can give no sense to the notion of differences of opinion about a work of art. The differences will be in the psychology of those confronting the work.

What often underlies the subjectivist confusion here is a failure to recognise the significance of interpretation, and not only in the arts. This is closely related to a distortingly narrow conception of reasoning. In illustration, consider the well-known figure which can be seen as a vase, or two faces looking towards each other. There are at least two possible interpretations. Yet there is not an unlimited possibility of interpretation, as there would be on a subjectivist view. Certainly, someone may be able to see that vase but not the faces, just as not everyone can see the same thing in a work of art. But one is not necessarily helpless. One may be able to give reasons to help such a person to see the faces - reasons which refer to objective features of the figure. Similarly, attention may be drawn, by "interpretative reasons," to the significance of previously unrecognised subtleties of a work of art, which transform one's perception of it. Certain features of it are now seen to have a quite different significance.

That there may not be a single correct interpretation does not in the least imply that artistic meaning and appreciation are subjective. An important characteristic of artistic appreciation is that it allows for an indefinite but not unlimited possibility of valid or intelligible interpretation. There has been a variety of interpretations of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, but there are limits - anyone who took it to be a comedy would obviously be wrong.

There is sometimes a distinction between perceiving and interpreting. It would be odd to speak of interpreting the object in my hand as a pen. But for my purposes the similarities between interpretation and coming to understand what something is, are far more significant than any differences. In both, reasoning plays a crucial role.

There is more to be said about interpretative reasoning. I can hope only to indicate how fundamental it is, not only to artistic appreciation but also to the sciences. The comparison with the sciences does not, of course, imply that the arts are similar to the sciences in *all* respects, or that artistic judgements can be verified scientifically. Far from it - although, to my exasperation, I have been misunderstood in both these ways. I draw the comparison (a) because where people refer to artistic judgements as subjective they usually have in mind a contrast with the sciences with respect to objectivity, and (b) in order to show the crucial role of concepts and reasoning in *both* cases. In short, my contention is not that the arts are like the sciences in yielding unquestionable conclusions about a reality which is independent of concepts, but, on the contrary, that the sciences are like the arts in their answerability to different conceptions or interpretations. No matter how accurate the instruments, scientific knowledge depends ultimately upon human perception, and scientific perception is inseparable from conception or interpretation.

The failure to recognise the significance of interpretation is a major source of subjectivism about the arts. Yet, contrary to what is commonly supposed, scientific exploration, so far from being more "objective" and reliable than disciplines which require interpretation, itself depends ultimately upon interpretation. Scientific discovery is not simply a matter of accurate observation. Someone with no conception of a vase could not see that interpretation of the figure, no matter how carefully he looked at it; someone with no knowledge of chess could not see the significance of the positions of pieces on the board, no matter how acute his vision. Similarly, the ability to conceive or understand different interpretation which gives sense to what is perceived. Kuhn (1975), discussing the discovery of oxygen, writes "that a major theoretical revision was needed to see what Lavoisier saw must be the principal reason why Priestley (who had first encountered the phenomenon) was, to the end of his long life, unable to see it" (p. 56). And, with respect to X rays, which had created an unexpected glow on a screen, he writes: "At least one other investigator had seen that glow and, to his subsequent chagrin, discovered nothing at all" (p. 58).

It is a remarkably persistent caricature to regard the sciences as providing indisputable facts. The reasons given for one interpretation may not be decisive even if they be sound, and conflicts of opinion may be impossible to resolve solely by observation and experiment. Discussing the disput about the character of the electron at Göttingen, Bronowski (1973) writes:

> The quip among professors was (because of the way university timetables are laid out) that on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays the electron would behave like a particle; on Tuesday, Thursdays and Saturdays it would behave like a wave... That was not what the speculation and argument was about. And that requires, not calculation, but insight, imagination: if you like, metaphysics. (p. 82)

Moreover, as Bondi (1972) puts it: "Certain experiments that were interpreted in a particular way in their day we now interpret quite differently - but they might well have been claimed as 'facts' in those days" (p. 226). It was a recognition of the importance of this which induced Einstein to remark that in science imagination is more important than knowledge.

Consequently, the nature of scientific discovery is, at least to a large extent, the converse of what is commonly supposed, for often it is not so much that the facts determine the theoretical conception of the world as that the theoretical conception demands determines the character of the facts.

Concepts and reality

Now contrast this conclusion, that it is the concepts which gives us the nature of reality, with Witkin's view that it is necessary to erase all concepts and memories in order to reach reality. He writes (1980) of "direct apprehension" which, he claims, can be achieved only by taking away "everything that memory adds, to consider only what is there in itself" (p. 91) (His rejection of concepts and objective criteria is even more evident in a transcript of a debate, 1980). But obviously the reality "in itself" of the position in chess cannot be seen by anyone with no concept of chess. Equally obvious, a creature with no concept of art, and a fortiori with no concepts at all, could have no "apprehension" of the qualities "in themselves" of a work of art. For example, an animal has no concepts, and that is precisely why it can have no appreciation of art.

To put the point another way, someone who had totally lost his or her memory certainly could not appreciate art. Neither could he or she learn anything since learning obviously requires memory. So Witkin's view (a not uncommon one) is disastrous for the arts in education. And it should be remembered that it is proposed as a justification or support for the arts in education, and that it is influential among arts educators. It amounts to insisting that students will not learn anything, and will be encouraged to forget whatever they may have learned! (This is not to deny, of course, the immense value of learning new, fresh concepts - but that is totally different, and indeed is a main part of my thesis.)

Feeling and reason

This fundamental misconception, that apprehending reality is independent of any concepts whatsoever, is closely related to another, even more common, damaging misconception. Witkin writes (1980): "The arts stand in relation to the intelligence of feeling much as the sciences do in relation to logical reasoning" (p. 89). This is yet another manifestation of the persistent and damaging myth of the human personality as consisting in Two Realms. There is, supposedly, the cognitive/conceptual/intellectual realm, on which education is traditionally and currently based, hence the almost exclusive concern with e.g. mathematics and the sciences. (This notion is sometimes rather bizarrely supported by citing neurological discoveries about functions of brain hemispheres - as if the justification of the arts had anything whatsoever to do with such purely physical consideration. But I cannot digress to discuss that.) This, it is said, produces an "unbalanced" education, which can be rectified only by catering equally to the other realm - that of the affective/feeling/ creative/imaginative aspects of the personality. (It is surprising how often leading educational psychologists insist that creativity is essentially a matter of feeling.) Yet, quite apart from the grotesque oversimplicity of this common picture of human personality, it is a caricature which gravely damages the case for the arts in education. For it is an obvious consequence of it that the arts do not require cognition, rationality and concepts. (Equally, if mathematics and the sciences in the curriculum are not concerned with creativity, - and regrettably often they are not[1] - that is a serious indictment of the educational system.)

This issue involves some complex philosophical issues which I cannot discuss here. (I am so concerned about the continuing prevalence of the myth of the Feeling/Reason dichotomy, because it is so disastrous for the arts in education, that I felt impelled to write a book entitled Feeling and Reason in the Arts (1985) in order to show their crucial and inextricable relationship with each other.) Briefly, the kinds of feelings involved in the arts are possible only for a being capable of rationality: it is only by understanding the work of art that one can respond appropriately to it. A dog can respond to art - my neighbour's dog howls at Beethoven - but we could not, logically, call that a response of artistic appreciation.

To bring all this into line with my thesis, what it shows is that concepts, cognition, understanding, are necessary for artistic appreciation; such concepts are part of what is involved in learning to acquire artistic appreciation; they are inseparable from artistic feeling-responses. (I emphasise again that my thesis applies equally to the creator of art.)

I have quoted Witkin as one influential psychologist-arts educator who continues to propagate the disastrous myth that feeling and reason (cognition) are two distinct and even opposed realms. The prevalence of this myth is also revealed in a recent and influential consultative document of the Scottish Committee on Expressive Arts in the Primary School (1984), which, in a section entitled "The Balanced Curriculum, states: "The main curricular emphasis is still upon cognitive learning, with other areas - physical, emotional, affective - coming off second best. We maintain that a better balance should be found..." (p. 5).

To repeat, the kinds of feelings which are involved in arts appreciation are given only by conceptual understanding, cognition, rationality. They are not available to a creature incapable of conceptual understanding. And someone can learn to understand a work by means of interpretative reasons which can change the character of his feelings about it.

Although this is only a sketch of an argument I have elaborated elsewhere (1985), it is, I hope, sufficient to expose the dangerous confusion inherent in the myth of the two distinct realms, which assumes that the arts are a matter of feeling not of concepts, cognition and rationality. On the contrary, we see that conceptual understanding is just as important in the arts as in any other sphere of education.

Incidentally, this points to the need for more philosophical research in arts education. There is great and exciting scope for such research, yet it is largely neglected, despite the fact that the most fundamental issues, such as, centrally, the various questions concerned with the justification of the arts in the curriculum, are irreducibly philosophical, and cannot be examined in any other way.

Concepts: private or objective?

We see then that concepts are fundamental to the character of mental experience, and therefore to personality development, and therefore to education in the most important sense, in the arts as in other areas. Yet there is a danger that this conclusion will itself be misunderstood in a way which, albeit obliquely, merely returns us to the subjectivism we have seen to be untenable. Lest it be thought that I am tilting at windmills, let me cite the work of the influential art-educator Elliott Eisner, who falls into precisely the trap to which I allude. In a paper significantly entitled: "Representing what one knows: the role of the arts in cognition and curriculum" (1981 and 1982), Eisner commendably recognises the importance of concepts, but he falls into the confusions of subjectivism by regarding these as purely private. The clearest brief expression of his thesis is in the abstract of his paper, where he writes:

> Humans not only have the capability to form different kinds of concepts, they also, because of their social nature, have the need to externalise and share what has been conceptualised. To achieve such an end, human beings have invented...forms of representation [which] are the means by which privately held conceptions are transferred into public images so that the meaning they embody can be shared.

This assumes that thoughts and feelings are independent of the possible forms of expression, that one can have thoughts - "privately held conceptions" - *prior to* languages and other "forms of representation." But this puts the cart before the horse. I cannot have thoughts, even privately, unless there is a medium (language, art) in which they can be formulated. It is unintelligible to suppose that such thoughts could exist without the medium of formulation. This becomes particularly clear when we consider Eisner's contention that because of their social nature men and women have invented forms of representation so that they can share their inaccessibly private concepts. But *ex hypothesi* no sharing could be possible. Since everyone is locked within his or her own private world of concepts, how could he agree on meanings for "socially arbitrary signs" to represent those concepts (p. 21)? To put it paradoxically, in order to *invent* a shared public language, there would *already* have to be a *public* shared language. So the whole thesis is *viciously* circular. The ability to share meanings with others depends upon the fact that concepts are *not* purely private, but that they are part of a publicly available, *objective* practice, such as language and art forms. (Which, of course, is not to say that even within a culture, all linguistic and artistic expressions are comprehensible to all. In this, as in everything else, there are individual differences.) In short, language cannot be a construct out of privately held concepts. On the contrary, the *objective* concepts of a shared language are a precondition of the *possibility of* individual and private feelings of the relevant kind.

Thus it is not that because of a social nature humankind needs to externalise private concepts in a shared language, but rather that only because there are shared concepts in language is it possible for there to be the social nature peculiar to human beings.

Meaning and culture

There are crucial consequences of my argument for research in an understanding of multi-cultural and cross-cultural arts. For if, as I contend, it is the cultural practices, such as language, the arts, religious and moral practices, which are basic, in that to a very large extent they determine the mental experiences which are possible for human beings, then where there are different practices there will be different thoughts and feelings. Again, note the contrast between my view and Eisner's. On Eisner's view, even if it were intelligible (and I contend that it is not), it would be perfectly possible for everyone to have the same thoughts, even though they expressed themselves very differently in very different languages and art forms, since their "privately held concepts" would be independent of and *prior to* "forms of representation" such as language and the arts. (In passing, we should note the unintelligibility of ever knowing that such a thesis were true. We should note, too, the impossibility of translating numerous concepts - such as "hwyl" in Welsh - into other languages. This points to the fact that it is the languages which give the concepts, not that the concepts are independent of and merely expressed in language.) By contrast, I argue that where there are different languages, art forms and other social practices, there are necessarily different mental experiences, because the objective concepts which are a precondition of thought are different. In an important sense, *to that extent* the social nature of humans, what it amounts to to be a human being, is different. I emphasise "to that extent" because, of course, it seems very doubtful whether there would be two cultures with no significant overlap whatsoever. The very fact that all cultures have recognisable languages is sufficient to guarantee that, since there must be a recognisable language there is sufficient overlap to *call* it a language. (Though this does create problems for sending messages into outer space for the edification of possible "intelligent life.")

It follows from the main tenor of my argument that the objectivity of artistic meaning is to some extent culture-relative. In this I disagree with many, perhaps most, philosophers who have written on the topic. For instance, the well-known philosopher of the arts Sibley (1968) regards the objectivity of artistic appreciation as requiring that there could be in principle universal agreement.[3]

The importance of the culture-relativity of objectivity is indicated by the example of a friend who is an anthropologist not, she insists, of dance but of human movement. She recognises that "dance" is a concept she understands in a way largely derived from Western culture. An activity in a different society which looked like dance in our culture would require a fairly extensive investigation of the surrounding language and social practices of that society before we could consider whether "dance" were an appropriate term for it. As a further example, on a recent visit to Australia I was taken deep into the bush to see what is called the "Art Gallery" of aboriginal rock paintings. It was of great interest, but was it art? There is obviously some overlap with what we call "art," but the differences may have been so great as to make it highly misleading to use the same term. Given the age of these coloured marks, and the considerable differences in social practices from our culture, it is unlikely that they could be unambiguously regarded, without distortion, as art, and therefore that they can be judged by artistic criteria.

To revert to my earlier example of the vase/two faces figure, in a society where there was no knowledge of vases, such an interpretation would be impossible. This shows something significant about the concept of objectivity which I am sketching. The reasons for different interpretations or conception are grounded in the social practices of a culture. It would be possible to bring people to see the "vase" interpretation, by giving them reasons, only to the extent that they came to understand the concepts of a society where there were vases or something similar. This concedes nothing to subjectivism. Obviously not anything could count as a valid or intelligible interpretation of the figure. But some interpretations, and the reasons for seeing those interpretations, may not be available, or fully available, to other cultures until they have grasped that concept of art (which, as I have said, includes feeling). Ravi Shankar, the great Indian sitar player, at one concert in Britain was warmly applauded. He thanked his audience and assured them that they should enjoy the rest of his concert even more, since so far he had been tuning up.

The importance of the point is clear. For instance, notoriously the concepts of one culture have been applied to others. Because of a failure to recognise the very different criteria implicit in other traditions, there has been a tendency, especially by people from the West, to call the activities of another society "primitive." What that amounted to, of course, was a failure to appreciate that Western standards may be inappropriate to different cultures. For example, Freud once said that it was easy to understand other societies since all that one needed to do was to look at young children in Western society.

Concepts and Individual Experience

This again brings out the force of my insistence that individual thoughts, ideas, and feelings of the relevant kinds are logically dependent upon social practices, such as languages and art forms. For instance, a subjectivist view could give no sense to a conception of art. I cannot, purely privately conjure up a meaning for "art," and artistic criteria of value. In order to have such a concept I need to acquire an understanding of the practice of art in a particular society. What that amounts to is that artistic criteria must be objective, and that such objectivity must be relative to the culture in which the art form has its life.

Subjectivity can give no account of artistic meaning; yet to conceive of objectivity as universal is to impose one standard incoherently across a range of very different forms, and thus to ignore, distort and devalue some of the immense variety of forms of human expression. It also follows from my argument that this will involve a greatly impoverished conception of the enormous and exciting heterogeneity of human thought and feeling - and thus of what it is to be human.

There are crucial educational consequences. For in teaching an art form, which necessarily involves assessment by objective criteria, the teacher is progressively extending the students' possibility of thought and feeling. On a subjectivist view, even if it made sense, this would be impossible, since, on that view, no sense can be made of assessing progress, and therefore of education. This brings out again the absurdity of and mortal damage to our case inflicted by the pervasive myth that feeling and reason are mutually exclusive and even inimical to each other. It is high time we demolished the fallacy that reasoning is predominantly or exclusively the province of the sciences, mathematics etc. On the contrary, it is only by giving reasons that a teacher helps students to understand, appreciate and create art. Such reasons can extend their capacity for feeling and creativity. In short, such extension of the possibilities of feeling is given only by an extension of understanding.

There are important consequences for educational responsibility. For, by contrast to the subjectivist view, it transpires that the educationist carries an unavoidable responsibility for the personality development of students. It is undoubtedly enormously difficult to oppose conformist pressures, for instance of television advertising and the so-called "pop-culture," towards a bland, superficial uniformity of cliché expressions. But, as I hope I have shown, a person with an understanding of only trite forms of expression is a person who is capable of only trite possibilities of experience.

Conclusion

The objectivist is right to insist on objective criteria for artistic meaning, and that without them there could be no learning. But he is wrong if he assumes that there are general, definitive criteria, and that therefore there is no place for individual experience, or for cultural differences. The subjectivist is right to insist that individual experience is central to the notion of artistic meaning and appreciation. But he is wrong if he assumes that therefore there can be no objective criteria. The concept of objectivity is more complex and subtle than is recognised by either the subjectivist or such an objectivist. A more adequate account reveals that there is no incompatibility between individual artistic development and the need for objective criteria given by cultural practices. On the contrary, it is such objective criteria which give sense to the notions of learning and individual personality development.

For far too long there has been a disastrous failure to understand the place of conceptual understanding, and with it of reasoning, with respect to the emotions in general, and to the arts in particular. It has been misunderstood as irrelevant or even inhibiting. Yet reasoning can be and characteristically is given in order to develop understanding of artistic meaning. That reasoning is an expression of concepts rooted in shared cultural practices. It is that very objectivity of concepts which allows those who are sufficiently open-minded, sensitive and imaginative, to enter into the art forms of other cultures. And since the arts are expressions of the deepest feelings and concerns of human beings, in a significant sense this can extend our understanding of humanity. And by extending one's own conceptual and affective possibilities it can extend one's own humanity.

Footnotes

[1] I have argued for the central place of encouraging a spirit of creative enquiry, throughout the whole curriculum, in "Primary and Secondary Qualities: Waiting for an Educational Godot," in the The Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1985

[2] I discussed the notion of creativity in education generally in "Can creativity be taught?" British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XXX, No. 3, October 1982.

[3] I discuss this question more fully in Chapter 4 of Feeling and Reason in the Arts.

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Cross-Cultural Research in the Visual Arts: An Overview.

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The aim of this paper is to offer some observations about empirically oriented cross-cultural research in the visual arts. In addressing this issue, it is important to keep in mind the paradox that confronts researchers interested in human behavior. While human beings share many common attributes, we are also unique. If in place of "human beings," we substitute "culture," one can see immediately how complex and confounding cross-cultural research can be.

Keeping the paradox of similarity and uniqueness in mind, there is a tendency to characterize the art experience by focusing on its dissimilar, if not unique, features. We say the art experience is unique, but given that art is made by humans, the activity takes on normative qualities. Procedures, techniques, styles, and expressions begin to reflect qualities of other works of art and share these qualities in varying degrees. Some say that culture and art are in an ever changing state of metamorphosis, and unless researchers and their theories are sensitive to temporal variations, statements about culture A at point X may not be relevant at point Y (Lonner, 1980). Others say that while change may occur within cultures, the same essential social and psychological structures are present (Fox, 1971). This form of cultural relativism assumes that radical ruptures do not take place in the human organism nor do such ruptures take place in culture without the proper antecedents being in place. In short, all aspects of human behavior involve some degree of organization and cultural equilibrium.

Cross-cultural research in the visual arts is embedded in educational, philosophical, political, psychological, and sociological issues. Those who believe that cross-cultural research in the visual arts concerns only one of these issues will bring a limited perspective to their work. The diversity of disciplines that contribute to the study of the visual arts makes it clear that no single orientation can adequately provide a comprehensive base for examining this issue. With this point of view in mind, the remainder of this paper will focus on a rationale for and some common findings about cross-cultural research in the visual arts.

Rationale

Why should researchers do cross-cultural research in the visual arts? Or more specifically, why study cognitive development, perception, or attitude change using art stimuli? One answer is that cross-cultural research helps us to seek and comprehend the covariation between cultural and behavioral variables as they relate to the visual arts. While correlational data are the beginning, the end state is to identify causal relationships between variables. This point of view has been long understood by our colleagues in art history who have attempted to bring order and understanding to the wide range of possible differences exhibited in the art of various cultures and eras. The collection of new information, or the confirmation of existing data, has guided art history for much of its development as a field of study. This view is no less an ambition for researchers with a quantitative orientation in the visual arts. The search for causal relationships between variables has particular intrinsic merit because it insures that data which are relevant to the question will be examined, debated, tested, and organized into coherent parts and, perhaps, restructured into a more powerful explanation of the nature of the art experience. Finally, cross-cultural research in the visual arts helps us to test the ability to generalize about our theories and the propositions that form them in other settings using subjects shaped by different cultures. Cross-cultural research is comparative research. As Whiting (1968) concluded, if cultures are viewed as independent variables, then increasing the range of variation constitutes a stronger manipulation of the independent variable. Thus, if culture and behavior are seen as covariates, this increased range enhances the likelihood of meaningful correlational analysis. For example, do different groups of peoples from different cultures perform a set of tasks similarly? Do they classify art stimuli into like groups, or identify similar structural dimensions in paintings, or organize drawings in a similar fashion? The principal aim of studies which investigate such questions is to test the assumption that to perform a particular task in a similar manner requires similar cognitive skills. If performance is different, is culture the likely explanation? What are the intellectual outcomes of growing up in one culture instead of another?

Culture often refers to the total attainments and activities of any specific group of humans at a particular period including their implements, arts, traditions, language, and the like. While definitions about culture range from general to specific, concrete to abstract, and simple to complex, Herskovitz's definition (1948) that culture is the man-made part of the human environment is a useful honorific definition. Using this definition, culture can be further qualified to include the objective or physical aspects of culture, i.e., roads, buildings, tools, paintings; or the subjective responses to what is man-made, i.e., myths, roles, values, attitudes, or perceptions. Thus, cross-cultural research in the visual arts is concerned with the systematic study of behaviors or responses to art objects in different cultures, or as they are influenced by culture, or as they produce different changes in culture (Eckensberger, 1972).

Key Variables

The psychology of art focuses on questions related to the participants in the art process, namely the artist and the perceiver. In general, these questions attempt to study the essential cognitive processes that make it possible to create and respond to art. While those who create art objects have been the aim of some published articles, greater emphasis has been placed on the perception of art objects rather than their creation. Questions about the kinds of art objects that various individuals or groups prefer, classify, produce, rate, or buy, and how an accurate measurement of their response can be obtained has long attracted interest. Beginning with Fechner's work in 1876, through the Gestalists during the 1920's and 1930's, and to the contributions offered by Arnheim (1954), Berlyne (1971, 1972, 1974), Gardner (1970, 1972), and Gombrich (1960) these issues have been examined in a variety of ways. While only a few of these authors deal directly with cross-cultural research, their questions are easily translatable into comparative studies. For example, are there cognitive strategies that characterize people who grow up in different cultural environments? Do people in different cultures organize and represent information about objects in similar ways? Are there aspects of one's culture that determine what features of an object are important or useful? Since most art objects have more structural features than people can attend to, what cognitive factors determine those features that are attended to or used, and those that are ignored?

A frequent study in cross-cultural research is whether people in different cultures classify objects in the same way, that is, according to the same attributes. The task usually requires subjects to group a collection of stimuli, such as geometric shapes of various colors, toys of various colors, and the like. However, while the geometric shape frequently remains the same, the color of the shape or toy is altered. Studies have shown a developmental sequence toward the use of form or object as the basis for classification as opposed to color, and the results have been replicated in numerous cultures (Suchman and Trabasso, 1966, et al). Studies in the visual arts which have used this classification strategy offer mixed results. For example, the task for subjects using visual art stimuli is to organize the stimuli, usually reproductions of paintings on the basis of some perceived similarity. A number of studies have shown that subjects tend to organize stimuli on the basis of subject matter similarities (Gardner, 1970, 1972; Lark Horovitz, 1937, 1938; Rump and Southgate, 1966). Other studies show a classification system based on broader more generalizable structural features, i.e., style (Hardiman and Zernich, 1977, 1982, 1985a; O'Hare, 1976; and Tighe, 1968). One aspect that all these studies agree upon is that intervention, or training greatly facilitates a subject's ability to classify paintings on a variety of structural dimensions.

The concept of conservation has been the subject of many cross-cultural studies. Conservation, a concept from Piaget's (1952) theory of intellectual development, refers to a person's ability to recognize the identity of objects or substances in spite of changes in their appearance. Conservation requires people to make judgments about objects on the basis of some features rather than other features, e.g., quantity as opposed to shape. This is important because the way people perform conservation tasks is assumed to reflect how they think about objects. The conservation experiment is one of the most common experiments in child development and has been tested in numerous cultures (Piaget, 1966; Dasen, 1972). The general finding is that subjects of different stages tend to perform conservation tasks in a similar manner, but there is a lag in the development of conservation for members of some cultures compared to others. Although conservation skills are commonly found in subjects classified as being concrete operational or around the ages 7-11, educational experience seems to reduce cultural differences. While we know of no conservation studies using art objects, the implications are clear. Familiarity with the relevant objects, the task to the performed, and formal education emerge as clear factors associated with apparent differences in how people from different cultures organize their thoughts.

How people represent knowledge about space is another aspect of cognitive functioning that is frequently studied. The research question is typically stated in a comparative manner: Do people who live in different social and physical environments develop different ways of organizing spatial information. This issue has been most frequently studied by the use of children's drawings. Arnheim (1954), Freeman (1980), Krampen (1984), Kellogg (1969), Lowenfeld (1947), and Wilson and Wilson (1984) all support to varying degrees of agreement the idea that spatial representation follows predictable organizational patterns, that these patterns are learned, and that these patterns can be accelerated by instruction. This is one of the most common comparisons made in cross-cultural research in the visual arts and these patterns seem to have near universal agreement.

Where there are important similarities in the cognitive functioning of diverse groups of people, these similarities may help identify aspects of cognition that are universal. In addition to representational development in children, similarity of preferences among diverse cultural groups with similar educational experiences seem to offer evidence for cross-cultural consistency. Child (1964), Child and Iwao (1968), and Child and Pervin (1972) have offered evidence that similarly trained subjects, i.e., artists or art students, rate various art stimuli with similar criteria. Berlyne (1972), Hardiman and Zernich (1985b), Hasim (1979), Eysenck and Iwawaki (1971), and Soueif and Eysenck (1971) seem to offer similar results with different cultures and their preferences for various art stimuli. The results appear highly consistent for subjects trained in the arts, but untrained subjects seem to have more variation and less agreement than trained subjects. As Berlyne (1971) stated, people all over the world appear to exhibit a common dependence on certain dimensions of variation related to collative stimulus properties, even if the preferred segments of these dimensions vary from society to society. In addition, Berlyne suggested that aesthetic behavior was derived from universal and fundamental characteristics of the human nervous system (1971).

Experimental research on cultural influence on perceptions, cognitive development, or subjective responses to works of art is meager. While basic cognitive psychology has actively pursued cross-cultural research for decades, we in the arts have done little to determine the ability to generalize about findings obtained from predominantly Euro-American cultures to those of other cultures. The authors have tried to offer several broad categories of findings that seem to show agreement or consistency in various cultures, and some of these findings are impressive. Preferences, classifications of art objects, and the development of representational skills in children seem to demonstrate the existence of similarities among many cultures. When variation is in evidence, it is more a variation of degree rather than kind. One of the clearest demonstrations of this point is the notion of the degree of optimum complexity, or the inverted U-shaped curve. This notion holds the view that there is a curvilinear relationship between the amount of information in the stimulus and the extent to which the stimulus is judged to be attractive, pleasant, rewarding, or stimulating. Extremely simple or extremely complex stimuli are viewed as being aesthetically less satisfying than stimuli that are intermediate in complexity.

The reason this finding is important is that it clearly demonstrates that aesthetic judgments and cognition covary. Or, put another way, interpretation and judgement, the pivotal points of the art experience, are a consequence of cognition. If we can continue to establish correlations between fundamental cognitive processes, cultural characteristics, and the visual arts, we will have made a major step in the advancement of knowledge. While we have made some progress in our understanding of this relationship, much more work needs to be undertaken.

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Cultural Diversity and Art Education: A Global Perspective.

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Electronic technology has greatly accelerated global interconnectedness. With the advent of electronic media and its easy, inexpensive accessibility, more people world over simultaneously share information and view events as they happen. Isolationism is no longer feasible. Interdependence is inevitable. Human issues are now global issues. Cortes (1983) identifies eight of these issues: "the search for employment, the acquisition and allocation of resources, the access to oceans and their abundance, the movement of peoples, the growth of the world population, the maintenance and sharing of water supplies, the use and abuse of the air we breath, and the struggle for understanding among diverse peoples" (p. 568).

Global interrelatedness and the rapid increase of ethnic diversity within many countries are parallel and overlapping realities that have become major issues confronting educators, politicians, scientists, and humanists the world over. Basic to these issues is the need for better understanding, communication and equity. There is a growing recognition that education must prepare students for global interdependence and for living in a world characterized by cultural and ethnic diversity. As art educators we need to examine our current practices to determine whether we are using limited frames of reference with which to view the world in the content we teach. Current demographic and political conditions suggest a sense of urgency in developing approaches to the visual arts that are more holistic and that develop frames of reference that would allow for truly global viewing of the arts of the world, and those of the many different cultural groups represented in our schools today.

This overview will first look at the past trends and current status regarding ethnic and cultural diversity in America as they relate to education. Then it will cite some of the trends and concerns of other countries. Using this information as a context, issues and concerns relative to art education will be analyzed; unique and common situations identified; and suggestions made for global, collaborative efforts toward the resolution of art education problems arising from cultural diversity.

ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AMERICA: PAST TRENDS AND CURRENT STATUS

The current attempts to institutionalize reforms in the school and teacher education that are more responsive to the ethnic and cultural pluralism in America are not the first to be made in our country in this century. Several previous attempts were made as a result of lemographic changes and social forces. These were preceded by social heories which tried to explain the phenomena.

Mark Krug (1978) makes an important distinction between the terms Americanization" and "melting pot." Americanization, a term which ppeared in the 1880's and applied during the subsequent years of assive immigration, "signified the demand of the dominant society, which at that time was basically Anglo-Saxon, that the millions of mmigrants assimilate as quickly as possible into the American, nglo-Saxon culture" (p. 131). The public school was viewed as the entral institution responsible for the speedy integration of the mmigrant into the American society.

The melting-pot theory was developed in the early 1900's emerging rom the rejection, by most immigrants, of the idea of a "superior" nglo-Saxon race in which they were to disappear. Israel Zangwill in 880 wrote a play entitled "The Melting Pot," which was produced on roadway. He depicted America as a large furnace; a crucible where ll the cultures were melting and reforming. "The real American," angwill declared, "has not yet arrived. He is only in the rucible...He will be a fusion of all the races" (Krug, 1978, p. 131).

Unlike the Americanization concept, the melting pot theory did not emand that immigrants deny their own cultures. Rather, it assumed hat all cultures had intrinsic values and made important contributions o the evolution of a new American culture.

Art programs in the schools during the early years of this century ended to focus on art as craft and folk tradition in response to the reat numbers of non-English-speaking immigrant children. This focus rovided a non-verbal means of developing vocational skills in crafts ith an emphasis on ethnicity and folk tradition. Eventually this pproach evolved into industrial arts for boys and home economics for irls (Chapman, 1978).

The concept of "cultural pluralism" emerged in the 1920's when it ecame obvious that millions of Jews, Poles, Greeks, Mexicans, fricans, American Indians, Italians, and others would neither ssimilate into the dominant culture or be pushed into the melting pot. oth of these approaches according to Krug (1978), demanded the urrender of ethnic loyalties, values, and ties... "Cultural pluralism ame to signify a new perception of the American society" (p. 130-134).

Horace Kallen (1956), the most influential exponent of cultural luralism in the late 1920's, maintained as his main thesis that American ulture was not monolithic but pluralistic and that pluralism had its oots in the founding of America, in its political documents, frontier xperience, and in the American values of political democracy and social nd religious tolerance. Kallen (1924) strongly believed hat..."Cultures live and grow in and through the individual and their itality is a function of individual diversities of interests and ssociations" (p. 71). "Unity in diversity" was a phrase often used by allen in his writings and speeches.

During the 1940's and 1950's an educational reform movement nown as "intergroup education" and "intercultural education" emerged in response to societal forces which gave rise to serious racial tensions and riots. These forces were precipitated during World War II when many Blacks and Whites left the South each year and settled in northern cities. Conflict developed between Blacks and Whites in these cities as they competed for jobs and housing. The major goal of intergroup education was to reduce ethnic and racial prejudice and misunderstandings. The emphasis was not on strong pluralism or on maintaining or perpetuating ethnic loyalties. Although the intergroup education movement spanned a decade, it failed to become institutionalized within most American schools, colleges, and teacher training institutions (Banks, 1979). By the 1960's, racial tensions had intensified and race riots emerged again. American schools and colleges were not prepared for this resurgence. Very few curricula dealt comprehensively with the study of ethnic and racial relations (Banks, 1979).

The development of what is known as multi-cultural education occurred during the last fifteen to twenty years. In the early 1960's little was articulated that gave direction and definition to specific concepts or approaches that could be applied to educational practice (Baker, 1979). Ethnic instruction in the curricula of schools tended to be limited to the study of Blacks, Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian Americans. By the early 70's, the concept of multi-ethnic education came to mean the study of the history of ethnic groups in the United States. Multi-ethnic education was intended to "develop the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities needed to relate to a range of ethnic groups and to function in ethnic group cultures at some minimal level of competency" (Banks, 1979, p. 240).

The term "multi-cultural education," whose original usage is credited to Jack Forbes in a publication in 1969, has a broader perspective than multi-ethnic education, which is an essential part of multi-cultural education. Baker's definition (1979) reflects this broad perspective. According to Baker, multi-cultural education is the

> process through which individuals are exposed to the diversity that exists in the United States and to the relationship of this diversity to the world. This diversity includes ethnic, racial minority populations as well as religious groups, language and sex differences. The exposure to diversity should be based on the foundation that every person in our society has the opportunity and option to support and maintain one or more cultures, i.e., value systems, life styles, sets of systems. However, the individual, as a citizen, has a responsibility to contribute to the maintenance of the common culture. (p. 256)

The mid-1970's were prime times for multi-cultural/multi-ethnic education in the United States. It was an era of growth and expansion, quantitatively and qualitatively. Education and the socio-political climates were open to innovation and change, to exploration and experimentation (Gay, 1983). Many resources appeared. Programs and books on the art of various ethnic and racial groups were developed and written; art history inquiry began for ethnic areas as well as for women. Various legal battles were won giving legitimacy to multi-ethnic education. Government funds were made available to support research, curriculum design, and dissemination projects that dealt with cultural studies of ethnic groups - especially of European ancestry. State legislatures, state Departments of Education, teacher accreditation organizations, and professional organizations adopted goal statements, requirements, and minimum competency levels regarding multi-ethnic/multi-cultural education (Gay, 1983).

However, even during this time of growth, expansion, legal victories, government funding, and public awareness, multi-ethnic education had its problems. Gay (1983) indicates that "Many of the efforts to implement multi-ethnic programs lacked sufficient conceptual understanding, clearly defined goals, long-range planning, adequate diagnosis of needs, and the necessary pool of professionally prepared and committed personnel. Hence, the theory was advancing, emerging, and evolving with apparent continuity, but multi-ethnic practice remained largely fragmentary, sporadic, unarticulated, and unsystematic" (p. 562).

The challenge for the 1980's for multi-ethnic education is to survive. It is in jeopardy on two fronts: the economics and the ideological. There are many new priorities in education such as vocationalism, technology, and quantification of successful performance, which compete for limited monies available. Shifting values are as threatening as economics, such as the emphasis on basics, conservatism and cost effectiveness of human services (Gay, 1983). Gay (1983) predicts that the 1980's will be unreceptive to multi-ethnic education unless it can demonstrate that conceptually and programmatically, multi-ethnic education can improve the overall quality of general education by showing how it can be infused into all other aspects of education without compromising the integrity of either.

There is a discrepancy between current educational priorities and demographic changes. America is becoming increasingly more ethnically and culturally diverse. During the 1970's, the U.S. population grew by 11.4%. However, Blacks increased by 17%; Hispanics by 61%; Native Americans by 71%; and Asian Americans doubled in number (Cortes, 1983).

McMeekin and Dede (1980) predict that "Large numbers of non-English-speaking Hispanic and Asian immigrants will create needs for teachers with special skills in bilingual and multi-cultural education. It is likely that by the end of the 1980's Hispanics will be the largest minority group in the country. Many of these non-English-speaking families settle in urban areas. This will raise vexatious language policy issues, especially when non-English-speaking students are in the majority" (p. 228).

Currently, schools are filled with children speaking no English. The non-English-speaking population in the U.S. is expected to increase from the current 30 million (which is more than 13% of the population) to about 39.5 million in the year 2000. This is a new educational phenomenon which is also being experienced in other countries. King (1981) observes that "never before has the world seen such upheaval and mobility in its population...the greatest wave of refugees and displaced persons in modern times, far beyond that created by the dislocation of World War I., will grow even larger by the close of 1980" (p. 172). It is estimated that a total of 17,000,000 refugees have been recently uprooted by war and famine. The U.S. has accepted more refugees than any other Western nation - mainly from Indochina, Haiti, and Cuba (King, 1981). King (1981) points out that the greatest need for educators is "to break away from provincial views on what constitutes school curriculum and to develop global perspectives in educating children the world over" (p. 173).

ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Japan

Other countries are discovering similar educational needs. Japan's educational system, for example, may experience major changes during the 1980's which are intend to bring about a fundamental reorientation of contemporary Japanese education through the diversification of the school system and its internationalization (Kobayashi, 1980).

During the 1960's and early 1970's Japan achieved high levels of growth and development in many aspects of her national life, in particular, in education and in the economy. Education was considered an effective tool for ensuring both individual and social progress. The educational policies in the 1960's followed the lead set by economic expansion. By the mid-1970's, however, there arose a need for radical reform in Japanese education to meet the "expansion of knowledge, the development of technological innovation, and increasing complexity of society, and the changes in national and international life" (Kobayashi, 1980, p. 239). The Japan-oriented attitude of the past is giving way to the new international perspective. This new perspective is manifested in educational assistance to developing nations; exchanges of students, teachers and scholars; foreign language instruction for the Japanese, and Japanese language teaching for foreigners; and education for overseas and returning Japanese children as well as for international understanding (Kobayashi, 1980). Internationalization is not just an addition or peripheral to the national system; it constitutes a fundamental change in the existing system.

Europe

Fundamental changes, of a global nature, may also occur in European school systems. Lynch (1983) identifies two major factors affecting the multi-ethnic education movement in Europe today: ethnic and linguistic diversity, and European immigration.

Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity

National boundaries in modern Europe do not now, or never have, coincided with linguistic, cultural and religious boundaries. Lynch (1983) observed that "When nations were finally established in Europe, none was monolingual" (p. 576). Even when nations tried to enforce monolingualism, large minorities retained their native tongues or dialects.

European Immigration

Immigration started in the 19th century and accelerated rapidly after the Second World War when economic recovery of Western Europe created a need for workers. Immigrants came first from southern Europe and then from around the world. Between 1950 and 1981 approximately 15 million immigrants had settled in countries of European Economic Community - creating complex social and educational problems (Lynch, 1983).

Until 1970 the focus was on the needs of migrant children who were expected to return to their countries. Those immigrants who became citizens were expected to assimilate into the culture. Only in the late 1970's did intercultural education appear in France, the Netherlands and West Germany, and multi-cultural education in the United Kingdom.

The Council of Europe and other consortium organizations began experimental classes for children of migrant workers in 1971. In 1975 the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education passed a resolution which promoted access to education and equality of opportunity" and "guaranteed continued biculturalism through teaching the culture and the language of both the host and sending country" (Lynch, 1983, p. 577). A Directive on Education of Migrant Workers of July 25, 1977, became effective in July 1981. It was left up to national authorities to implement. Some countries were sluggish in planning action between 1977 and 1981; others were in direct legal and practical conflict with the directive (Lynch, 1983).

Lynch (1983) observes that in the United Kingdom, the development of multi-cultural education has been dominated by racial tension and violence and by successive governmental attempts to manipulate nationality legislation. Nonetheless, the schools and teacher centers have done much to develop new curricula, despite government apathy and sluggish inactivity in the teacher's college and university departments responsible for the training of teachers (Lynch, 1983).

More recently, some countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, have begun to develop strategies of multi-cultural or intercultural education for all students and teachers. For example, after August 1, 1984, intercultural education in the Netherlands will be a compulsory component of initial teacher training for all students (Lynch, 1983).

Australia

In Australia, the population has almost doubled since the end of World War II. In 1947 only one in five migrants came from non-English-speaking countries. By 1971 the proportion was one in two. By late in the 1970's, half of the new settlers came from Asia, the Middle East, and from other non-European regions. By 1976, over 1/5 of the population was born outside Australia.

Like trend patterns in other countries, Australia went through the phases of first expecting assimilation to occur, then integration and, more recently, it has embraced the concept of multi-culturalism. The current goal is "a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australia" (Kwong Lee Dow, 1980, p. 249).

A major 1978 review of Migrant Services and Programs found current practices of multi-cultural education to be inadequate and uncoordinated. These findings are not dissimilar to those found in other countries as each assessed early progress. Recognized in principle, but not in practice in Australia and other countries, is that multi-cultural education should be an important aspect in the education of all children, not just in the education of immigrant children (Dow, 1980).

IMPLICATIONS FOR ART EDUCATION

This recurring theme was also expressed by art educators from thirty-five countries who attended the 23rd World Congress of the International Society for Education through the Arts (INSEA) held in Australia in 1978. The main focus of this World Congress was the Arts in Cultural Diversity. A phenomena shared by many countries (developed and developing countries) is the struggle of many groups for cultural identity within the context of fast changing cultural values and traditions accelerated by earlier factors of colonization or industrialization or conscious exculturation by the core culture. As the concept of human rights and freedom becomes more of a universal ideal, cultures in which these rights were originally subdued or denied are now searching for their cultural roots, reviving traditional art and ritual forms and, for the most part, reconciling these with newer forms that reflect the contemporary experience of individuals within the group. Another phenomena has been emerging that is reflected in the American Indian experience, the New Zealand Maori experience, and the English West Indian and African experience - among others. Newer generations of these cultural groups are identifying with their own group, as well as with others, including the core culture. Some artists use traditional forms exclusively, others use these forms but in contemporary terms; still others are indistinguishable from artists working outside of a specific cultural context. Fundamental to these themes is the realization of the complexities involved in understanding the arts of other cultures, in particular, the cultural factors that influence aesthetics. These factors include the values and beliefs of a society, its changing institutions and its group relationships and interrelationships. It also includes identifying commonalities and variations in aesthetic responses from a cross-cultural perspective (Lovano-Kerr, 1982).

There was an abiding concern of art educators from around the world for the relatively low status and low priority the arts have in the school curricula. Increasingly, throughout the world, disciplines relevant for technological, economic, and political growth are overrepresented in the curriculum, while the arts, social sciences, humanities and liberal arts are underrepresented. However, educational policy and decision makers within some of these countries cannot continue to ignore the substantial increase of culturally diverse people within their populations. Cultural diversity is being cited more often as a major educational issue as immigration accelerates.

INSEA's statement on Art Education and Culture presented at the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City, July, 1982, is a well developed statement on goals, purposes, and objectives regarding the advancement of creative education through the arts in all countries and the promotion of international understanding. Also presented were strategies developed to illuminate cultural identity, cultural diversity, and cultural awareness within the INSEA membership. These include conferences and congresses for the exchange of ideas and visuals, a Research Conference, a periodic Newsletter, and a network of contacts for the exchange/visit of art educators in other countries.

To this very impressive list of strategies, I would like to suggest that a task force be formed on the Arts in Cultural Diversity that could build on the issues, concerns, and ideas presented in Adelaide, Australia, in 1978. Part of the mission of this task force would be to gather current information on issues and concerns as well as ongoing programs and resources on multi-cultural/inter-cultural arts education. This information can be shared with the membership through existing INSEA publications and art education publications of professional organizations throughout the world. Another mission would be to gather conceptual/theoretical materials to be shared that can become the bases for developing curricular models that reflect multi-cultural education as a normal human experience, and ways it can be infused into all other aspects of education without compromising its integrity or that of general education.

The problems surrounding multi-cultural education in the arts are highly complex, since they involve the entire educational system, economics and politics. However, through collaborative efforts we can become informed of major issues confronting art educators in other countries and be prepared to share research, practical, programmatic or theoretical information.

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Children's Drawings: A Comparison of Two Cultures.

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It is well established that children's art goes through predictable stages of development (Lowenfeld and Brittain, 1982). The stages are most clearly defined at the younger ages, with most children scribbling before the age of four; this is followed by a stage of head-feet representation with objects floating on a page, which is followed at about the age of six by a definite baseline at the bottom of the page with objects resting firmly on this. This latter stage is primarily two-dimensional; objects are drawn separately and oriented toward the viewer. The stages of development in drawing seem to be consistent in Western societies (Luquet, 1927; Lansing, 1969; Leeds et al., 1983). The same development stages are so clearly marked that it appears that there may be biological factors involved and that growth in art is somewhat predetermined in the same way that physical growth goes through predictable patterns.

There has been some debate as to the effect of culture and environment upon children's drawings. A fair amount of literature compares the drawings by children from various cultures on the Goodenough-Harris Draw-a-Man-Test. For the most part, this tends to show that youngsters from other than Western cultures score somewhat lower in mental maturity on this scale (Scott, 1981). However, the Draw-a-Man-Test deals only with the human figure and does not take into consideration other factors in the drawing act.

Differences in societies can be seen through their art products (Dennis, 1966), not merely through the reproduction or representation of objects, but also through the techniques or method of reproduction. It is not surprising that children adapt to these cultural patterns, and drawings by eight or nine year olds from various countries show different environmental influences. It is not as clear whether early representations by children who have just progressed beyond the scribbling stage will show cultural differences. In a study of drawings by children from six cultures, Alland (1983) claims that cultural influences appear early and strongly affect children's drawings, and although he presents no statistical analysis of his data other than his own observations, Alland feels that the generally accepted stages of development beyond scribbling may be false. Deregowski (1978) argues that exposure to representational art through books and schooling affects children's drawings by suppressing the emergence of ideographic or stick-figure representation. Morley (1975) gathered drawings by Australian children: white, urban Aboriginal, and traditional Aboriginal. He states that the pattern of development for all three groups follows an identical growth structure.

There does seem to be some difference of opinion. On the one hand it appears that the cultural setting may play an important role in limiting or directing a young child's drawing; on the other is the view that cultural influences are minimal and that the drawings of young children exhibit a universal pattern reflecting a commonality of cognitive growth.

Two separate and distinct locations were chosen for this study. One was in upper New York state, the other was on the Aboriginal reserves in Queensland, Australia. The former is primarily urban and suburban, filled with houses and apartments, where streets are crowded with cars and buses, stores and supermarkets are plentiful, and television and coloring books are readily accessible. In sharp contrast, the Queensland locations are devoid of the trappings of the New York culture. Instead, the Aboriginal family is apt to be semi-nomadic or to live in a row of government built houses up on stumps or stilts. The occasional car might belong to a local health officer, and possessions are minimal. These family groupings live on isolated reserves in the "Outback" or in the rainforest areas on the Cape York Peninsula. There is no implication that one of these settings has more "culture" than the other, merely that these are diverse locations. However, it has been over twenty years since Mountford (1961) called the Australian Aboriginals probably the most primitive of any living people. The efforts of the Australian government notwithstanding, the traditions of a proud people are rapidly disappearing, and it is doubtful that in another twenty years many of the distinctive features that set these people apart will continue to survive.

It is hypothesized that children of four or five years of age from diverse backgrounds will show similarity in their early representations.

Method

Subjects

Drawings were collected from children of four to eight years of age in both the New York and Queensland areas. The New York children were enrolled in various public schools located in towns and small cities. Many of the children were brought to school by bus from the surrounding rural areas. The population could be said to be typical, with single family dwellings, apartments, one car, one or more television sets, newspapers and magazines delivered regularly. Out-of-school activities were often adult supervised and age segregated, with a fair amount of time spent in television watching. The Queensland children were in what were formerly mission schools and presently operated by the Department of Aboriginal and Islanders' Advancement. The schools were located on reserves which were inaccessible, because of location and strictly enforced regulations, to the white Australian population. Although some locations had government constructed one room shelters, there were no cars, no televisions, no buses, no native language newspapers or magazines. Some of the families stayed at one location for a limited length of time; and the school population tended to decrease rapidly beyond the first few grades. The children were required to wear a garment to cover the torso while in school, but feet were bare. Activities outside school were unsupervised and included practicing physical skills, catching wildlife, finding edible grubs, and playing cooperative games. It should be noted that not all Aboriginal children are on reserves. Many families have left the isolated areas and are living in or close to the populated areas. These children generally attend non-segregated schools and their drawings are not included in this study.

Some 1,000 children were involved in the New York sample, and about 300 Aboriginal children in the Queensland sample. The drawings by four and five year olds were of particular interest. In New York State these children were from local nursery schools or daycare centers; in Queensland they were being oriented as part of a preschool or "kindy" program and were contacted during the first few weeks of attendance.

Materials

All of the drawings from the children in the New York sample were done on 8 1/2 by 11 inch paper. The drawing tool was a black fiber tipped pen. The drawings from the Queensland sample were done on white paper 20 by 30 centimeters with a similar pen. A few of the Australian drawings were done on somewhat larger paper with pencil where the standard materials were not available.

Procedure

In both samples the drawings were collected under comparable conditions. A short discussion was started with the children about "Eating." Eating was selected because it was a topic believed to be universally interesting and because it would provide the opportunity for drawing both a human figure and some environment. The children were asked what their favorite food was and where they ate. Other questions such as "When do you eat?" or "Who do you eat with?" were often asked to stimulate a discussion. Once it was obvious that children were aware of the topic, paper was handed out with the drawing tools, and the children were asked to draw a picture of "Eating."

The author in many instances led the discussion; in other cases it was an assistant or the teacher in charge, as in some of the isolated Aboriginal settlements where children were more conversant in their own regional dialect. All the drawings were saved, dated, and marked according to the sex and age of the child and the location where collected.

Analysis

For the purpose of analysis the study was divided into two sections. The first section dealt primarily with an objective evaluation of the developmental levels of the two samples. The primary concern was whether differences could be seen in how the drawings were executed, in the way in which the objects were portrayed, and in the amount of detail shown. The second section dealt with a more subjective analysis. This included a study of the subject matter, the portrayal and use of space, and the relationships between the objects within the picture.

Section 1. Drawings by four and five year olds were selected from the two groups, matched according to sex, age, and subject matter. The drawings were examined, and ranged from scribbles to detailed portrayals of eating. Although more children from the New York sample attempted interior scenes and the Aboriginal drawings showed more outdoor fires, these were not considered as features which would bias judging procedures. A few drawings had to be set aside because of particular characteristics which quickly revealed their source. Some of the New York drawings included an automobile, a picnic table, a television set, or a stove, and some of the drawings from the Aboriginal sample included a palm tree, a kangaroo, or a house on stilts. These drawings were saved for the second analysis. Forty drawings were thus selected, twenty from each group.

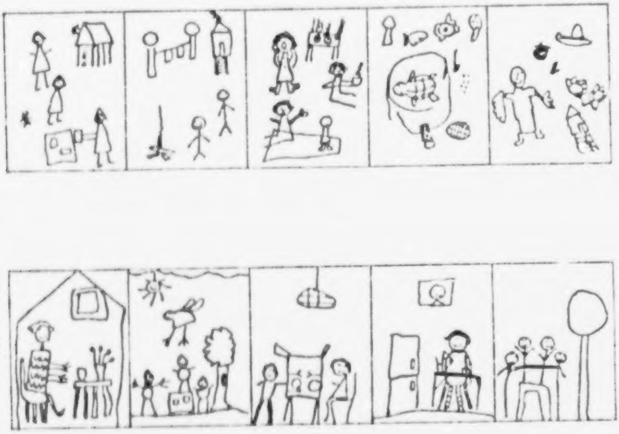

Figure 1. Examples of eight steps of development used as a basis for judging the drawings by four and five year old children.

A scale was devised based upon the normal Western developmental sequence which is exhibited in most children's drawings. The scale consisted of eight steps illustrated by visual and verbal descriptions (see Figure 1). These steps were (1) a scribble composed of random marks, (2) a scribble with concentrated marks or filled-in areas, (3) an attempt at making closed forms, (4) closed forms with representation attempted, (5) the beginning of recognizable shapes but no relation between these, (6) clearly recognizable shapes but objects floating and unorganized, (7) objects defined and related to one another, (8) pictorial representation showing some attempt at proportion.

All of the forty drawings were photocopied so that the slight differences in paper size would not be a clue as to the origin of the drawings. Three judges sorted these copies basing their judgments on the eight point scale. Each drawing was given a rank order using a composite score from each of the three judges.

Section 2. The second analysis was primarily a comparison of content between the two samples of drawings. For this aspect of the study approximately three hundred drawings were used, including some of the drawings by four and five year olds previously set aside and drawings by children up to age eight. These drawings were spread out on large tables, and listings were made of the apparent differences between the drawings from the two populations.

Three areas were examined in detail. The first was the subject matter. Notation was made of the occurrence of objects in the drawings by each of the populations, and a record was made of the differences that existed. The second area examined was space. Of particular interest was the amount of space used and the space left between objects. The third area examined was the relationship between objects; did the objects have any size relationship or functional relationship, and did they have any common baseline?

Results

1. The first section of this study attempted to determine the developmental level of the drawings from the two populations. Three judges had distributed the drawings on an eight point scale. A Spearman Rank Order Correlation between each pair of judges was .91, .89, and .89. The three scores were added giving a possible range from 3 to 24 for the drawings. The mean score for the Aboriginal group was 13.85, with a range from 3 to 22. The mean score for the New York group was 15.5, with a range from 7 to 24. A $\underline{t}$ test for the difference between sample means indicated that the groups were not significantly different at the .05 level of confidence.

Although the New York State group scored higher on the eight point scale, the differences were small and could have occurred by chance. In some instances an individual child from the Aboriginal group scored higher than the matched child from the New York State sample, and vice versa.

2. In an analysis of the content of the drawings from the two populations, certain subject matter differences were apparent. These differences became obvious in some drawings by children as young as five years of age. The presence of palm trees, alligators, and houses on stilts in the Aboriginal drawings set them aside as being from a culture different from New York State. However, in those drawings in which only the food and the child appeared, there were no stylistic indications as to the source of the drawings, particularly in the drawings by four and five year olds. It was also noted that many of the children in the New York sample portrayed themselves eating inside

a house. Most of the Aboriginal population drew themselves either outside of the house or gave no indication that they were showing themselves inside a structure. Space was a second factor looked at. There seemed to be no differences in the amount of space used on the page, but the Aboriginal population tended to elaborate more, putting a greater amount of detail on certain items. The novelty of the drawing tool, which was not a common instrument in their schools, may have prolonged the drawing time and thus affected the amount of detail.

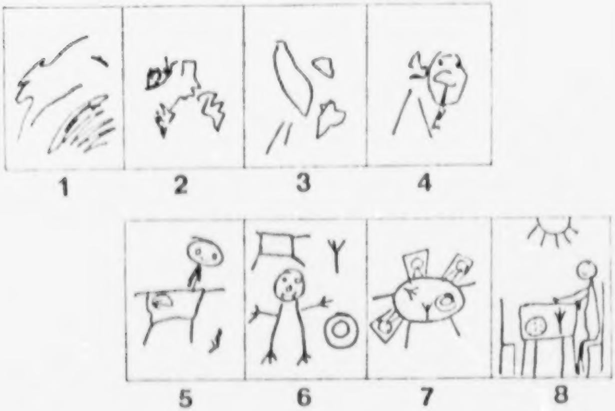

Figure 2. Typical drawings by seven year old Aboriginal children (top row) and New York State children (bottom row).

The populations showed some differences in the way they portrayed relationships between objects. The New York children had a baseline at the bottom of the page much more frequently than did the Queensland children. By the age of seven, nearly all of the New York sample used a baseline, either a definite line or the bottom of the page to which everything was anchored. Few of the Australian sample used this device; instead objects tended to float on the page, seemingly unattached to a ground or baseline; although objects were portrayed so that their bases or feet were spatially oriented in a consistent way, they were drawn on different planes with objects often shown above one another.

Table 1 shows the percentage of drawings which use a baseline, at each grade level from nursery school to fourth grade. Ages were not readily available for children beyond the nursery school in the Aboriginal schools, so the grade level is used for comparisons. The third grade appears as the peak of the baseline use. The decrease in use of the baseline in the fourth grade indicates other means of space representation, notably attempts at perspective or three-dimensionality for the New York State sample.

Table 1

Percentage of Children Using a Baseline

	Grade Level in School					
	N	K	1	2	3	4
Aboriginal	0%	0%	0%	10%	37%	26%
New York State	2%	8%	58%	95%	98%	87%

Discussion

It seems clear from the results that the four and five year old children drew surprisingly similarly regardless of whether they were New Yorkers or Australian Aboriginals. Cultural differences seemed to become more apparent as children became more proficient at drawing their environment. Aboriginal children on reserves are isolated from many of the pictorial images of today's modern society. They are not exposed to multiple images, see little in the way of posters, are not bombarded with TV advertisements, rarely have seen picture books or cute stereotypes on nursery furniture, and in fact have lived for their four or five years in isolation except for other Aboriginal children and their own extended family. Except possibly for a drawing in the sand by older children, these youngsters would not have been exposed to art in the Western mode before attending school.

On the other hand, the New York urban and suburban population is constantly bombarded with printed images. A young child cannot escape from a continual exhibition of pictures, screens, photos, and displays. It is therefore interesting to note that these two populations follow an identical pattern of development during the first few years of representational attempts, with cultural differences not becoming obvious until about six or seven years of age.

One of the differences between the New York State sample and the drawings from the Aboriginal group was the limited use of the baseline in the Aboriginal sample. The pictures that appear in story books readily available in New York present the world as being viewed from a single viewpoint outside the picture plane. The same is true of television, where the screen is perpendicular to the floor and the images are seen as viewed through a vertical frame. On the other hand, Aboriginal children were not exposed to such images and may therefore have no reason to portray their environment on paper as if it were a screen or vertically placed page. Instead, the drawings might be viewed more as a map with symbols placed one above the other as if seen progressing through space. Hess-Behrens (1973) found that isolated Brazilian children made many small baseline drawings arranged in a repeat pattern somewhat resembling a textile design.

It is interesting that the present findings regarding a baseline do not agree with those by Morley (1975) who found no differences between traditional Aboriginal, urban Aboriginal, and white children's drawings. He had hoped to obtain drawings which were "free," which were executed from the children's own thinking. But owing to the inaccessibility of many of the remote locations from which he secured drawings, he was unable to see all of them being produced. He mentions that certain factors bear consideration. In the Aboriginal schools some drawings were apparently similar, and in one instance almost identical, as if the drawings resulted from dictated lessons, and others seemed as if the child was repeating a skill to master it. However, Morley seemed to feel that copying was not more prevalent among the traditional Aboriginals, and occurred less so with younger children.

The drawings in the present study were, for the most part, gathered by the author with near identical discussion. Part of the activities observed in both populations included copying pictures: American Indians in full ceremonial dress in one Aboriginal school room and Pilgrims in a New York State school, yet the "eating" drawings did not seem to be influenced by these activities.

Other than the portrayal of indigenous subject matter, the difference in baseline usage was the most striking contrast between the two groups of drawings by children over six years of age. To what extent the use of the baseline is a result of viewing pictures or cartoon strips can be questioned, but the proliferation of visual symbols seems to be part of upper New York State's socio-economic standards. The Aboriginal population in Australia has a different set of standards, and the rock carvings and cave paintings indicate that the usual Western spatial organization was never used even by artistic adults. Their art provides a very tangible link with the past since there is no record of a written language, and images were painted and repainted to keep alive the myths and customs of a people. Most of these paintings have been kept sacred and were shown neither to women nor children. It is doubtful that any children in the present investigation were exposed to these art forms, at least not to the extent that New York children are shown pictures and read to as part of their usual daily activities. It would seem therefore that the traditional art forms of the Australian Aboriginal grow from a different set of drawing conventions, discernable as early as seven years of age.

Gardner (1980) has pointed out that different cultures have evolved different graphic solutions, and that in preliterate societies the drawing system arrived at in early childhood may be adequate for adult art expression. Evidence in this study gives some indication that drawings may evolve along divergent routes. The concepts of a baseline, and the organizations of drawings as if projected on a vertical surface, is a natural outgrowth of a society which depends upon words and symbols displayed on a similar surface. However, other solutions to graphic expression are possible, and the Australian Aboriginal youngsters seem to have relied more upon a system of depicting their environment as if on a horizontal surface and show direction and distances as if on a map. It would seem that either solution is adequate and that no inferences can be made about the superiority of one drawing system over another.

In examining the data, it appears that the early stages of artistic development are predetermined and invariant. The scribbles and early attempts at representation look surprisingly similar in both populations. This gives added support to Kellogg's (1979) thesis that "the child mind works similarly in art the world over." It is only after six years of age that these drawings by children can be differentiated. Beyond this point the stages of development as seen in the drawings by New York State children may no longer be applicable for children in a non-Western society.

Drawing is a reflection of what and how children think. With little or no difference between the graphic expression of these two diverse populations of children under the age of six, it can be argued that cultural differences play a minor role in the development of early drawing expression.

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Author Notes

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A Tibetan Pilgrimage:
Exploring the Arts of a Nomadic Culture.

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Global education, global awareness, or global perspectives in education challenge educators to develop humanistic education programs that adequately reflect "such matters as the unity of diversity of mankind, the interdependence of nations and peoples, and the need for international cooperation in shaping an acceptable future" (Leestma, 1979, p. 1). In 1981, the National Council for Social Studies issued a global education position statement in which global education was defined as referring to efforts "to develop in youth the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to live effectively in a world possessing limited natural resources and characterized by ethnic diversity, cultural pluralism, and increasing interdependence" (p. 1).

One area of concern in global education is understanding the unity and diversity of humankind and how people share basic needs and concerns, as well as clarifying differences between peoples. When presenting cultures different from our own, many educational programs have stressed differences rather than similarities. When a culture is very different, however, education for global understanding should stress similarities rather than differences to help students become aware that they are personally and socially involved with many peoples in other cultures. Anderson and Anderson (1977-1978) discuss four types of competencies needed to "enhance the likelihood of effective and responsible participation in the world system" (p. 16). One of these competencies involves perceiving "oneself and all other individuals as members of a single species of life--a species whose members share a common biological status; a common way of adapting to the natural environment; a common set of biological and psychological needs; common existential concerns; and common social problems" (p. 17).

NEH Youth Projects Grant

As a response to the needs for global education, with an emphasis on arts and humanities, an Office for the Study of Cultural Diversity was formed in 1981 at Indiana University. Purposes of this office were to seek, study, and create means and materials for increasing the quality and enlarging the scope of arts and humanities education in schools, museums, and other public institutions. There is an overemphasis in such places on Western cultures and Western cultural history and it was proposed that this agency develop cultural, aesthetic, linguistic, and socio-political materials about non-Western peoples, cultures, and societies. One reason schools and other institutions have overemphasized study of western cultures is that they lack resources to present atypical, non-Western cultures with materials prepared by people with relevant expertise. Indiana University, like many others, has a wealth of untapped resources in its museums, libraries, institutes, and in its faculty and international students. It was an intention of the Office for the Study of Cultural Diversity to tap these resources for educational research and materials development. Another intention was to seek grants from public and private sources to further global education in the arts and humanities.

In 1982, an NEH Youth Projects Grant announcement called for proposals that would support organizations to "explore new formats, ideas, and techniques for involving young people as active participants in humanities learning experiences" (p. 3) in out-of-school, after school, weekend, or vacation settings and schedules. The announcement stipulated that NEH Youth Projects must stress learning in the humanities and "must go beyond traditional learning approaches in which children and teenagers are often passive recipients of information" (p. 3) and, instead, must engage young people in planning, implementing, learning, applying new knowledge and skills, and evaluating aspects of their experiences in Youth Projects. It also stipulated that funded projects must take place out of regular school hours and in a variety of non-school settings.

One of the many resources at Indiana University is a Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies (RIFIAS), part of the Department of Uralic-Altaic Studies. Scholars in this Institute had, for a number of years, been collecting and translating Tibetan manuscripts from the Field Museum of Natural History and other sources, building an extensive library of Tibetan and Tibet-related resources and books, and housing and cataloging a private collection of Tibetan books and artifacts. After several meetings with two RIFIAS staff members, they agreed to share their expertise and resources to help make aspects of the Tibetan culture understandable to young people in schools and other public agencies as a global education program. The first grant that the office of cultural diversity was to receive was called A Tibetan Pilgrimage: Exploring the Arts of a Nomadic Culture from the NEH Youth Projects Program.

Project Development

Consultants to the project included a curator of Asian Art and Ethnology, from the Field Museum of Natural History, chairperson of the Department of Instructional Systems Technology, a folklorist, and a museum curator from Indiana University. The project staff planned the program as a series of portable instructional panels accompanied by participatory materials, a docent's guide, and actual Tibetan objects. The theme of the exhibit was a pilgrimage by nomadic Tibetans at about 1900. Related materials were included that emphasized cultural similarities about rural Indiana at the same time. The exhibit represented stops on the route of a pilgrimage and featured cultural and aesthetic aspects of family celebrations, regional festivals, and lifestyles of peoples in both rural Tibet and rural Indiana at the turn of the century.

Materials for the project were collected from a variety of sources. Photographs about Tibet were copied from books published at the turn of the century. In addition, the National Geographic Society supplied a number of negatives of images of Tibet taken by their photographers between 1915 and 1920. Some photographs about Indiana at the same time were copied from books, though the majority of the images were developed from negatives created by a well-known, turn of the century photographer from Indiana, Frank Hohenberger. His original negatives are housed in the rare books collection of the Lilly Library, Indiana University and some were developed for this project. Posters, books and other related materials were purchased from commercial sources. Real objects used in the exhibit were gathered by staff members of the Uralic-Altaic Department at Indiana University. These objects included shirts, a tea pot, a brick of dried tea, a thang-ka painting, altar statuary, incense and an incense burner, and household and prayer rugs.

In order to meet the non-school setting requirement of the NEH Youth Projects Grant, it was planned to install the exhibition in eight museums and other community agencies throughout Indiana. These sites were mainly rural and urban and included a public library, a university library, an arts center, a university campus museum, a children's museum, an historical museum, a community center, a church, and the Indiana State Library. The project schedule included ten months of exhibition development, two months of evaluation and critique by youth participants, and appropriate revisions. Following these, the exhibit was scheduled at each site for approximately one month. Two months of evaluation and preparation of reports were conducted after the exhibition schedule was completed.

As a Youth Projects Grants supported activity, a number of participatory experiences were developed. Junior high school students were the target group for this project because they are at an impressionable age when they can appreciate some complex global education concepts and have not formed as many impressions of other cultures as have older students. A group of 60 artistically talented junior high school students also participated as critics and editors of prototypic exhibition materials before the exhibit materials were finalized. At each exhibition site, participatory student materials were distributed by docents and evaluation forms were collected from students after they viewed the exhibit with a docent. Three thousand copies of the student materials and evaluation forms were distributed during the exhibition schedule. Docents and other exhibition site personnel also submitted attendance reports and evaluation forms.

Two Cultures Compared

A Tibetan Pilgrimage is a set of materials to be used to heighten young people's understanding and appreciation of the culture of Buddhist, pastoral, nomadic peoples of Tibet as compared to the rural culture of turn-of-the-century Indiana. The Buddhist peoples and culture of Tibet are unfamiliar to most young people; recently, this part of the world has been opened to greater communication with the West and knowledge about Tibetan cultures will become increasingly important in the future as the United States extends its relationship with China.

In Tibetan Buddhism, as in several other religious traditions, including Christianity and Islam, the pilgrimage was a major religious observance in which all members of the faith, whether clergy or laity, old or young, participated. The pilgrimage functions both as an act of devotion, sacrifice and discovery, and as a metaphor of spiritual development of an individual through his or her lifetime.

The pilgrimage provided Tibetans with opportunities to travel through a variety of places, meet new people, renew old friendships, visit shrines and monasteries, and receive religious merit. Specific religious books, called *Lam yig* (literally, "road-book"), described the routes to shrines and cities of religious interest, contained descriptions of monuments and holy places that pilgrims would encounter, and included topographic details that would aid in successful completion of the journey. Each pilgrim travelled with other pilgrims and the group often would join a large merchant's caravan for protection from bandits and other uncertainties of travel. The day of departure and the intended date of arrival at the goal of the pilgrimage were determined by Lamas skilled in astrology. The pilgrim caravan stopped every night at an established campground that had served other caravans for centuries.

In *A Tibetan Pilgrimage*, the youth participants stimulated a journey from the Kokonore ("Blue Lake") region in eastern Tibet to Lhasa, the major city of Tibetan Buddhism. They follow established caravan and pilgrimage routes and encountered various mountains, marshes, deserts, and plains that are typical of the Tibetan landscape. Established campgrounds for the pilgrimage were near major towns, temples, or monasteries, and rural centers such as open markets or farms. Such campgrounds were featured as the six exhibition stops on the simulated pilgrimage.

On this pilgrimage, art and culture of Tibetan Buddhist peoples were compared favorably with similar aspects of life in rural Indiana at about 1900. In this way, the foreignness of the Tibetan peoples was deemphasized and cultural similarities were emphasized. The same aspects of Tibetan culture such as healing and herbal medicine, a family reunion, life on a farm, storytelling at night, a wedding, and a New Year's festival, were presented as they might have occurred during the late 1800's or early 1900's in Indiana.

Pilgrimage Exhibit Materials

Each simulated pilgrimage stop consisted of a screen-like arrangement of three white background panels about Tibet and a fourth panel covered with a brown background, about Indiana. The panels about Tibet contained explanatory texts and visuals and the panels about Indiana contained visuals that drew similarities to images on the panels about Tibet. A simulated Tibetan altar and other Tibetan materials were included at stops where they were appropriate.

The six stops included in the exhibition were

1 - *Introduction to Tibet*, featuring the geographic setting of Tibet, Tibetan symbols, and the folk hero Gesar

2 - Farm Life in Tibet, featuring religion, farming, and foods

3 - A Caravan Stop, featuring story telling at night, difficulties of travel, and nomadic and rural life

4 - A Monestary, featuring healing and herbal medicine, education, music, and religious architecture

5 - A Tibetan Wedding, featuring marriage customs, fabrics, jewelry, crafts, and costumes

6 - Harvest Festival in Lhasa, featuring a New Year's festival, ceremonies and celebration, and the work of artists

Students who attended the exhibit received and used a Pilgrimage Guide patterned after the Tibetan road guide called lam-yig. The simulated Pilgrimage Guide assisted youth participants in understanding the art and culture, shrines, monasteries, cities, farms, nomadic life, and geography that would be encountered on such a journey. Pages contained printed and visual information relative to the simulated pilgrimage. One page required participants to decorate their own thang-ka. A typical Tibetan scroll painting (thang-ka) depicts a central figure (a deity or religious leader) surrounded by events in the life, or major shrines visited during the life, of the central figure. Participants drew a record of stops along their pilgrimage route by adding visuals and symbols in space provided on the thang-ka. This scroll was kept as a record of participation in A Tibetan Pilgrimage and as a way of understanding this unfamiliar culture and its art forms.

In addition to the simulated Pilgrimage Guide and Tibetan Scroll, which youth participants completed at the exhibition and took home, they also received several broadsheets. One broadsheet consists of a map of Tibet and participants marked stops as a record of their trek. A second broadsheet reproduced the Tibetan alphabet and participants spelled their names as closely as possible in Tibetan. A third broadsheet showed drawings of a young Tibetan and various types of garments worn by young people in Tibet. Participants colored the costumes and created new costumes for the figure. The fourth broadsheet presented information about nomadic life. Broadsheets were completed at the exhibition or used for further study and as follow-up activities that reinforced concepts learned at the exhibition.

Docent Book and Exhibition Kit

Docents were trained at each site by Tibetan Pilgrimage staff members. A docent book and a docent box were developed to be used with the exhibition. Posters, photographs, drawings, music, maps, and other materials were placed in the docent box. The docent book explained how to use the exhibition materials, participatory materials, and enrichment objects. The docent book contained a general introduction and list of relevant exhibition texts, participatory materials, extra materials in the docent box, additional docent texts, and questions for each stop on the pilgrimage route. For example, at Stop 5, A Tibetan Wedding, students were asked to describe the costume of a Tibetan bride and to describe similarities and differences with an Indiana bride's costume. Questions about how cloth was made in Tibet and Indiana also were included. Patterns found in an actual Tibetan wool rug and a photograph of a cotton Indiana coverlet, as well as other Tibetan and Indiana crafts, were compared and contrasted. At Stop 6, *A Harvest Festival in Lhasa*, students were asked why Lhasa was viewed as the center of Tibetan Buddhism and how the Potala, the palace where Dali Lhamas lived, compared to the Indiana capital building both in terms of aesthetics and function. Students also described an actual *thang-ka* painting and found symbols in it that could be found in other reproductions of Tibetan paintings in the exhibit. An etching of an outdoor scene by an Indiana printmaker, who was shown in a photograph in his studio, is described and similarities and differences with the *thang-ka* were discussed. Questions about Tibetan and Indiana art, music, symbolism, folk tales, agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, medicine, folktales, geography, religion, and rural and urban lifestyles also were included at the six stops on the pilgrimage route. These questions, accompanied by appropriate, detailed answers, could be used as printed or supplemented or revised to make them applicable to each visiting group and exhibition site. New ways of using the materials always were encouraged.

Final Evaluation

The National Conference for Social Studies Position Statement (1981) stresses the need to understand cultures that are not familiar in the sense of being part of our Western heritage:

> Viewing human experience only in relation to a North American as a European frame of reference has been a long standing bias in education in the United States. Today ... [education] should include a world-centered treatment of humankind. For example, the teaching of history can be improved by the use of a global approach to the study of our past and by the addition to the curriculum of more content focused on developing nations. (p. 1)

Art educators can play a vital role in developing curricula, program, and exhibitions that stress global perspectives in education through the visual arts. The *Tibetan Pilgrimage* exhibit is one model of how these goals can be accomplished. Evaluation of the Tibetan Pilgrimage project demonstrates that most of the goals for the exhibition were met. Five thousand eight hundred viewers saw the exhibition and over 3,300 school age children participated in it. A number of students continued to study about Tibet after viewing the exhibit. Yaks were especially interesting to many participants, as demonstrated by their frequent mention on evaluation forms. As a result of viewing the exhibit at an Indiana University art gallery, several participants requested a visit to the Antionette Gordon Collection of Tibetan artifacts, books, and study materials found on the IU campus. Once there, they impressed the curator with the depth of their questions and involvement with Tibetan art. At the Muncie Children's Museum, the personnel were so impressed with the exhibit, they added numerous extra exhibit materials such as a loom and butter churn and arranged a showing of the movie *Shangri-la*. This written statement by a sixth grader represents the majority of responses, "I thought that Tibet was a beautiful country. I'd like to see it again. Thanks for letting us come. I'd like to study more about Tibet on my own."

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The Art Teacher as Cultural Mediator.

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Most multi-cultural art programs serve two broad goals: 1) to strengthen pride within minority cultures, and 2) to increase awareness and respect by majority groups toward minority cultures. Fifteen years of dialogue and program development in multi-cultural art education have confirmed that the goals of pride and mutual respect are valid and important for a wide range of school and adult populations. The single greatest problem in the field is that programs addressed to these goals have not been implemented in most school districts. There is still no major art education textbook that is adequately multi-cultural (Sherman, 1982).

As much as there is a need to promote pride and mutual respect, however, there remain important issues which the programs concerned with these values do not explicitly address. Most important is the issue of how the school serves the contemporary *social* needs of immigrant and minority groups. Contemporary social needs have not yet figured strongly in most multi-cultural art programs. These programs deal mostly with historic cultural traditions, and cultural traditions (e.g., religious and ceremonial customs, patterns of family organization, spiritual systems) may or may not be related to social needs (e.g., access to higher education, political power, economic advancement). Jagodzinski (1983) has observed that well-intentioned multi-cultural history programs may have the unintended effect of distancing minority groups from their present-day needs and conflicts. At the other extreme, programs which direct attention to contemporary popular culture (e.g., subway graffiti) may have a similarly unintended effect, by substituting an uncritical acceptance of "what is" for a critical attitude toward what should be. Clearly, an assimilation of street culture is not a satisfactory answer to contemporary social distress. Pacheco (1977) argues that multi-cultural educators should be careful not to divert attention away from significant life-influencing social concerns, such as the history of political-economic oppression and exploitation. For Pacheco, these social concerns are more important than the purely cultural domain.

There is a need to distinguish, therefore, between cultural and social needs in art education, and to develop curricula that serve both needs. In order to design a curriculum that adequately serves both cultural and social needs, a clearer view of cultural and social interactions is needed. Within such a view, existing rules need to be researched. It may or may not be the case, for example, that folk art traditions are a primary source of pride and dignity for a group of people (as many multi-cultural art programs have assumed). Suppose, for example, that I were living in Norway, and the arts of my region, the American West, were characterized by the paintings of Remington or Bierstadt. Remington's Cowboys and Bierstadt's Yosemite are admittedly culturally unique within a world context; they make for an effective contrast with German expressionism or the Japanese Floating world or totem poles of the Northwest Coast. But as a member of a regional culture, I could not help but see these works as an inadequate, anachronistic representation of what my culture is about. I would want my Norwegian friends to know more; I would want them to know Diebenkorn and Wayne Thiebaud and Joan Brown and Haile Geraima and all of the other artists who put together the meanings that those of us who live in the West are compelled to feel. I would want them to know more about my contemporary aesthetic experience, not what an art historian found characteristic of a frontiersman's experience in the 1850's.

The simple rule that ethnic culture brings pride, therefore, may or may not be true. Similar complexities exist in the social domain. For example, the rule that the dominant society is oppressive may or may not apply in different cases. In some cases, the professional and economic organizations of the dominant society oppress a minority group only to the extent that their material benefits are not shared with the minority group, and not necessarily because they are oppressive by nature or incompatible with traditional cultural values. Minority groups deserve equal access to medicine, engineering, and other technology-dependent occupations along with preserving the values of their cultural traditions.

The task of curriculum development is therefore complex, in art education as well as in other areas of the school curriculum. No simple mandate -- neither to preserve traditions nor to promote assimilation -- is satisfactory. What, then, should be the emphasis of the curriculum? Is the emphasis more on history or new developments? On culture or socio-political concerns? Does the educator encourage the study of ethnic art history, street culture, contemporary "international art," or the products of high technology?

What I would like to suggest here is that the art educator see her or himself as a cultural mediator. Rather than prescribe a curriculum, the art educator can be sensitive to the relationship between cultural and social forces experienced by his or her students. The educator can help students negotiate for themselves the most appropriate interaction between home culture and the dominant society in which they find themselves.

This approach necessarily entails an attention to individual cases rather than to simple categories, such as the category "minority student." It would be extremely useful to the field to have ethnographic studies of the different types of relationships which exist between different minority groups and the dominant society. How do different groups perceive the value of their historic traditions? How do they perceive the value and quality of North American social life? Sociological data of this kind will be invaluable to the educator as mediator.

As a first step toward this kind of sociological understanding, I would like to distinguish three kinds of minority experience, and to children to watch Rocky III or sex murders three times a day. During this same two-year period teachers reported that their classes, even at the primary grades, were becoming unmanageable; and that children favored car crashes and other violent subject matter in their drawings.

What is an art educator to say or do about this "new" culture? Cultural heritage programs counteract it only indirectly, and an uncritical acceptance of it (i.e., making story drawings of media superheroes) may only promote it. By simply "integrating" t.v. culture into the art curriculum, the art educator unwittingly validates a cultural intrusion that is similar to the effect of colonialization, but far more effective and powerful than colonialization ever was. What is needed is not the assimilation of this culture, but an historically informed art criticism capable to confronting media images and debating their value or worthlessness.

The art educator, then, must be a cultural critic as well as an ethnographer to help a group like this negotiate the path between home culture and dominant culture. In the case of the second — or third-generation urban minority student, the situation is even more complex. There may be no clear link between home and dominant cultures. In an (ideal) democratic setting, the student and her parents will be continually negotiating and re-negotiating which aspects of home culture to maintain and which to transform. A Sikh student may wear a headband and attend temple, but share the same speech, hobbies, and ambitions as his classmates. The potential number of combinations of traditional/adopted "cultural style" are too numerous to allow for a teacher to pre-plan a curriculum matched to the student. Instead, the concept of the curriculum as a *process* of dialogue and negotiation becomes paramount. By listening to the students, the teacher learns their cultural traditions and values. By initiating a process of cultural criticism, the teacher gives students a method for finding their own way through the aesthetic maze of the dominant culture.

In all three situations, then, the principles of mediation and negotiation apply equally. But in each specific situation, the educational outcome is different. For the recent immigrant, the need to reassert home culture may be most pressing; for the native student, the cumulative effects of colonialism are critical; for the North-American born urban minority, a refinement in the balance of home and dominant culture should occupy attention. These cases and many others can only be served by giving attention to their specific likenesses and differences, and by an educational theory which takes into consideration both cultural and social needs.

Multi-cultural art education is first of all education, and all educational programs should serve the contemporary needs of contemporary students. It has become clear that the "museum" approach to multi-cultural art education is not adequate. Similarly, an assimilatory attitude cannot provide the critical thrust that is needed to deal constructively with contemporary cultural experience. This essay has sought to promote a more flexible approach to multi-cultural art education by distinguishing between cultural and social needs, and by suggesting that art educators provide students consider their different needs in art education. The groups are 1) recent immigrants, 2) Native Indians, and 3) North American-born urban minorities. Each is a group I have encountered in my teaching, and I will describe the perceptions of their needs that I developed as a teacher/mediator.

Among my high school students in a working-class urban area, many had recently immigrated to the United States. Randall had come from the Philippines. He was very quiet and kept to himself, partly because of difficulties with English. The art projects did not interest him until I suggested that he paint some of his experiences. What resulted was a cultural epic beyond anything I could have taught in an ethnic heritage program. A ship, like an ark, sailed across a tumultuous sea. A flash of lightning illuminated an open Bible. Primary colors and dramatic forms heightened the sense of mystery and transformation. Randall was engrossed in the project and completed it with care. His interest exemplified that of other recent immigrant students who valued the opportunity to recapture and communicate their home culture. Randall was the kind of student for whom the conflict between home and school culture was critical, and for whom art was a means of overcoming the alienation engendered by the trauma of immigration.

In a Native Indian community where I taught, however, the situation was different. Here invasion, rather than immigration caused problems. Genealogy and cultural tradition could be traced back much further for this group than for the dominant culture. Students could point to where ancestors had carved petroglyphs near the river banks.

School culture and home culture are not the same. As a result of missionary influence, the school curriculum reflected dominant culture interests. As an art educator, I felt it would be important to help restore the balance of native cultural traditions. I encouraged the students (in this case, student teachers) to study the artistic traditions of their community, traditions that were almost forgotten during the missionary period. After an initial period of skepticism toward me (they had seen too many anthropologists come and go with their art work), the teachers sought out the remaining elders of the band, and documented for their school the ways of designing and using the baskets, mocassins, beads, and leather goods native to their culture.

I believe that this type of ethnological research, by the teachers, was educationally valuable. The teachers wanted their students to be proud of their heritage, and art was a fitting way to accomplish this. Art was defined in this culture as, "The way you know what is your own."

Yet the question remained: Was this kind of research, while good in itself, sufficient to meet the contemporary aesthetic needs of the students? There was another kind of art that had become more prevalent than any tradition in this community, and that was Home Box Office Television. Two years ago, this remote mountain community had no television; now, it receives three movie channels as well as rock video and the sports channel. It became possible for with the necessary means to construct satisfying relationships between their cultural backgrounds and their contemporary social needs. Through this approach, it is hoped that the art class can become a forum for genuine growth in personal values and social knowledge and participation.

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Photographic Analysis, Elicitation, and Interpretation as Ways of Understanding Art Teaching in a Multi-Cultural Setting.

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For a field that considers itself highly visual, art education does very little with its visual data in research. Words still seem to be the dominant mode of communicating ideas about art and education. This need not be the case, for pictures tell us many things. Recently the use of the visual image itself has become an important part of the research process, as a means of generating new ideas, new methods, and new perspectives on old subject matter. More specifically, I am advocating that photographic data be used to study art teaching in different cultural settings.

Art education usually views a photograph as an objective aesthetic image, but it can also be considered as an object of intention, that is, an image arranged to convey relationships at a moment of time. A photograph is also a sign which conveys meanings as well. In this manner, a photograph functions as a human document portraying hidden and taken-for-granted messages. People take pictures, not cameras, as the old adage goes.

The purpose of this paper is to argue for the adoption of visual strategies in research, especially ethnographic modes, as a way of understanding teaching art more fully in different cultural settings. In the long run, the result of photography is not only pictures, but an increased understanding, supported by verbal language, which, in turn, is enriched through photographic analysis, elicitation, and interpretation, as potential research tools for art education.

First, I offer five central propositions which serve as rationale for utilizing these photographic techniques. Second, I review some of the major studies that incorporate these modes and briefly explain their philosophical grounding. Third, I present my own examples of such strategies in a four-part photographic sequence. Finally, I suggest ways in which these techniques have been utilized in educational research and how art education can further utilize these strategies.

A Rationale for Using Visual Strategies in Research

I base my paper on six central propositions that suggest the importance of incorporating such techniques: First, due to the limits of the human eye and memory in recording events, via note-taking, photographs offer a wider space-frame of frozen action that can be studied later. Even a tape recorder is limited to what is heard, missing visual cues, and needs to be augmented with a visual processor. Consider the camera as a means of recording additional information.

Second, the researcher can then assemble these visual documents into a narrative for a preliminary understanding of the total context. Usually the first response to a strange environment reveals an impression that is never seen the same way after the researcher proceeds to the details. This quality can be noted and compared with later impressions. Third, at the same time, photographs portray events and relationships more vividly. As in using visual aids, quality examples of artistic or aesthetic interactions or processes in a presentation or research report are more stimulating than the mere presentation of words. Hughes (1960), an ethnographic reporter, felt that the artist's perspective was more powerful and holistic than the anthropologist's scrutiny.

Fourth, photographs contain patterns of artistic and aesthetic behavior revealed via analysis. Photographic analysis is a method by which one can describe and classify visual evidence for a minute understanding of a phenomenon such as teaching. A researcher can perform content analysis on the photographic evidence by systematically surveying the images with respect to predetermined and emerging variables which include gesture, posture, orientation, movement, and spatial positioning in relation to the physical space. A researcher utilizes content analysis when surveying a situation before photographing it, when reviewing the contact sheet after photographing it, and when reviewing the selected developed photographs. Photographic detail also offers credible data for measuring and counting such data as teaching facilities, spatial arrangements, and inventory. Furthermore, by studying a series of photographs one can track the changes in action and gesture.

Fifth, the researcher's viewpoint limits the photographic analysis, and needs to be augmented by the participants' perspective. New methods for studying visual documentation have evolved such as photographic elicitation, a technique whereby the researcher solicits the participants' opinions to clarify the meaning of the photographs. In so doing, the participants reveal how they understood or structured the event, offering a multi-perspective view.

Sixth, since photographs are ambiguous images, and cannot speak for themselves, interpretation is necessary to decipher the hidden meanings in a group of photographs, such as the physical, aesthetic, and emotional dimensions of an event, those that unfold over time. Interpretation is accomplished by referring to the participants' cultural meanings--to their verbage and vice versa.

Finally, photographs are part of a reliable and highly flexible symbol system. Indeed, many researchers regard the photograph as true to nature. The photographic evidence is based on a probable reliability in that the focus, the selection of data, and its interpretation may vary with each researcher. The ideal is a collaborative effort, in which two or more researchers photograph the same situation. Next, a continual check between the written data and the contact sheet helps eliminate error. Some researchers call for randomized exposures by which the same spot is photographed the same time everyday, for five minute intervals. This extreme approach often leads to a waste of film. On the other hand, Collier (Wagner, 1979) recommends a more flexible approach, and a more sensitive one, based on responses to peak experiences, capturing the unpredictable and the uncontrollable. Unfortunately, if we only wait for the change or spark of action, we may miss the everyday "stream of action." A researcher can use both approaches reasonably.

Reliability increases with intersubjectivity, as more participants and outside observers examine and affirm the interpretation of the photographic series. Photographs then function as a vehicle of communal interaction by which relationships, beliefs, and values are reinforced by a group.

A Review of the Literature

In order to understand these strategies better, a review of the literature on how researchers employ them is necessary. Anthropologists were the first researchers who incorporated such techniques. In order to systematize their photographic documentation they began to describe and note specific components of native activities. As early as 1942, Bateson and Mead utilized extensive photographic analyses in studying the various movements of Balinese dance. Later, the method was applied by Mead and Macgregor (1951) in analyzing the motor behavior of Balinese children. Extensive notes were taken about who the subjects were and what they were doing and saying. In the area of non-verbal communication, Birdwhistle (1970) used photographs to systematize the study of culturally patterned posture and gesture called "kinesis," and Hall (1966) employed photographic data in studying nonverbal communication concepts.

Collier (1967) introduced the film elicitation technique, in which he gave a battery of photographs, selected from a film which he made on Navajo life, to Navajo respondents to educe their descriptions of settings and relevant persons in their community. Worth and Adair (1972) further explored this method by giving Navajo natives 16mm cameras in order to discover how the natives understood and structured their world on an Arizona reservation. The researchers' primary interest was in noting how the natives edited the footage, to establish a universal film grammar which resulted in varying cultural film grammars. To their surprise, the Navajo filmmakers' completed film was a fabrication of their idealized perceptions rather than a recording of the event as it happened naturally. Because Worth and Adair were interested in obtaining a final product, their mechanistic view failed to understand the Navajo intentional act or way of viewing the world. Even though this paper deals mainly with photographic methods, the implications for film techniques are also implied.

Finally, the Rundstroms (1983) concentrated on the intentional act itself, via film interpretation, a systematic cultural translation in order to capture the essence and aesthetic of a specific context and its culture. By becoming apprentices in the Japanese tea ceremony, the Rundstroms were able to communicate its physical, aesthetic, and emotional dimensions, including its color, flow and tensions, through film as a way of "being-in-the-world."

Bellman and Jules-Rosette (1977) established a paradigm for looking by using film through ethnohermeneutic studies (film interpretation) of two West African sites: one--a conservative village with its secret medicine societies and the other--an urban site with Apostolic church rituals. An ethnohermeneutic study is a participant observation concerned with understanding the meanings hidden in a society. Both researchers became apprentices, and hired native informants to film events from their (native) perspectives; each film episode varied with the society status of the filmmaker. They discovered the importance of chanting in both studies. Consequently, Bellman and Jules-Rosette (1977) discovered that *cinema verite* does not exist, because the contextual variables changed in response to the camera, and the camerapersons made intentional selections or rejections of content.

Interpretive photography is based on the philosophic work of Husserl (1931)--intended actions, Merleau-Ponty (1974)--utterances, and Heidegger (1962)--revelations of meaning. Why a photographer views the world in a particular way is uncovered, as well as how, by reflecting on the photographer's intentions, his cultural views. Furthermore, this subjective approach tries to highlight aspects of the time flow, essential actions, important symbols and spatial arrangements through a photo montage, to discover what is "psychologically meaningful" to the participants.

The use of these research methods in art education is slowly emerging, beginning with Beittel's (1973) photographic analysis of creative action in the drawing lab. Edmonston (1983) photographically documented an Ogala Sioux name-giving ceremony in order to understand its complicated aesthetic nature. Finally, Stokrocki's (1981) photographic documentation of a beginning photography class revealed spheres of meanings and dimensions. More specifically, her study uncovered kinds of space and types of touching in teaching pottery.

An Example of How These Strategies are Used to Study Art Teaching in a Subculture

Any social group that exhibits behavior different from the predominant culture can be considered a subculture. A pottery class is considered a unique subculture in that it incorporates its own rituals, as compared to other academic and even art classes. One pottery class in particular at a major eastern university had a reputation for being unusual, due to the instructor's distinctive teaching style and philosophy. Therefore, in a participant observation study of this pottery subculture, I tried to understand the instructor's method of teaching wheel throwing by photographically recording his movements. Later, I analyzed his movements during one teaching sequence, and discovered five different modes, which I classified as "Types of Touching in Teaching Pottery." (Plates 1a-d). Initially I was intrigued with this phenomenon because this culture frowns upon social touching. The following is an analysis of the types of touching discovered.

In figure 1a the instructor is laying his hands on those of his student's, in order to help him center clay, a difficult task. The teacher pushes the student's hands in and then down, in which movement is felt as well as seen. This special kind of touching is also known as patterning in therapy circles, by which a person's

Plate 1. Types of Touching

movements are exercised, in order that the entire mind-body system remembers the new patterns of muscular action.

Second, to be adjacent or tangent to something is a form of touching evident in Plate 1b. The student's fingers are tangent or touching the pot, as the instructor's fingers raise the clay wall. Her participation is indirect and adjacent to the main action. Another form of indirect touching is perceptual, by which a student participates visually, by watching the instructor raise the wall of a sphere from the inside with a bottling tool, as in Plate 1c.

Finally, a summarizing lecture combines touching actions. In Plate 1d, the instructor is pointing out the merits of a quality pot, by pointing to the carefully trimmed ring on the bottom. Then he hits the pot by "pinging" it, to test its tonal quality, an indication of the pot's weight.

In order to understand the meaning of the event from the students' viewpoint, I elicited (photographic elicitation) responses from them by asking them to explain what was happening in the picture. As an example, John, in Plate 1a commented that at first he was nervous to have a male touch him, being an ex-marine, but as he was struggling rather unsuccessfully with the clay, we was relieved to have the help. Later, he added that he would never forget the pot that the instructor "made with him." The instructor also responded that he would help a student develop a sense of center, that entailed a period of frustration, before moving on to more complex activities. During film elictation, a reversal of roles occurs, and the researcher becomes the student to be shown where a pattern of meaning exists (Krebs, 1970).

Finally, this human phenomenon cannot be understood by describing its outward manifestations alone, for it possesses a spirit or meaning of its own which can only be appreciated by participating in it. This type of meaning, which underlies the event, the group and its tradition is inwardly felt and basic to human society. These photographs are then interpreted (photographic interpretation) through referring to the pottery phenomenon's tradition to understand it more fully. The idea of participation in another's process is basically a matter of team work, a structured process of teaching whereby information is conveyed and more work is done effectively; sometimes a comaraderie occurs. Since the instructor studied pottery throwing in Japan and in America, he tried to blend both traditions so the students could be exposed to the best of each world. In Japan, the idea of practice, repetition, and cooperation is highly respected. The instructor was celebrating with his students "the simple rituals of Everyday Sacred" (Beittel, 1984).

Throughout the course, the instructor worked alongside his students, sharing in the common and even the cruddy tasks (Plate 2). Besides teaching a tradition, he was imparting an attitude of shared creativity, and an understanding of the hard work involved. The students were emotionally touched by his teaching. John, an ex-marine, explained, "It's nice to know that he does it with you, not for you."

Plate 2

Another student summarized his experience, "I found that the less I brought to the wheel in way of predetermined thoughts, the more I took away, both in actual pots and in quiet assurance." He then added, "My mind was undergoing a delicate dismantling. In effect, the clay was teaching me."

Many other students spoke of their humbling and uplifting experience, finding pottery not a lonesome endeavor, but a partnership with clay and its tradition, demanding an openness of thought. In other words, the instructor was teaching them a certain philosophy of living and art, much different than they had known.

This is not to suggest that this teaching style is perfect or that every potter should teach this way. In fact, some students resisted this way of working, and this philosophy. Photographic interpretation adds information about the context, a total experience as the students and I lived it, and a probable account. Interpretation is necessary because photographs do not speak for themselves as unambiguous images, and they need elaboration to include the intrinsic sense of the participants' and the instructor's view. Since an interpretation is never final, other possible ways of interpreting this event can be supplied. This case is only an example.

Other Applications of Photographic Analysis, Elicitation, and Interpretation

Since photography is a very flexible and complex symbol system its meanings can be read as personal, social, cultural and aesthetic messages--ways of viewing the world. In general, photographs can provide a context for understanding any situation and its meaning. As narratives, they can be arranged as a vivid portrayal of the making and meaning of one art work in which one artist can be photographically documented while making it. Later, the photographic documents can be analyzed and interpreted, as the drawing-lab studies of Beittel (1973). One student can also be studied while working in art, a technique characterized by Templin (1981) as shadow sampling.

An entire school program can be evaluated using these photographic methods such as an investigation done by Syracuse University's Center for Instructional Development of an environmental education program (Wachtman, 1978). The program's process was emphasized by isolating and sequencing events. In addition, the dimensions of that program can be studied photographically as Stokrocki (1982) described and interpreted the physical, social, spatial, instructional, personal, and philosophical meanings of a pottery class.

Conclusion

Photographic analysis, elicitation, and interpretation are not aggressive methods. At first, the photographer-researcher assumes an active search, captures appearances, surface and visable messages. In time this venture relaxes, and the visual evidence is analyzed for behavioral and spatial significance. First-level interpretations are made; however, they do not portray what the participants intended, thus elicitation is necessary. Their opinions reify or correct the researcher's original interpretations, forming an intrinsic reference system.

In addition, extrinsic reference is important for a contextual understanding of what happened and why it did. Accounts from the tradition, experts, related researchers, and educators support insights deeply intuited. These meaningful insights sometimes unify or form contradictions with the evidence discovered. Contradictions in opinion then exist side-by-side, until they become more lucid with further research. Photography can serve as an excellent tool in research in discovering obvious and hidden messages that are imbedded in everyday life and subculture.

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The Study of Folk Art in Our School's Art Classrooms: Some Problems and Considerations.

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Although the field of art education most readily embraces the study of fine arts and artists as exemplary models for students of art, several art educators have proposed that folk art should be included in the art education curricula (Chalmers, 1978, 1981; Feldman, 1980; Grigsby, 1977; Lanier, 1980, 1982; McFee, 1966; McFee & Degge, 1977). Even though many art teachers may agree with this suggestion, to date the development and implementation of quality folk art programs in the art education setting has been limited, as evidenced by a review of the curricula literature in folk art and art education (Congdon, 1983; 1984).

This article will explore some of the limitations of the theory and practice of art education and the study of folk art as they have functioned to prohibit in-depth, quality programs in our schools. Six major problem areas will be addressed and possible solutions will be suggested. The problem areas are as follows: (1) confusing and contradictory definitions used to identify folk art; (2) changed "unnatural" environment and context of the school as a learning place for folk art; (3) creativity as innovation dilemma; (4) structure of art criticism in art education and its relationship to folk speech; (5) present limitations of the multi-cultural approach to art education; and (6) the shortage of folk art classes in higher education, especially as a requirement for art teacher certification.

A Folk Art Definition

The problem of definition is not new to anyone familiar with the study of folk art. Lack of agreement on the boundaries of folk art stems, in part, from the fact that many different fields have contributed to its study. Each brings its own perspectives and disciplinary purposes to the definition. Art historians often study folk art using criticism criteria similar to that which they employ to the "great works of art;" museum curators may focus on the formal aesthetic characteristics of the objects; and folklorists generally regard the cultural context of the folk art process as most important. Misconceptions about what folk art is occur, in part, because designated disciplinary focuses bracket out certain information. This differential bracketing contributes to and creates confusion.

An art teacher who is short on time and energy may check out a book or two from the local library to help direct him/her with a unit on folk art. The literature is full of folk art descriptors, such as "primitive," "work of an untrained artist," "naive," "unsophisticated," or "traditional," which are either too simplistic as definers, too difficult *as concepts for young children to understand*, demeaning to the art work and artist, or simply untrue.

Educators have always been eclectic in formulating their theories and research methodologies. Because of the great disparity in existing definitions of folk art, art educators need a focal definition which will relate to accepted goals and purposes of art education.

The definition which I have proposed is complex. Further, it is not intended to be used categorically to decide what is or is not folk art. Rather, its purpose is to present a construct for an analytical process which should help students to focus their attention on aspects and processes which might otherwise be neglected. It is a structure meant to be used to underline and support curriculum development (Eisner, 1979). This multi-faceted definitional statement has two parts:

First, the art object may be said to be folk art or to have folk art aspects if tradition exists in one or any number of the following areas:

1. Learning mode (generally learned in a family or community group, mainly in a face-to-face interchange)
2. Application
3. Creative process (including materials and techniques)
4. Values and meaning involved
5. Style
6. Use of the object
7. Context of the object
8. Form of the object
9. Content (subject matter) of the object

Second, an object displays folk tendencies if

1. it is intended to be used in everyday life among members of a small, close group.
2. it functions as a remembrance of the past or as a demonstration of a respect for elders.
3. it is demonstrates a re-creative process.
4. it is created by persons who do not call themselves artists as readily as artists from other areas of art.
5. the artist and/or group members use a different language structure from the art school or university trained artist to talk about the art work.

Two points must be kept in mind when assessing the use of this definition. First, when art educators propose to include folk art in the art education curriculum, the intent is to expand the boundaries of the art we are studying beyond those of fine art. Unlike the folklorist who is primarily concerned with material culture or folk art and will choose to study other forms only as they relate within the boundaries of their field, the art educator has an interest in the recognition of all art processes, procedures, and symbology deemed worthy of focus for a specific audience. In the past, many creative activities associated with the folk art process have not been considered in the field of art education. Clear-cut boundaries for categorization are not needed, nor are they useful for our field. Furthermore, they are unrealistic. A student may discover one or more folk art aspects of a Picasso painting or Judy Chicago's Dinner Party. A definition which allows open boundaries can prove to be useful as a way to enhance the study of and enrich the critical view of art for that student. The definition proposed here functions, primarily, as an awareness mechanism to enrich the study of all art and to encourage learning about art works and artists.

Second, the proposed folk art definition is centered largely on the identifier's "tradition." Both tradition and innovation are relative concepts based substantially on mental development and cultural/personal experiences. Because students may have a different developmental and experiential basis for utilizing these terms, respect should be shown for the perspectives (Congdon, 1983).

The Changing Setting and Context

The folk art process does not occur as a natural phenomenon in a public school classroom. Many scholars identify it as art which occurs in everyday life (exclusive of schools), meaning that it is often originally made and intended to be enjoyed in families or small community groups and not in academic settings (Bronner, 1979, M. O. Jones, 1973, Rumford, 1975, Toelken, 1979). (It is an interesting note that so many scholars have implied that academic settings exist outside of "everyday life.") Folk art, as we are told, is not made for "special halls, museums, or art galleries" (Rikoon, 1981, p.34-47). When it is exhibited in museums, its understanding is hampered by its removal from its context (Ianni, 1966). This distinction does not clearly distinguish folk art from popular art (billboards, comic book) or fine art, since fine art--at least in this century--is most often thought of as that art which is made for galleries or museums. As popular art has mass appeal, in some ways it provides a less intimate experience for its intended appreciators.

Other writers have suggested that folk art is "tied" to the land and a sense of self. It is made in a community where neighbors will know and understand it (Faunce & Hall, 1976; Ferris, 1982; S. Jones, 1977). While many fine artists also have exceptionally strong ties to a particular environmental setting, this descriptor still has a great deal of power when describing the essence of folk art (Ferris, 1982). Removing either the object or the process from its natural environment and the people who grew up appreciating and understanding it, changes its communicative power and meaning.

The study of folk art in art classrooms can become a very different experience from what the teacher intended. Even if the teacher invites a Cherokee Indian into the school to teach basketmaking, a child who learns to make the basket is not necessarily a folk artist, nor is his or her work, in many ways, folk art. The learning mode, the appreciation, the creative process, the values and meanings involved, the style and the form of the object may have changed considerably through the transformation to the classroom, either because of the different environmental setting or because of the participants involved. These changes do not make the experience less worthwhile; they only make the experience somewhat different from the natural, folk art process.

The environmental change issue is complicated by the approaches taken in music and dance education. When children are taught square dancing or an Irish ballad, for example, lessons are often presented in such a way that the student is led to believe that they are performing a folk dance or singing a folk song. Neither the context of the performance nor the nature of the participants becomes an issue in the definition.

A better understanding of the folk art process and traditional aspects of the activity and product can help a student to understand the out-of-context nature of the in-school learning process. The experiences and understandings a student may bring to a work of folk art from the different culture are not, necessarily, the same as that of an inside group member. The student's appreciative experience is not lessened because of his or her own cultural differences, but an in-depth understanding of the cultural process as it normally exists will help students to "know" the art work as it was intended to be used and enjoyed. The interaction of outside cultural experiences and inside cultural experiences expressed in the folk art process can lead to an enriched cultural structuring which enhances the paradigms of the study of art. Generally, this type of interaction increases societal heterogeneity and communications among heterogeneous groups (Blau, 1977).

The Creativity As Innovation Dilemma

In the past, the encouragement and enchantment of creativity was seen as a main purpose for the teaching of art in public schools. Although the theoretical focus of art education is now placed more on aesthetics, art criticism, art history, and multi-cultural education, the past theoretical and scholarly work on creativity is readily evident in the art classroom.

Creativity is often associated with divergent thinking, as in unique creations (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1975; Mead, 1971), or in works novel in structure, which "depend, primarily, on a particular kind of connectedness that is metaphoric involving two or more widely separated domains of experience brought into relation with one another" (Goodale & Koss, 1971, p. 184). Other terms used as definers for creativity are "flexibility" and "progressive" and "innovative" thinking (McFee & Degge, 1977, pp. 8, 32).

When an art teacher defines creativity in this manner and attempts to promote it in the classroom, the study of folk art does not readily appear to fit. Folk art literature sometimes suggests that it is art which is "copied," "inferior," or less noteworthy than fine art. Just as folklore is seen by some historians as bad information, folk art, to some art historians, is seen as "bad art" (Glassie, 1970).

An art teacher can easily deduce that if one is to teach students to be creative, then they should be presented with examples and role models which best demonstrate innovation. Activities which involve copying, repetition and the creation of stereotypical work should be discouraged. Unfortunately, the terms describing these prohibited activities are often used by many writers to refer to folk art.

While the terms "copied" and "limited" may have some validity in their reference to folk art, they are inadequate without further explanation. For example, while theorem painting did make use of stencils, therefore signaling a "copying" process, most theorem paintings involved many stencils and many techniques (Drepperd, 1942; Lipman & Winchester, 1974). Although many early American paintings, now referred to as folk, were "copied" from other printed images, often from works of their instructors (Celebration, 1982; Flexner, 1955; Glassie, 1982; Lipman & Winchester, 1974), it is more accurate to say that the artists "re-created" works of art. If tradition cannot realistically be "passed on" without some change, folk artists are not in the act of preservation (copying), but in an act of re-creation (Hymes, 1975).

As folk artists have often re-created works of art, either from urban prototypes, ancestral works, or present-day community-accepted designs and techniques, "fine" artists have also re-created and borrowed. Many fine artists have used folk art as inspiration (Gans, 1974). Dewey (1934) even goes so far as to say that "the arts by which primitive folk commemorated and transmitted their customs and institutions, arts that were communal, are the sources out of which all fine arts have developed" (p. 327). Specific examples include the work of Gauguin and Vlamick (Elderfield, 1976; Goldwater, 1979). In some cases, folk art which most clearly resembles ancestral works is valued most highly. For example, R. T. Davis (1949) feels that the best work of the Northwest Coast Indians is imitative.

Similar arguments and examples could be made to further explain and reject other misleading terms used to define folk art and cause it to appear as noncreative. What is most important, however, is that art educators recognize the relationship between the creative process involved in making and appreciating folk art and the re-creative (ritualistic) experiences involved. Ritual gives us a glimpse of a higher order of things, as is true in the process and product of folk art. Those in the inside group "expect every sign in a poem or a ritual to mean more than it appears to, for to write a poem or to perform a ritual is to claim significance of some sort for the construct one produces" (Babcock, 1978, p. 293). Ritual, which is performed in a vast array of forms, is not random behavior, but a highly organized form which encompasses many symbolic elements (d'Aquili, Laughlin & McManus, 1979). It is these symbolic communication processes which have strong creative powers that need to be recognized and supported by educators. The repetitive and ritualistic actions of folk art demonstrate a building up, a creating and re-creating, through knowing something in-depth and changing parts of it when desired. The creativity of folk art often exists in the interaction among symbols, self, environment, and ritualistic remembrance. When it is appropriately studied and critiqued, folk art provides the art teacher and other appreciators with significant possibilities for creative growth.

Art Criticism and Folk Speech

While the studio emphasis remains prominent in the art classroom, many art educators in higher institutions are increasingly trying to expand the field to include more goal-oriented "talk" about art and aesthetics. The need for art criticism has been traced to the beginnings of modern fine art during the early 1900's (Hamblen, 1984). Increasingly, art works have become objects which needed explanation because of their abstraction and the viewer's inability to understand the "message" without certain information. Hamblen (1984) proposes that the critical and analytical skills used in art criticism have created "the Culture or Aesthetic Discourse (CAD) wherein class status is measured by analytical, verbal abilities, and art is considered inaccessible to those without such skills" (p. 23). This language system includes discussions about the elements and principles of designs and other similar esoteric discussions, such as "whether paint is on the canvas or a separate entity from the surface, or whether the edge of a painting is the existential limits of a defined process" (Hamblen, 1984, p. 27).

However, many individuals enjoy and discuss folk art using a different language structure than that of the art historian, museum curator, or art educator (CAD). The art educator is not often trained in ways to recognize, analyze, appreciate, or understand these other verbal expressive modes, much of which may be identified as "folk speech." Further, when an art educator is confronted with folk speech, his/her initial response may be that it is uneducated jargon that has no place in the educational setting. This value judgment and the disparity between language structures creates problems in understanding the nature of folk art. It is often best understood and studied along with the works of the folk artist and inside group members. Words are symbols which can be misunderstood or unintentionally ignored by an educator who is unaware of their power and accuracy to express what is being experienced from an inside group perspective.

The West Virginia folk painter H. R. Baker talks of "bouncing out a picture," and many Black folk artists talk about "getting futures" for work (Eff, 1975, p. 6; Vlach, 1981, p. 91). Many other examples could be cited. The point is that many students in a classroom might best be able to express their responses to a work using folk speech, and a work of art might best be understood, from the artist's point of view, using his or her own words (which may include folk expressions understood by members of the same cultural groups), rather than the highly trained CAD alone, which has become prevelent in "higher" art circles. After several years of ethnographic work with a chairmaker in the Kentucky mountains, folklorist Michael Owen Jones (1971) points out the aesthetic expressions used there and how they might be understood by the academically trained critic:

> It should be possible to abstract the principles underlying such comments as "them hills ain't hard to look at," "I don't like all them rings and nubs on that chair," "that picture ain't half bad," "he can make a chair so pretty you can see your face shinin' in it," "it's a pretty good likeness," "his rows are straight as a rail," "that chair's a little sygoglin, I calls it," "you couldn't hardly keep from chokin' up to hear him sing it," "a chair made out of walnut is pretty but it's awful easy burst," "I like a decent, plain-made chair," and so on; these expressions may suggest to the researcher such standards of formal excellence as balance and clarity of form and line, serenity of expression, functional simplicity, perfection of finish, delicacy and regularity of ornament, order, harmony, disdain for vulgar display, aversion to overcrowding, positioning, symmetry, movement and tension, mimesis at mid-point, or many other criteria of formal appearance. (pp. 87-88)

Adherence to one way of experiencing art through the expressions shaped by one language system or manner of interpretation (CAD) is limiting in a field which embraces multiple perspectives and cultural pluralism.

Studying folk art within its contextual setting, which includes the folk speech and world views of the artists and community members, should not deter art educators. Acceptance of folk speech in art criticism will help us understand the artist's perspective and message as well as the appreciator's experience. To ignore or express disdain for these expressions is to judge based on a limited rather than a developmental approach to knowledge building. Limited approaches reflect the segregation of social groups and low interaction levels among them; developmental approaches reflect the integration of social groups and high interaction levels among them. Integration of thoughts contributes to the growth of our knowledge building process in art education. CAD and folk speech expressions can co-exist comfortably to the benefit of teachers, students, artists, and the community.

Limitations to the Multi-cultural Approach

Although the goals of multi-cultural education have been suggested to be the promotion and support of cultural diversity (Lovano-Kerr & Zimmerman, 1977), the great majority of articles and curricula which adopt this approach have centered mainly on the recognition and understanding of ethnic arts (*Cultural Pluralism and the Arts*), 1983; Grigsby, 1977; Lovano-Kerr & Zimmerman, 1977; Shaw, 1980; Taylor, 1975). While these directions are commendable, they do not do enough for the cultural pluralism perspective. The limited focus on ethnic arts alone inadvertently causes the student to see the "culturally different" as those who are ethnically different. It appears to present to the student the arts and values of the Indian, the Afro-American, the Ukranian, and the Loation, while neglecting the culturally expressive arts and values of the hippy, the Wednesday night bowler, the Hare

Krishna, the Menonite, the sailor and seaman, the white business executive.

Folk art is often associated with Appalachian and Ozark Mountain art. Generally, those who take it a step further include ethnic arts. It is when we begin to see ourselves as well as others as culture bound and culturally changing that our aesthetic preferences begin to be seen in light of the folk groups to which we all belong and to value these "memberships."

The benefits of extending multi-cultural educational concepts far beyond ethnic groups to include other folk groups are as follows: (1) identification and recognition of all groups of people and the art that they make; (2) support for viewing all art as a communication system and, as F. G. Chalmers (1981) suggests, studying all art as cultural artifact; (3) altering and elaborating on barriers distinguishing minority and majority cultures; and (4) awareness of similarities in the ways differing groups find inspiration for their art and use it to fulfill the same human needs.

If those who research, write about, and develop curriculum in support of a multi-cultural approach to art education focus on cultural pluralism as existing because people belong to varying religious, regional, political, recreational, and occupational groups as well as varying ethnic groups, the study of folk art would receive more recognition. Further, more art forms would begin to be evaluated in terms of their traditional cultural communications as well as their aesthetics. Such an approach might begin to show that most of us function in both majority and minority groups at the same time. It might also demonstrate that all human beings have similar goals, but that our beliefs and approaches to problem solving are, fortunately, varied.

Folk Art Classes

One of the main reasons that folk art is given so little recognition in art education is because our understanding of it is so limited. Marsha MacDowell's (1982) research on the study of folk art in higher education in North America shows that folk art as a field for study is relatively new, and that it does not have a unified theoretical base. Most college and university courses are generally located in folklore or American Studies Programs, which art teachers do not often consider for course selection, and are usually limited to those institutions large enough to support new courses and programs. Further, most folk art courses are centralized in the northeastern part of the United States and are taught by people who are often dissatisfied with their own training in folk art study. These limitations make it difficult for large numbers of art educators on all levels to incorporate folk art into their curriculum.

Interest in folk art, however, is growing rapidly. It is hoped that art education will join with those in art history, museum curatorship, antique and folk art collection, anthropology, and history in order to develop curricula which deal justly and effectively with folk art.

Summary

The study of folk art clearly has a place in the art education setting. I have stated and briefly discussed six reasons why its study has been problematic. Although teachers and theoreticians will have to deal with a complex definition, along with the changed nature of the learning context, the inclusion of folk art and the study of folk art aspects in our curricula, along with the acceptance of the folk speech which helps to describe it, can assist us to better recognize and promote cultural pluralism, varying modes of creativity, and the fact that we all belong to folk groups which are culture bound. The proposed perspective can enrich the knowledge building activity of art education through recognizing extant heterogeneous perspectives of our audiences and using the interaction among these to enhance our discovery process.

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Art Students in Design Departments: Conflicts in Attitudes, Values and Aims.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1981, I returned to Britain to work in art teacher training after six years overseas. I found myself supervising students practicing teaching in secondary schools in a Local Education Authority[1] in an area of the East Midlands called Leicestershire, in which art education is subsumed under the term 'design'. The majority of my student-teachers, who come from all parts of the British Isles, have been trained, like myself, as specialists in fine arts[2], and together we have been discovering what the practice of design education at secondary level implies.

DESIGN EDUCATION TENDENCIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Curriculum organization and planning

First, we discovered that the term 'design education' refers to a range of disciplines or activities in the general curriculum and denotes a particular pattern of curriculum and administrative organization.

The organizational pattern is by no means unique (similar structures are in operation in other local education authorities), but it was pioneered in Leicestershire by an authority which prides itself on being the first in the country to implement a fully comprehensive secondary education plan[3]. To date, the Leicestershire Authority has eighty-eight secondary schools listed, somewhat confusingly, as high schools, secondary schools, upper schools and sixth form colleges, and, in most of them, art education is carried out from within a faculty or department of design. Design departments are typically responsible for a core of 'practical' subjects in the school curriculum, which tends to include drawing and painting, sculpture, print and ceramics (sometimes rather uneasily labelled 'the art subjects'), engineering science, wood and metalwork, technical drawing, fashion and fabric, and home economics. In schools built after 1967, when design education was first implemented as official policy, design departments are housed in purpose-built complexes of workshops and studios built to accommodate and amalgamate those aspects of the secondary curriculum previously identified as art, handicrafts and home economics. One such complex has been described by its head of departments as follows:

> It has areas for the following activities: woodwork, metalwork, ceramics, silversmithing, painting and drawing, printmaking and graphics, typography, home economics and needlework....it is a long single-storey building lit by

> windows in the roof....the main working areas are surrounded by smaller rooms for tutorials and small group activities; such rooms include a staff area, a technician's room, drawing office for 3-D workshops, fitting room and store room and we also have immediate access to a dark room. (Robinson in Mason, 1970, p. 135)

The design facilities tend to be generously equipped and to incorporate gallery space for displays and exhibitions of work. Two-dimensional and three-dimensional activities may be accommodated on split-levels, or partitioned by screens, but the architectural lay-out tends to be open-plan.

Secondly, we found that design education can, but does not necessarily, refer to the concept of 'integrated curricula' in home economics, crafts, design and technology (commonly known as CDT)[4], and art, as well as interdisciplinary approaches to planning. Pupils in Leicestershire's secondary schools are scheduled for a wide range of art, crafts design and technology and home economics activities[5]. During the first three years of their secondary schooling all the design subjects are compulsory. They spend short periods in each design workshop, thereby experiencing a broad range of design department materials, techniques and processes. Following this, they make choices among design subjects and specialize in greater depth while satisfying curriculum requirements for national examinations in art and design[6]. Many design departments utilize team-teaching and integrated design curricula as a means of encouraging pupils to examine interrelationships between art, crafts design and technology, and home craft subjects. Design department staff, trained initially as specialists in ceramics, woodwork, engineering science, drawing, painting, etc., combine forces to devise interdisciplinary projects or to make contributions to, what they describe as, core curricula, which may range from Bauhaus-inspired basic courses focusing on concepts like line, mass and colour, to design theory centering on techniques of graphic communication, systems analysis, or ergonomics; alternatively, the staff may work from within their own specialist disciplines to a common motivating design topic or theme.

Teaching methodology

Thirdly, whether design curricula are integrated or not, we found art, crafts design and technology, and home economics teachers often understand the design process as 'problem-solving' and that they utilize this as a strategy or approach to learning. Arts, crafts design and technology, and home economics projects are posited as problem situations which require analytical, inventive and evaluative thought[7]. Pupils are set design briefs (or, better still, encouraged to invent their own), and are required to carry out research in any number of ways, for example, by compiling information about the problem situation, analysing data, comparing the problem with others, testing out alternative solutions, etc.. The problem-solving teaching methodology which emphasizes 'individual discovery' rather than group instruction, is well illustrated in some draft proposals for a new national examination in design submitted by a working party of teachers and advisors from the Authority in 1981. The working party attempted to devise a comprehensive examination which sets out "to assess a candidate's ability to make a personal response to a particular problem-solving situation" (p. 6). The examination requires candidates to produce the following:

1) a design folio, which includes a design brief and evidence of investigation and research;

2) a design realization (a completed object, or objects) which demonstrates both 'aesthetic sensitivity' and 'craftsmanship';

3) an evaluation, or short written essay or explanation, of the aims, objectives and problems the student encouraged along the way.

Teachers are offered a list of starting points for design briefs which are described as 'suggestions only', and urged not to direct pupils to plan in advance which workshop materials, techniques and processes they will utilize in a design examination context. The working party describes design thinking, which they see as fundamental to every kind of design activity (whether it resembles that of the artist, architect, home decorator, fashion designer, etc.), as "fostering ingenuity, resourcefulness and confidence" and "embracing understandings and judgements which are transferable to other subjects in the school curriculum." They note that the Design Council (1980) has warned teachers that it is necessary to convince employers and educationalists that "intellectual rigour is compatible with breadth of study and with creative and practical ability" (p. 1) and stressed that design briefs should never be merely skills-based or materials planned.

Content

While a significantly large proportion of teachers we have met, especially those trained in fine art, do not favour comprehensive examinations in design, the majority understand problem-solving as central to art, crafts and design technology, and, to a lesser extent, home economics activity. Teachers vary a great deal in the degree to which they are prepared to direct pupils' attention to specific design problems or help them bridge the gap between their initial understanding of a problem and its solution. They may outline sets of procedures (stated as general principles), to help pupils structure their design thinking, e.g.

> The folio should contain appropriate research materials:
>
> Initial observations and investigations and a record of experiments.
>
> The folio should contain a clear record of the progress of design ideas as they were pursued from first thoughts to the final drawings and conclusions.
>
> It should also be clear from the folio the extent to which the candidate has understood the relevant techniques and processes. An awareness of specific historical / cultural / social issues should also be apparent in the folio.
>
> (Assessment objectives for folio, 16+ proposals)

Alternatively, the staff might refer them to design criteria (e.g. questions about function, fitness for purpose, techniques for assessing marketability, etc.) to assist them in evaluating its effectiveness; but they seem reluctant to specify anything which could be described as art, crafts design and technology, or home economics curriculum content.

Fourthly, we observed that drawing plays an important role in much of this problem-solving design education pedagogy. Design education practitioners tend to operate under the tacit assumption that the graphic communication of design ideas precedes all other kinds of design activity. Drawing and planning courses in which pupils learn how to draw pictorial views, simple sketches or plans, and how to apply them to three-dimensional objects function as prerequisites for craft options and core elements in integrated design curricula. Art, crafts design and technology, and home economics specialists assess illustrated information about the progress of their pupils' design ideas, together with their finished products - whether they are preserved foods, electrical circuits, stage sets or paintings. Pupils are required to complete the total problem-solving design process within a given amount of time.

Purposes

Design education theorists often express aims or aspirations for design education which extend well beyond the limitations of the popular practices we have identified in Leicestershire. Professor Bruce Archer, of the Design Education Unit at the Royal College of Art (1982), for example, wants design educators to "encourage pupils to apply and express their own patterns of social and moral values," and "to become aware of the historical and contemporary issues of the interaction between man's knowledge, skills and values on the one hand and his material, social and spiritual environment on the other" (p.5). But, those same theorists admit that design education as practiced in schools, is a "grass roots movement" which lacks cohesive purposes for action.

In some of the design departments we have visited, the crafts design and technology, home economics and art teachers appear united by nothing more significant than a general tendency to involve pupils in practical projects which utilize the man-made environment as their starting point; in others, they reiterate the examination working party's desire to improve children's critical awareness of the visual and functional aspects of artifacts or to increase their understanding of environmental decision-making as their common curriculum aims[9]. The crafts, design and technology specialists are the design education movement's most vociferous exponents, and the art specialists mention little in the way of alternative educational philosophies. In a period of declining school rolls and financial cutbacks, they have design education enthusiasts to thank for persuading head teachers and parents that art, in the form of design, is at least a part of a third dimension of the general curriculum that is essential to every child's secondary educational experience. Design education enthusiasts in the Local Authority in question have pioneered curriculum development in crafts and schools technology. Their movement appears to have functioned as an effective ideological center for art education and to have achieved considerable political success.

STUDENT-TEACHERS' REACTIONS TO TEACHING IN DESIGN DEPARTMENTS

How do newly qualified art and design specialists react to teaching in Leicestershire's secondary school design departments? How do they respond to the design education tendencies in curriculum organization, methods, content and purposes? What questions do they raise? Last year's group was vehemently opposed to team-teaching and open plan workshops; one student-teacher who complained that his classes were interrupted by pupils moving from one part of the design complex to another and by the noise of instruction from elsewhere, dismissed them as "a feeble attempt to foster a coherent approach to art and design activity." A minority were rapidly converted to the idea of integrated art, crafts design and technology and home economics curricula, but the majority clung first to the subject-centered teaching approach they had encountered during their own specialist training. The graphic design, industrial design, interior design or fashion specialists were familiar with, and approved of, the problem-solving design education teaching methodology; the fine artists who were not, took issue with the notion that it could be utilized as a common approach to learning in all art and design subjects. They found design education enthusiasts guilty of confusing art in education with art in industry or art in commerce and of restricting it to utilitarian language, content and purposes. They accused them of failing to understand fine artists and of denigrating the educational value of drawing by utilizing it merely as "a tool for design."

HELPING STUDENT-TEACHERS TO CLARIFY THEIR CURRICULUM DECISIONS

Some of the student-teachers' complaints point to inadequacies in their specialist training. Their vocational degree courses in fine art or design offer them a limited view of their subject and over-emphasize differences between art and design specialists. Others hint at the conceptual confusion that underlies much of the practice of curriculum decision-making both in higher education institutions and schools.

Elliot Eisner has traced a possible source of this confusion to the conflicting images or visions of general education that inform a specialist teacher's thinking about practical issues. His *Educational Imagination* (1979) contains detailed accounts of five dominant images or orientations which he describes as harboring "implicit conceptions of educational virtue" (p. 70) that have consequences for the design and implementation of curricula in American schools. Each of his orientations has particular assets and liabilities and it serves to legitimate certain kinds of practices while negating others. It is my contention that my student-teachers' questions and arguments about the appropriateness of specific aspects of art and design teaching in secondary schools in Britain (e.g. about the role of drawing or the organization and design of classrooms) can be illuminated with reference to three of Eisner's five basic orientations or general educational points of view.

Taken together, the pervasive curriculum tendencies identified as typical of design educational practice in Leicestershire suggest the dominance of a basic orientation that Eisner calls 'cognitive' and 'process-centered'. This cognitive, process-orientated approach is manifested in, among other things, the crafts design and technology, art and home economics' teachers' willingness to subordinate specialist knowledge and skills to trans-disciplinary curriculum ideals,[10] their choice of problem-solving curriculum tasks and their emphasis on helping pupils to learn how to learn rather than on disseminating knowledge. The organizing framework of ideas that guides their curriculum decision-making has been described by Eisner as follows:

> In this view, the mind is conceived of as a collection of relatively independent faculties or aptitudes: the ability to infer, to speculate, to locate and solve problems, to remember, to visualize, to extrapolate, and so on. It is these faculties that must come into play in order to adequately deal with the problems that individuals inevitably have to cope with during the course of a lifetime. For the school to emphasize the mere acquisition of information, the accumulation of fact, or even the dissemination of theory is not in the long run useful, for surely both facts and theories change, and at an alarming rate. If what is already known is emphasized, the student is in a poor position to deal with problems and issues that will inevitably arise in the future, many of which cannot be presently even envisioned. The most effective way to deal with such problems is not by storing bodies of knowledge in one's memory but rather by strengthening those cognitive processes that can be used later to deal with them. (p. 51).

A cognitive orientation, like any other viewpoint, harbors implicit values and beliefs which are open to question. The art, crafts design and technology, and home economics teachers in design departments, for example, assume that education is, or should be, about developing children's intellectual powers; they assume that a general transfer of learning from problem-solving design exercises can, and does, take place. These taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of learning and education determine the curriculum practices that my newly qualified design specialists find sympathetic, but with which my fine art specialists tend to disagree. What alternative images or visions of education might inform the fine artist's orientation to practice?

First, let me say that fine art specialists find it considerably more difficult to articulate their aspirations, both for art and art education, than student-teachers trained as designers. My experience of working with them during their teacher-training year has convinced me, however, that there are two sets of fundamental values or beliefs to which they must frequently refer. They appear to value to the uniqueness of their subject and the fact that it has its own content, concepts and patterns of inquiry; also, they value the freedom it allows them to pursue individual interests, and to develop and identify personal, even idiosyncratic, interests, issues and concerns. While these artistic values tend to conflict with the implicit assumptions of virtue underlying Eisner's cognitive orientation, they complement what he describes as 'academic rationalist' or 'personal relevance' general educational points of view.

Academic rationalists disagree with cognitivists, according to Eisner, because they understand their educational mission as that of developing their pupils' faculties of reason and stimulating their intellectual growth in so-called basic subjects that have traditionally been deemed worthy of study. (p. 51) They argue that certain worthy subjects (such as mathematics, English language, the arts, etc.) require specialized forms of instruction and must be learned in schools because they will not be taught elsewhere. In practical terms, an academic rationalist orientation would result in newly qualified fine art specialists rejecting the design education emphasis on artistic processes and identifying basic concepts, skills, knowledges and techniques which are understood as being essential to everyone's understanding of the visual arts. Since they would understand the faculty of reason as best developed when and if it is focused on "the most fundamental aspects of human existence" (p. 57) they would engage their pupils in critical discussion and comparison of what are generally accepted as our most powerful examples, or greatest masterpieces, of art. Their teaching would emphasize the use of primary source materials and the traditions of small group discussion; and their lessons would adopt what Eisner has described as a dialectical instructional form.

Fine art specialists who supported a personal relevance orientation might find themselves more in tune with their design education colleagues in that both educational viewpoints emphasize the need for teachers to regard children as individuals who should play a leading role in the act of curriculum planning. Since they would aim at promoting personal meanings and the realization of their pupils' psychological freedom rather than at improving their ability to solve problems or increasing their intellectual powers, their curriculum practices would differ from those identified as typical of design education in Leicestershire's secondary schools.

> What we would find in schools that were genuinely concerned with personal relevance is a place where interests and the demands of the tasks define the amount of time students spend in a course. We would also find small classes - perhaps with fifteen student - that were organized around a common set of interests and included students of different ages who shared that interest....The role of teacher would be one of providing sufficient structure and guidance for the child's experience to be educationally productive, but it would not be prescriptive of coercive. The teacher would be expected to stimulate and guide, to introduce the child to new materials and ideas, but the specific tasks and aims would be developed in a shared relationship. (Eisner, p. 61)

Eisner admits that these three basic models or paradigms of educational virtue are seldom found in pure form and that no one paradigm should be viewed as better than any other. He distinguishes however between professional judgements and mere opinion with regard to the values which inform a teacher's curriculum decision-making. Teachers who act professionally are critically aware of their general educational viewpoint. They understand its strengths and weaknesses and its specific implications for their subject speciality. Moreover, they can justify or rationalize its application to the particular educational circumstances in which they are operating.

In the educational circumstances under consideration, both the staff teaching in design departments and my student-teachers are acting unprofessionally when they argue for and against specific curriculum practices while failing to locate them in any general educational images or ideals. If the design education enthusiasts were more critically aware of their cognitive educational viewpoint, they would recognise the fact that their open-ended problem-solving examination objectives necessarily constitute one of its liabilities, also, that they cannot argue simultaneously for process-centered teaching methodologies and core subject matter in design. Conversely, the student-teachers who expressed concern about the uniqueness of fine art would be forced, not only to argue for, but to teach basic arts education or core curriculum content (see Allison, 1981; Chapman, 1983). Personal relevance enthusiasts might well have to accept the truth that a general educational orientation which places such an enormous responsibility on themselves as teachers and results in unstructured approaches to curriculum planning is unlikely to find favour in today's educational climate. This kind of professional thinking would necessitate not only that they understood the consequential effects of their favourite images on their curriculum organization, content, teaching methods and purposes, but also that they had learned to look at curriculum situations from Eisner's whole range of educational points of view.

Footnotes

1. England, Wales and Northern Ireland are divided into areas for local government purposes. Local authorities are responsible for the administration of public services, but are subject to central government supervision and control. Her Majesty's Inspectorate are the supervisory body for education.

2. There is a lengthy tradition of divided art and design practice in higher education in Britain. Whereas the majority of the students who apply for the one-year courses, which qualify them to teach art in schools, have completed fine art degrees, others have specialized in a range of options such as industrial design, graphic design, interior design, textile design or fashion, and have been trained as designers for industry.

3. For a full account of the changeover from the tripartite system of secondary education in which pupils were selected for different kinds of schools by examination at the age of eleven plus, to a single comprehensive system, see Fairbairn (Ed.) The Leicestershire Plan.

4. The 1960's witnessed attempts to expand the curriculum in traditional 'heavy' crafts subjects such as woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing by linking them to developments in science and technology. Craft design and technology embraces the teaching of electronics, engineering science and mechanical engineering, together with the traditional craft subjects.

5. One high school offers seven specialist design subjects: art, fabrics, graphics, ceramics, home economics, woodwork and metalcraft, for example. Students are timetabled for three and a half hours of design activity a week. The pupils 'rotate' through design workshops, spending five weeks in each area for the first year. The second rotation lasts slightly longer and extends from the second year into the third. The three-year course finishes with an extended period in one area. (This approach has been labelled the 'circus'.) In one upper school, pupils select subjects from the following: art and crafts, home economics, technical drawing, or child-care and development, to study for examinations.

6. Pupils in secondary schools in the East Midlands are entered for the Certificate of Secondary Education, or Ordinary level examinations in Art and Design, at the age of sixteen. They enter for Advanced level examinations at the age of eighteen.

7. The Design Council has defined problem-solving in secondary education as involving the following educational experiences: examining a given problem or situation in order to identify and state the opportunities and difficulties involved; undertaking research and compiling data on the problem, situation and the factors affecting it; analyzing information gained; preparing a brief against which the design proposals can be tested so as to overcome difficulties identified; proposing responses to the brief and choosing the most appropriate; developing this response and, where appropriate, bringing it to some practical conclusion; analyzing and evaluating the result and communicating it to others. (Design Council Report, p. 6)

8. The suggestions include: 1) an aspect of the local environment; 2) garden furniture, and 3) preserved foods.

9. Erik Forrest's comment (1969, p. 201) that "improvement in the level of visual taste, improvement in the quality of the visual environment and improvement in the design qualities of manufactured goods has always been a concern of those engaged in design education" still appears to hold good. But the increased concern for environmental education in the 1970's appears to have affected design educators like everyone else.

10. In a transdisciplinary cognitive approach to curricula, I understand teachers as acting as resource persons who are broadly acquainted with many fields, and thoroughly grounded in knowledge theory.

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The Effect of an In-Service Workshop on Fifth Graders' Response to Skin Color.

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This study investigates the effect of an inservice workshop about skin colors on fifth graders' visual responses about themselves in art classes. It also concerned itself with the comparison of two approaches to providing ideas of multi-ethnic significance to fifth grade teachers.

The Coleman report in 1966 brought to this country the realization that there existed inequality in American education. In addition to this problem Coleman was also concerned with how teachers were being trained to work with minority students (1966).

With the onset of court ordered school desegregation in the 1970's, new methods for the training of teachers had to be considered. Desegregation meant that an inner city teacher might or might not have only black and Puerto Rican children in a class, but also white children of at least lowere and middle class economic levels. Conversely, suburban teachers could have black and Mexican-American children in a previously all white class. Adjustments had to be made in programs that prepare teachers for this kind of classroom setting.

The use of "white-oriented middle class" material presented one of the biggest hurdles in effectively working with minority students. These materials proved to be turnoffs to minority students in that they contained ideas designed to interest white middle class students and were often obstacles to communication with the minority student. They often imposed white middle class values upon minority children and discredited their own inherited values, consequently further alienating them from the learning process. At the 1967 conference on educational objectives for culturally disadvantaged, J. B. Jones cautioned:

> Look out for your textbooks and what they will do to the ego of the individual, which in no sense depicts the presence of one similar to himself . . . this means that compensatory education must address itself to educational materials that include individuals who are similar too. (1967)

An important element in helping all children understand the concepts and perceptions of others is through materials which also contain minority content. Such material provides experiences which enable children to see themselves in relation to their families, their ethnic group, as well as others. While educators were concerning themselves with methods of dealing with positive learning experiences with minority children, sociologists and psychologists were concerning themselves with children's self concepts of color. As early as the

1940's, Clark and Clark (1940) were investigating the development of the consciousness of self and racial identification in black preschool children. They concluded that as early as the preschool years children developed a consciousness of self and racial identification of skin color. The Landreth and Johnson (1953) study found that patterns of response to persons of different skin colors are present as early as three years old.

By 1960, the "Black is Beautiful" movement had affected the results of tests on the self concepts of many black children (Hraba and Grant, 1970). Larson (1968) found it significant that most, if not all, of the studies on racial awareness and self-concept among children done up until 1966 reported that black children generally gave negative role assignments to black dolls or pictures. After the beginning of the Black Movement, Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) found that by adding dolls of intermediate colors along with white and dark brown dolls for children to select in identifying themselves, the traditionally greater misidentification of black children decreased. By 1973, the Cantor study of race awareness revealed that when asked to choose either black or to represent good or bad, black children tended significantly to choose white for bad and black for good (1973).

Significant to this study is the heavy reliance on visual symbols with colored-in faces to provide psychologists with information about a child's self concept. Also significant is the fact that results changed significantly once the psychologists realized that people of color come in a multitude of skin colors and thus began to design their tests accordingly.

Little attention has been given to the relationship of procedures used in art education classes and the self-concepts of color among children. Barkan (1955) states that one of the functions of any educational process is to help children create roles for themselves which satisfy their own needs and reflect the needs of others. He further believes that children's inner feelings are revealed as they grow aware of themselves in relation to the ideas they are seeking to embody in their visual art work. Mattil's research monograph (1972) sets a general foundation for the responsibility art education has for the development of self-concepts of all children as that of continuously addressing itself to the self. Tiedt and Tiedt (1979) advised that teachers should be aware of questionable practices in the art classroom no matter how simple they may be, especially where the classroom is multi-ethnic. A practice of concern to this author is the use of skin colors with children in art classes. In order to study this problem, several questions must be considered:

1. How can teachers presently in the classroom be educated as to the sensitivity of various ethnic groups with regards to skin color?

2. How can teachers be given the confidence to make skin colors for and use them in their art classes?

3. Would the above factors influence whether children would in fact use the colors if they were provided?

Method

This study theorized that fifth graders would use skin colors in painting pictures of themselves if these colors are provided. Also of concern was the effect of an inservice workshop about skin colors on fifth graders' visual responses about themselves in art classes. Fifth graders were used because art educators tell us that it is during this period of child development in art that a greater awareness of self begins. The schematic generalization of man is no longer adequate and we commonly see an accumulation of details on parts that are emotionally significant (Lowenfeld, 1965). Artistic expresion begins at this stage to become realistic rather than symbolic (Sawyer and deFrancesco, 1971). The drawings of this period reveal a greater degree of visual realism in each individual object (Lansing, 1970). It was reasonable to assume that if students are concerned with mixing different colors, relating their visual interpretations of the human form to a more realistic approach, differences of the sexes and most of all the awareness of self, they are sensitive to skin color. A total of 48 students participated in the study. These students were selected to secure a sample of approximately 70% minority and 30% white, which was the percentage of racial breakdown in Durham, North Carolina. The students were also matched for sex.

Of the number of fifth grade teachers who volunteered for this study, a total of sixteen were selected and assigned to either the two experimental groups or the control group. These three groups were labeled group A, B, and C.

Procedure

Group A received an inservice workshop. Inservice instruction lasted one and one-half hours. Its basic objectives were: (1) to discuss the art of the fifth grader; (2) to present skin color to the teachers; (3) to present the importance of skin colors by (a) showing that others in society are concerned with skin color, and (b) showing how artists have used a variety of skin colors in their paintings; (4) to suggest ways of introducing skin colors to fifth graders. The workshop utilized a lecture, slides, charts, photographs and discussions by the teachers. The following is an outline of the workshop on skin color for group A.

A. Explanation of Group A's participation in the study

B. The art of the fifth grader and why this age level was selected

C. Mixing skin colors

    1. how to mix a variety of skin colors

    2. how to care for paints

D. Society's concern for skin color

  1. Positively
     a. cosmetic companies

     b. hosiery companies

     c. film companies

     d. television manufacturers

  2. Negatively

E. How artists have used a variety of skin colors in their paintings

  1. paintings of groups of people

  2. portraits of people under differing lighting conditions

  3. expressionists

F. Suggestions for introducing skin colors to fifth graders

  1. showing colors to a class

  2. labeling paint containers with the words "skin colors"

  3. questions your students may ask

  4. topics that may be used to foster the use of skin colors

G. Questions about the study and suggestions

It is important to note here that teachers were told not to encourage the use of the colors. It was hoped by this experimentor that by recognition of the fact that the teachers had taken the time to mix the colors, the students would feel comfortable in using them if they wished. At the conclusion of the workshop, the teachers were given a handbook which contained the majority of the major facts presented at the workshop and answers to questions children might ask. Also listed were formulas to assist teachers in mixing skin colors from tempera.

Group B received an instruction sheet which contained the following information: (1) instructions for the study, (2) some suggested topics for paintings, and (3) directions on how to mix and care for the paints.

Group C's teachers, the control group, received no instructions with their paints other than to make them available to students when they paint. The study allowed assessment of the effect of the treatment on students over a period of three months, with the first painting serving as the pretest. The first paintings were collected before the teachers in Groups A and B received any instruction. The remaining were collected at intervals of every four weeks. Group C's paintings were also collected at the same time. At the beginning of the project, students were photographed and the photographs categorized according to skin color by student art education majors at North Carolina Central University who served as judges.

The categories of colors were based on a skin color value scale with step intervals. The color for very white skin was indicated with the number 1 and the color for very dark skin used the number 7.

Table 1

Number of Students Placed in Various Skin Color Categories by Judges

Skin Colors	Group A	Group B	Control
1 Peach	-	2	3
2 Medium Peach	4	3	1
3 Light Brown/Peach	2	-	4
4 Peach Brown	-	5	3
5 Light Brown	6	6	3
6 Brown	4	-	2
7 Dark Brown	-	-	-

Twenty-seven children were judged as being in categories 1-4 based on their photographs. Twenty-one were judged as being in categories 5-7.

Table 2

Cross-tabulation of the Color Choices Made by Students in Group A with Skin Color Evaluations Given by the Judges

Skin Colors	Selections made by Group A in Paintings: 1	2	3	4	Judges' Choices
1 Peach	2	2	2	-	-
2 Medium Peach	4	4	4	4	4
3 Light Brown/Peach	1	-	1	-	2
4 Peach Brown	2	2	2	2	-
5 Light Brown	4	4	4	7	6
6 Brown	-	3	2	-	4
7 Dark Brown	-	-	-	-	-
8 other color	-	-	-	-	-
9 no color	3	1	1	3	-

Results

The judges recorded the students' uses of skin color in the paintings of themselves. Tables 3, and 4 show a cross-tabulation of the choices made by students in the three groups as judged by the judges.

The colors numbered 8 and 9 were added to provide a way to indicate when students chose to use other colors not even remotely descriptive of skin color (color number 9) and to show the number of students who chose to use no color at all (color number 8). Simple frequencies were run to compare the students' selection of skin color in their art work with the judges' choices of the children's own skin color. The variations in responses by group for each painting lessons were then analyzed.

Table 3

Cross-tabulations of the Color Choices Made by Students in Group B with Skin Color Evaluations Given by the Judges

Skin Colors	Selections made by Group B in Paintings: 1	2	3	4	Judges' Choices
1 Peach	4	2	3	-	2
2 Medium Peach	3	4	2	5	3
3 Light Brown/Peach	-	-	1	-	-
4 Peach Brown	5	2	3	2	5
5 Light Brown	1	4	1	2	6
6 Brown	-	3	2	3	-
7 Dark Brown	1	-	1	-	-
8 other color	-	-	1	2	-
9 no color	1	1	2	2	-

Table 4

Cross-tabulations of the Color Choices Made by Students in the Control Group with Skin Color Evaluations Given by the Judges

Skin Colors	Selections by Control Group in Paintings: 1	2	3	4	Judges' Choices
1 Peach	3	3	3	3	3
2 Medium Peach	1	-	-	-	1
3 Light Brown/Peach	4	2	4	3	4
4 Peach Brown	3	4	3	4	3
5 Light Brown	3	4	3	3	3
6 Brown	-	-	-	-	2
7 Dark Brown	-	-	-	-	-
8 other color	1	1	-	1	-
9 no color	1	2	3	2	-

A one-way Analysis of Variance was run on the four painting lessons for the two experimental groups, and for the Control Group. The results of the one-way ANOVA indicated that there was no statistically significant difference between Group A, Group B and the Control Group on any of the painting lessons. The main effects of the treatment for the four paintings revealed the following F values: Painting 1 (.358); Painting 2 (.523); Painting 3 (.263); and Painting 4 (.154). These ANOVA results prompted the researcher to seek other statistical computations which might give another perspective.

Examination of the interaction of students' choices of skin colors versus the inservice education revealed that the absolute differences in student choices in Group A dropped from the beginning difference of 2.0 down to 1.18 for the second painting and leveled off at 1.38 for paintings 3 and 4. By contrast absolute difference in choices of skin color among the students in Group A was lowered while this difference increased among the students in Group B (1.75) and the Control Group (1.75).

The interaction of race of student versus the inservice or printed instructional training of teachers was also of importance. Race was important to note in the study in that an earlier discussion indicated that the idea of using skin colors was to get away from the use of peach or flesh for all children and instead to mix a variety of skin colors. The results indicated that the inservice training of teachers on the use of skin colors was as important a factor for use with white students as well as with blacks.

The initial ANOVA revealed very little quantitative significance between groups on the main effects of the training of teachers in a school system in the South. However, this experiment did reveal important findings about fifth graders' spontaneous ability to use skin color paints in art classes closely reflective of their own actual skin color. If the colors are provided, they will be used.

Implications

The subject of this study and the implications drawn from findings could prove to be of interest and value to several important groups of people associated with art education and production of art materials. Such interested groups might well include: (1) supervisors of inservice workshops in art and curriculum planning; (2) those involved in the educational preparation of future teachers; (3) sociologists and educators interested in examining the effects of aspects of public school education on the self concepts of children; and (4) manufacturers of instructional media and art materials for young children.

In addition the findings of this research would suggest first that if administrators, curriculum planners, supervisors, and parents call for contemporary ideas of multi-ethnic significance to be incorporated in present programs, teachers will certainly need some assistance in preparing themselves to understand and teach them. In spite of the fact that these ideas can be proven significant, teachers may shy away from using them out of a feeling of insecurity. Inservice education is most certainly one of the best means for helping the teacher prepare to incorporate these ideas into the regular classroom program.

Also educators and researchers in education must not decelerate any of the thorough testing of new ideas before advocating their incorporation into the present educational programs of today. They must continue to look for possible problems that might affect certain ethnic groups both positively and negatively.

Second, the preparation of future teachers in art should be carefully examined in terms of the methods and ideas being taught. This should be done with reference to looking more closely at who (ethnically) these future teachers are being prepared to teach. Cultural pluralism is the root of our American society and the education of children must begin to reflect it. Art education certainly offers an excellent starting point.

Third, in many cases, children who were judged below skin color number 4 by the judges seem to have a higher rate of error in choosing the color to paint themselves. Several teachers reported that when they tried to encourage a closer selection the child became very upset with the teacher. A few exhibited anger. Such incidents indicate to this researcher that the struggle for black pride among black children remains problematic and continues to require attention in school as well as at home. Teachers, parents, media, etc. must all continue the goal of helping children feel proud of their heritage and themselves as persons.

Finally, given the low degrees of average error among children, they generally had no trouble choosing colors similar to their own skin color. Overall, the children appeared to be naturally inclined to use the skin color paints when made available to them, whether motivated by teachers or not, as revealed from Group B and the Control Group. This should be an indication to art educators and the manufacturers of crayons, paints etc., that if we provide these colors, the children will use them.

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Art in Education: An International Perspective by Robert W. Ott and Al Hurwitz.

Ott, Robert W. and Hurwitz, Al. *Art in education: An international perspective.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984.

This is a welcome addition to the literature, and its value is two-fold. The individual essays are informative, and the editors have produced a volume with a strong unifying theme. Hitherto, most international studies in art education have appeared in conference proceedings (such as INSEA) and only occasionally in scholarly journals.

Part I, Backgrounds to Cross-Cultural Study, consists of three papers, two of them dealing with the commonalities and differences in children's drawings in several cultures. The third, by Eliott Eisner, is entitled "Cross-Cultural Research in Art Education: Problems, Issues, and Perspectives." Eisner makes it clear that doing cross-cultural research means to compare and contrast, and not that "an investigator...simply goes to another culture to collect...data." He reviews the present state of research, examines the many levels on which cross-cultural research can be valuable, and elaborates on the kinds of problems both hermeneutic and descriptive. Unlike many art educators who have been influenced by the literature of anthropology, Eisner has for the most part resisted the siren call of methodological individualism and remains oriented toward nomothetic social science.

Part II is comprised of nineteen "national profiles in art education." Some are written by citizens or long-term dwellers in their subject countries, while others are the products of research by foreign educators. All are well known in the field, and some of them are indeed luminaries. All of these papers are descriptive, and a number of them are interpretative and critical as well. In the space available for this review it is not possible to discuss all of them.

One of the best is Max Klager's discussion of Germany. In "Decentralization in the Federal Republic" Klager locates art education within the historical context of German educational systems and philosophies. He reviews competing concepts of art teaching, the structure of art education in the schools, and current problems and new developments. He also discusses the neo-Marxist educators in the Federal Republic (BRD) who wish to use art education as an ideological weapon, and compares them to the communist educators of "East" Germany (DDR).

In "England--Old Stability and New Ferment," Brian Allison surveys art education in a rapidly changing society that is becoming multi-racial and multi-ethnic. In Britain, courses for teachers, especially courses concerned with curriculum development, have resulted in teachers knowing "more about art...rather than...simply adding to their repetoire of skills...."

Arline Lederman's report on Afghanistan is based on her many years of living and working in that country. Her analysis embraces economic, social, religious and historical issues impinging upon art education. Frank Walkowaik's essay on Japan, "A National Tradition in a Shrinking World," emphasizes both the sweep and the details of the relationships between current art education practice and the ancient traditions. Irena Wognar's paper, notwithstanding its modest title ("Poland: Aesthetic Education") is a rich and revealing report of the struggle to preserve a venerable cultural heritage in a country that has undergone rapid and often wrenching transformation since World War II.

The two essays on the Soviet Union--one by Boris Yusov, and Al Hurwitz's "An Outsider Looks at Soviet Art Education," when taken together reveal much about both the content and the conceptual framework of art education in that country. Similar insights are gained by a careful comparison of the reports on the People's Republic of China. Shirley Wood, a professor at Henan University since 1948, writes of "Tradition and Change in the People's Republic." Brenda Lansdown and Thomas Slettehaugh have written "Two Views on Chinese Art Education by American Art Teachers," which should be very carefully read in conjunction with Wood's paper.

The volume concludes with three papers on the problems associated with the further development of cross-cultural studies. These include Ott's very useful survey of the role of museums and museum programs, and William Bradley's overview of the controversial subject of national examinations in art and the difficulties of administering them in multicultural and developing societies. The third paper, F. E. Anderson's "Issues in Empirical Cross-Cultural Research in Arts Education," is an appeal to caution in both research methodology and interpretation of findings. Anderson shares with Eisner the concern that "misinterpretations" can arise from relying solely on either an internal approach (the "emic" or "within-culture empathy" of anthropological writings) or an "external" or "etic" approach. He wants a combination which "results in a derived etic approach" but never explains what that means or what it is an approach to. It is the old argument for methodological individualism in which explanation of social phenomena gives way to a vague verstehen of the actions of human agents. The issue is vitally important to cross-cultural research in any discipline.

If I were to cite any omission from this book it would be the absence of a "profile" of Scandinavian countries in addition to Finland. In those countries the concern for art education is serious, enthusiastic and wide-spread.

As with all such undertakings, the editor's task is made complicated by the availability of sources, and the perceptions (and sometimes the ideological commitments) of their contributors. In some instances, the reader can discern what these commitments are and the extent to which they reflect the values in the arts and art education in the cultures being examined. The reader should be especially sensitive to the value-laden vocabulary of the intelligensia in societies that are more monolithic and authoritarian than our own, and the Procrustean distortions that result from the effort to demonstrate the presence of aesthetic and other "conceptual" foundations of (e.g.) the traditional routines of daily life.

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Environmental Characteristics of Qatari Children's Drawings
by Mahmoud El-Bassiouny.

El-Bassiouny, Mahmoud. Environmental characteristics of Qatari children's drawings. University of Qatar: Educational Research Centre, 1983.

One of the major frustrations of anyone at all interested in learning about the lives of those in other cultures is our inability to understand all languages. The bulk of this study is printed in Arabic, one of the myriad languages I cannot read. The English portion is the text of a presentation made at an INSEA Congress in 1982. And the English used carries with it some of the mysteries always involved in translation, even when the author has a firm command of our language.

Yet, if we accept the limitations of language, what can we learn about Qatari children's drawings? To help us in this quest, the author provides an extended (overly long for the purposes needed) exposition on the nature of the "environment" and "educational environment." He finally offers us "Environment, in art education, means the aesthetic forces that build up man's reaction to beauty." Unfortunately, although he alludes to the child's "traditional" environment frequently, he tells us very little about what makes up the pieces of the environment. El-Bassiouny mentions several 12th and 13th century illustrated books because he claims that contemporary children draw in similar styles, but he doesn't tell us if or when or where the children may contact theses historical artifacts. In my brief visit to Qatar, I couldn't uncover any significant contacts between students of any age and these manuscripts or even reproductions of them. His suggestions that the children's drawings "share deeper qualities with the Arab paintings" is too problematic to be accepted at face value.

From the many examples of student drawing and painting reproduced, the claim of mixed cultural influences is supported. Themes such as the henna paintings on young women's hands and of camels are clearly derived from the local environment. But other topics such as fish in the sea or girls playing basketball have direct roots in the Western world in terms of their style of depiction. The author fails to be specific about the visual influences that produce such alien images (his references to local TV suggest mainly traditional subject matter) but we must assume that print media (books and magazines with advertisements) and some aspects of television broadcasting have made inroads into what, some 30 years ago, was a rather isolated "underdeveloped" area.

The study itself examines some 400 (100 from in-school classes; 300 outside) drawings seeking to quantify, subsumed under 12 categories such as: drawing structure; distribution of male and female figures; women's hair; color intensity. Analysis by 3 judges (scores averaged) reinforced the intuition that the environment does indeed provide most of the visual cues that children of all ages refer to in their picture making. While some peculiarities in design and procedures may raise the eyebrows of those trained to do research in a doctoral program of an American university, the differences suggest variations in cultural patterns rather than inept procedures. Once again, questions relating to the possibility of a universal research model are raised. We recognize the logic of the local physical and spiritual environment having an effect on aesthetic perceptions. Why not consider the possibility that cultural differences also play a role in the way human beings perceive problems and create the paths for their resolution? Cross-cultural research of a kind we can believe in demands a proper confrontation of the issues of language and cultural differences. This study, produced by a thoughtful and American-educated colleague who has spent more than forty years in our field, points to issues that we cannot afford to neglect. It is useful in showing us examples of the drawings of many Qatari youngsters as well as in exposing many more questions than it answers.

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Editorial
Multicultural conferencing

I am most grateful to Larry Kantner for the opportunity to guest-edit this issue of The Journal of Multicultural and Crosscultural Research in Art Education.

That opportunity came about because the Canadian Society for Education through Art held a joint conference with the United States Society for Education through Art in Vancouver, British Columbia in the summer of 1986. Certain features of that conference are described by its co-chairs, Kit Grauer and Graeme Chalmers, in the foreword. Some of the proceedings of the conference form the contents of this issue.

The body of the material falls into three sections. First, three keynote presentations deal with macrolevel aspects of the conference theme Exploring cultural backgrounds; exploring cultural futures. Next, eight articles from the daily research sessions explore specific dimensions of, and roles occupied by art in culture. Finally, four articles present various applications of a culturally mediated approach to programs, curriculum, and the pursuit of knowledge.

The reader should gain some idea of the variety of topics covered in the course of three days of large and small group sessions. Many nationalities were represented in the audiences, and the international character of the conference was sustained in an exhibition of children's art gathered from around the world, with Transportation as its theme.

Everyone leaves a conference of this type with some memorable impressions. One of the most poignant appears as an example in Charest and Wallot's article: a rape, drawn by an eleven year old girl. In a local sense, it reflects the interest amounting almost to obsession that sections of the Quebec public have in the more lurid forms of police gazettes. In a general sense, it illustrates the power that art has as a medium to explore topics that people "don't talk about." Art considered multiculturally is likely to turn up a number of commonalities that reflect our human condition. But political, social, and economic differences are likely to bring to the surface an equal number of images that remind us, even shock us into recognition of what we have and what we lack, in relation to other groups.

The articles here address this and similar topics. National differences in spelling have, in the best multicultural tradition, have retained. Though the keynote addresses have been printed, with minor variations, as delivered, the remaining articles have been trimmed to prevent the Journal from becoming unwieldy. Altogether, this issue of the Journal tries to sketch the complex character of art in culture today, as reflected through the lens of an international art education event.

Guest Editor, Ronald N. MacGregor

Foreword

Kit Grauer

Graeme Chalmers

Exposé 86, the joint conference of the Canadian and the United States Societies for Education through Art was held July 1 - 4, 1986, at The University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. Vancouver is an increasingly multi-cultural city and was the site of Expo '86, a major world exposition on the themes of transportation and communications. In keeping with its setting, and acknowledging current concerns in art education, the theme of Exposé 86 was "Exploring cultural backgrounds - Exploring cultural features". In addition to three keynote presentations on different aspects of this theme (see the papers by McFee, Grigsby, and Hillman-Chartrand) there were 84 smaller sessions exploring the theme historically, relating the theme to curriculum, suggesting and demonstrating relevant "hands-on" activities, describing programs-in-action, relating the theme to museum and gallery education as well as the research sessions that included the papers in this issue. Many excellent presentations were primarilly visual or participatory and therefore not suitable for reproduction in a journal.

Helping to make the conference truly cross-cultural were 426 delegates representing 16 countries, all 10 Canadian provinces and the Northwest Territories, and 27 of the United States. The World Council of the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) met in Vancouver following the conference. The presence of councillors from around the world was an added bonus. Other important aspects of the conference were the thematic social events which included a Canada Day (July 1) Celebration, a Northwest Coast Salmon Barbeque with a dramatic interpretation of Native legends and a visit to the university's outstanding Museum of Anthropology, a reception at the International Young Art exhibition which included work by children from 48 countries, and a final July 4th Picnic. Demonstrations by Native Indian crafts people, displays, and tours provided additional cross-cultural and multi-cultural experiences.

A post-conference journal cannot fully capture the flavor (or if we are to be truly cross-cultural: "flavour") of a conference, but evaluation forms completed by delegates indicate that Exposé was a resounding success:

> The conference was excellent. I got a lot out of it, not only from the contacts with great people but from the quality of some of the presentations, and that, in my perhaps cynical view, is unusual.
>
> The setting was superb, the social events which allowed for informal exchange of ideas were a bonus, and, of course

> the sessions and exhibits provided us with buckets of new ideas to carry back with us to our classrooms.
>
> Has widened my horizons and I'm returning to Toronto with many suggestions, both to my Board and our Visual Arts Department, regarding multi-culturalism.
>
> It was both fun and an excellent opportunity to share multi-cultural ideas. Many of these I will share with Australian teachers.
>
> I leave with a better understanding of ways to explore cultural backgrounds and ways to incorporate global connections.
>
> Everything was exciting: the organization, the sessions, the receptions (suppers), the campus, the people, the sea.
>
> Very well planned - we felt no stress, but joy. It's nearly the first time, I note, that people were happy to talk with everyone.

Exposé was only successful because of the people who worked to make it such a memorable event: the hard-working Planning Committee; the presenters, who all kept "on-theme"; and especially the lively delegates. To all of you -- our thanks! And to Drs. Ron MacGregor and Larry Kantner our additional thanks for overseeing the publication of a special post-conference issue of The Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education.

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Cross-cultural inquiry into the social meaning of art: implications for art education.

June King McFee

Definitions of art and culture are analyzed, and some of the complexities of functioning in cross-cultural situations are explored. The notion of a static culture that changes as a result of external pressures is set aside in favour of a culture-system that is dynamic, and in which emergent values are examined in relation to past traditions.

Dear friends, what a joy it is to meet with you again. You are here because you elected to come to a conference on exploring the futures of art and culture. It means to me that your concerns are worldwide and your interests in art and education are multi-cultural, not ethno-centric.

And what a privilege we all have to meet together in Vancouver--a crown among cities everywhere. I have been visiting this place for well over half a century so have some sense of its development. In the interim, I have lived and studied in such cities as Sydney and Perth, Australia, Singapore and London, as well as lived or frequently visited many in North American and some in Europe. Each has greatness in its own unique way.

But Vancouver's combination of attributes sets it apart from all the rest. It has an intense yet disciplined vitality built from the complex of cultures and values of the people who have made this magnificent mountain and sea site their home.

They have created a contemporary, yet humane and historical place, for people of many cultures to be. It has deep roots transferred not only from England but also by people from the Empire (now the Commonwealth) and the rest of the world. It has not lost those ties with the indigenous people and their art that help define the nature of the place. It has maintained in large part its respect for the power of the landscape. To me it is a showplace for the future as the population of the world becomes more interrelated.

A recent newspaper article on Manitoba is symptomatic of North America as a whole. In that province there are 55 ethnic groups represented. Less than half the population have English or French speaking backgrounds. Evening and weekend classes are taught throughout the province in twenty other languages. (Christian Science Monitor, 1986, p. 11.) In greater or lesser degree, we are all becoming more multicultural. Thus the need for cultural understanding between groups exists both within and among societies.

In the past art educators have depended mainly on anthropology for a foundation for cross-cultural study. Other fields have been addressing this need as well, and in some cases have useful theory and research for us. These include cross-cultural psychology, cross-cultural training, which is a field of education for people preparing to work in cultures other than their own, trans-cultural psychiatry, which compares emotional and personality trends, the comprehensive field of folk art, cross-cultural and experimental aesthetics, cross-cultural communication and our own subfield, cross-cultural art education. This body of work is becoming a resource of its own. INSEA and its regional affiliates, the Social Theory Caucus of the NAEA, the growing number of dissertations, the research of individuals as evidenced at this conference, all contribute material to this field. (McFee, [In press]).

After much reflection, I decided that the most fruitful contribution I could make to this conference was to analyze definitions of our key words *art* and *culture*, as they have been developed, and are now used, in anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, and cross-cultural training. Concepts with such rich dimensions have implications for us.

A word of caution is due here. It is almost impossible for me to separate the words art and culture, though I will focus first on art and then culture.

Art

Melville Herskovits in 1959 summarized previous definitions and descriptions of art based on anthropologists' field work. He makes several points.

1. "To be classified as an object of art . . . [the object] must meet cultural criteria of form." (Herskovits, 1955, p. 46). For us to appreciate the art, we need to understand the cultural criteria that brought it into being and that sanction it as an art form.

2. "What a people consider surpassingly pleasing, beauty as an abstraction, is broadly spread over the earth, and lies deep in human experience." (Herskovits, 1959, p. 43). It is important to note that he is saying there is a universal need for what is *culturally* pleasing. He is not saying there is a universal beauty. This question is still debatable.

3. "Every people, in every age has poor artists as well as good" (Herskovits, 1959, p. 47).

4. Herskovits stresses that artistic expression is universal in terms of societies, but that every individual in a society does not function as a culturally defined artist and that among these, there are varieties in performance.

5. Herskovits maintains that "art is a cultural phenomenon, . . . its appreciation is best gained through the broadest possible understanding

of the cultural matrix out of which it comes" (Herskovits, 1959, p. 59).

I believe we can reverse this last statement and say that culture is maintained, transmitted and changed through art; its appreciation can be largely enhanced by understanding its art.

Herskovits deplored the study of art without knowledge of its context. Such practices have led us in Western societies to put the art from so called "civilized" countries in art museums where the artist's identity is stressed, and so called "uncivilized" people's art in natural history museums where the individual artist is mainly ignored. (Herskovits, 1959, p. 55.)

This challenges us to become increasingly aware of the ways we have been programmed to view art as we respond to the art of other cultures. Not only are we challenged to try to comprehend the values of the other culture, but we need to recognize the screens through which we are seeing and thinking about it.

Let me give you an example. A middle-class college educated California woman with self-recognized lack of knowledge about art went to the Louvre for the first time. Curious about her reactions, I asked her that night what had impressed her. Among her remarks, she said she was disappointed in the Venus de Milo. Asked why, she said, "Well I didn't like her Roman rose." Her embeddedness in her own culture -- with its collective values on facial physiognomy, her lack of exposure even to classic art or Greco-Roman history, restricted her response.

Clifford Geertz, in analyzing the place of art in culture, proposes that art is more than a symbol to transmit meaning. It is itself semiotic, a mode of making meaning. Artists learn in some degree their modes of thought from their culture, and their work is created to be responded to by people who share the same cultural modes of knowing and seeing.

He describes the basic factors in the arts as those activities which give *visible*, *audible* and what he calls *tactible* form to ideas so that we can respond with our senses and emotions and then reflect on or think about our response. (Geertz, 1983, pp. 119-120.) In other words, art is a mode of knowing as well as communicating.

Chalmers and others have identified some of the ways art functions to identify cultural values, belief systems, status and roles, ways of making order. (Boyer [in press]; Chalmers, 1973, 1980; Congdon, 1984; McFee & Degge, 1980, pp. 272-297.) Using this material, I would like to propose an outline for describing the functions of art.

1. The art of *objectification* is used to make subjective values, emotions, ideas, beliefs, superstitions more sensuously tangible. They can be seen and felt.

2. The art of *enhancement* is used to enrich celebration and ritual in human events, to express quality, character, kind. The nature of being and of events is expressed in the nature of design.

3. The art of *differentiation* is used to identify categories and variations in types.

4. The art of *organization* is used to illustrate structures and the culturally accepted relations of parts and the meanings of wholes.

5. The art of *communication* is used to record, transmit and generate meanings, qualities and ideas.

6. The art of *continuity* is used to stabilize culture, to perpetuate the convictions of reality, the identities and accomplishments of individuals and groups.

These art functions operate individually, in combinations, and in varying degrees throughout cultures, affecting the experience of people subjectively and objectively.

We can apply these functions of art in analyzing what we Westerners call fine art, crafts, folk art, ethnic art, indigenous art, artifacts, architecture, habitats, settlement patterns, costume, landscapes, etcetera, to objectify, enhance, differentiate, organize, communicate and continue culture.

Culture

The concept *culture* has two kinds of meanings. The English word is derived from the Latin meaning for preparing and maintaining soil so plants would grow. The historical tradition of applying this to the cultivation of the mind and taste to more "civilized" Western European standards is very different from that used by the social sciences in which all peoples are seen to have values, attitudes and belief systems that they share in part with their own cultural group. Hofstede puts it succinctly "to say, 'he/she has no culture' is almost as bad as 'he/she has no personality'" (Hofstede, 1984, p. 21).

The two uses of the word are not always kept clear in art education. If we use the elitist historical meaning of culture, we assume our own quality criteria are the only bases for judging any art and as a result we miss much of its meaning. If we use the social science meaning we must not neglect the consideration of differences in quality within a cultural group's art--while at the same time seeing each culture's art as relative to its own quality criteria.

In 1951, Kluckhohn summarized the definitions of culture as used by anthropologists up to that time. This summary definition is still quoted today by people in different fields, as most adequately conveying what culture means.

> Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and . . . their attached values. (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 5)

The contemporary anthropologist Clifford Geertz denotes culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in . . . inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men [and women] communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz, 1983, p. 89).

Geertz states that "we are all natives" trying to find out how others, "across the sea or down the corridor organize their significant world" (Geertz, 1983, p. 151). He points out that there are many diverse theories in the social sciences about how different peoples think -- how others differ from us. If we assume we are superior, we tend to look for ways others are inferior. If we assume all humankind to be equal, we tend to neglect the variations and uniqueness among them.

Geertz further points out the importance of recognizing differences in how people define themselves as persons from one culture to another. From the standpoint of a separate and unique sense of self in some societies, it is hard to recognize the sense of self that is more integrated into the flux and flow of the social group (Geertz, 1983, pp. 58-59).

Brislin, a cross-cultural psychologist, cautions us about cultural ethno-centrism. He stresses that a society's cultural symbols themselves, as well as their meanings, are valued -- particularly symbols of subjective beliefs and ideologies. The symbol becomes a way to value them. Our symbols tend to have more meaning to us than others do, thus we value other symbols less (Brislin, 1983, p. 367).

Geert Hofstede, a Dutch cross-cultural psychologist, writing in his anthropologically-based book, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work Related Values*, defines culture as "the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influenced a human group's response to its environment. Culture determines the identity of a human group [in similar ways] . . . as personality determines [helps identify] an individual." It is "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another. This is identified by behavior." (Hofstede, 1984, p. 21.)

He identifies three levels of mental programming; *universal*, shared by all humans, *collective*, those we have learned in a cultural group, and *individual*, the unique way of individuals. (Hofstede, 1984, pp. 14-15.) The analysis helps us begin to question those concepts that seem to be universals, that are culturally collective, and that may be our own. All these may be operative when we make cross-cultural responses to art.

Triandis, a cross-cultural psychologist, compares his work to that of anthropologists who focus on the culture of the group. Psychologists start with attributes of individual people as means to identify the culture as a whole. But Triandis believes that a great deal of study as an anthropologist is needed to understand cultural patterns before study of the individual is undertaken. He finds both methods necessary for a more complete understanding of human culture to be achieved. He also identifies two aspect of culture:

1. *Objective elements* such as the ways people in a culture use space, the tools they invent, the objects they make.

2. *Subjective elements*, such as what they consider to be normal, what they value and their hierarchy of values, and the ways they divide up whatever must be done into different roles or attributes (Triandis, 1983, p. 82).

I would suggest that art operates in both of these aspects. Art has an objective element, even if only momentary as in a Happening. It may show centuries of cultural influence, as in the settlement pattern of ancient cities, whose builders' subjective values concerning space relations still influence how the sites are objectively used today. In most objective aspects of art and artifacts (human-made objects) subjective cultural elements are to be found.

Triandis has identified key ways in which individuals can prepare themselves to be able to function in another culture. These include norms, roles, values and expectations of the members of a cultural group toward their art and artists (Triandis, 1983, p. 85). I have adapted these to comprehending the role of art and the artist in another culture.

> What are the norms for artistic behavior; who does what, when and how?
>
> What is the relationship of the artist to the rest of the group?
>
> What are the ways the artist expresses the general intentions of the group?
>
> How does a given artist's self-concept compare with the norms for other people in the group?
>
> What values are clearly accepted or rejected in and through the art of the group?
>
> What are the group's beliefs about art's antecedents and consequences? What is art based on? What effects is it expected to have? How much variation in artistic behavior is tolerated? How should the artist be rewarded?

If we look at just the art and not these norms, roles, values and expectations that affect the artist, we miss much of the meaning. We are so prone to ask, What did the artist mean? What was the artist's message? To even begin to comprehend the artist's meaning, we must also know the cultural factors that have given rise to that artist's sense of self, the motivations, the cultural patterns for art and the rewards from creating a particular type of art. Another aspect of cultural variation we need to recognize is the ways people learn to see, what they attend to, what organizing systems they use for sorting and organizing visual information in different cultures. (McFee, 1980, pp. 45-52.)

Deregowski, a cross-cultural psychologist specializing in perception, points out that studies in this area generally have been looked at with Western theories of perception. (Degregowski, 1980, pp. 21-115.) But a large number of studies has been done that usually indicates difference among different people in perception of pictures, response to illusions, to the constancies, (that is, apprehending things as they are known to be rather than as they appear in the retinal image), response to geometric patterns, symmetry and asymmetry, perception of color and form. Differences in all these ways of attending will affect the art produced by a given people. (McFee, Degge, 1980, pp. 94-107.)

Another whole body of research and practice has grown up since the Peace Corps was formed in what is called *cross-cultural training*. Several methods were tried but the most successful were those that combined cognitive understanding of another culture with the more important humbling understanding of oneself as a product of culture, in order to communicate with people whose cultural learning has been different (Page & Martin, 1983, p. 41).

In a summary of the most useful abilities needed by people working in international situations, Page and Martin list "the ability to tolerate ambiguity, empathy, the ability to withhold judgment, reduction of ethno-centrism, a culturally relativistic world view, an appreciation of other values and belief systems, personal flexibility, a willingness to acquire new patterns of behavior and belief" (Page & Martin, 1983, pp. 43-44).

We've had a long history of colonial and missionary encounters where indigenous people were looked upon as children. We encouraged them to accept our systems of law and religious belief but we didn't ask them in for tea. The abilities recognized now as needed for cross-cultural work were not considered vital. These abilities are also needed to see others' art as not childlike or of lesser value just because its cultural context is different.

Further, the tendency still prevails in Western minds and among those with Judeo-Christian traditions that differences among themselves are minor compared to those in the rest of the world. Cross-cultural psychologists are now carrying on where the national character studies of the '40s and '50s left off. They are doing cross-cultural psychological testing in our own part of the world as well as elsewhere.

I would like to report to you a study by Hofstede that illustrates the cultural diversity within the Western tradition on just one item -- the sources of motivation (Hofstede, 1984, p. 259). This study suggests that in the United Kingdom and its former dominions and colonies, including Canada and the United States, the dominant source of motivation is the need for personal, individual success. In German speaking countries and Greece, it is the need for individual security. In France, Spain, Portugal and Yugoslavia, it is the need for security and group solidarity. In Northern European countries, including the Netherlands, it is for collective success and belonging, and for the living environment.

Each of these needs is culturally developed, though individuals in each group will vary. Overall, there seem to be tendencies towards different sources of motivation in different national groups.

Up to this point, we have been describing culture and the elements that different thinkers have identified as part of it. We must also realize that each of these elements is not static but is in process. Some anthropologists have shifted from the use of the concept *culture change*, which implies a static condition that changes, to thinking of culture as a socio-cultural system. Richard Handler points out that "the elements, events and aspects" of these systems are in constant change, yet at the same time persist (Handler, 1984, p. 56). Any element of the system is taking on emergent qualities yet relates to past elements. In a way, it's like the old parlour game where a message is whispered from one person to another going around a circle. The message at its start is related to the message at the end but has been modified by those who transfer it.

This same analysis can be applied to art. We can identify the art of a cultural group, yet still find variety and emerging trends in it. While we look for describable qualities, these are always in transition.

In summary, concepts, culture and art, are processes with tendencies to persist yet with emerging qualities or aspects. The culture of a group of people includes the patterned ways they have learned:

To think, believe, feel, value, react, see, sort and order.

To identify and relate the self to the group.

To accept roles and divide up work, play and art.

To cope with their environment.

To react to their human-built and natural environment.

To change and modify their culture.

Culture is learned, transmitted, maintained and modified through language, behavior, ritual, play and art. Culture has objective, subjective, universal, collective and individual dimensions.

To be effective in cross-cultural teaching and in responding to art, we need to become more aware of our own culture patterning, less ethno-centric, less judgmental from our cultural perspectives, more flexible and empathetic with others, as well as prepared to develop our cognitive understanding of them.

Art as defined in the social sciences may be described as the processes and products of individual artists, who are in a state of moving towards or away from their culture's central modes of thought, of acceptable emotions, of hierarchies of values, of symbolic, stylistic productive tradition, and systems for making order. Art is a mode of knowing as well as communicating (Jones & McFee, 1986).

The artwork, as object, stimulates in respondents subjective visual, emotional, and intuitive, as well as reasoned modes of though depending upon the viewer's individual aptitudes and culturally learned abilities and values.

Art objectifies, enhances, differentiates, organizes, communicates and gives continuity to culture. Culture gives art meaning and structure.

It seems very clear at this point that culture and art cannot be discussed separately. If we ignore the impact of art upon culture, we cut out one of the central means for transmitting, organizing, and learning culture. If we leave the understanding of culture out of art, we get only culture - centric, limited, biased and often erroneous messages from it.

What are the implications of this for use at this conference and in the future? First of all we need much more research on art in its cultural context to develop materials for teaching or to direct students' inquiry towards specific questions.

1. What are the cultural influences on the creation of a given group's art?

2. How does the art reflect that culture?

3. How does art enhance and transmit cultural values, qualities, attitudes, beliefs and roles?

4. What are the criteria for judging art?

5. What are the emergent qualities in art and the culture?

6. What is the role of the artist in the culture?

7. How does an individual learn to be an artist?

8. Where does a given artist fit within the cultural group?

We need much more research on the cultural adaptations of different groups within the dominant society and those entering societies, particularly the relation of their art to those cultures. We need a broader base of social foundations of art education to include cross-cultural psychology and training, folk art theory, cross-cultural aesthetics, etc., as well as an anthropological basis. This is needed for graduate study and teacher training. All this foundational work also needs to be translated into curricular materials that can be used with students to help them study art in its cultural context and to see how art helps maintain and sometimes change cultural values and beliefs. A range of specific art and culture studies needs to be presented to help students understand art cross-culturally and begin to grasp the impact of their own culture on their own art.

We've had some help from cross-cultural training psychologists in identifying the flexibility and openness of mind needed by all of us whether in cross-cultural research, teaching art in cross-cultural situations, or in apprehending art from cultures other than our own. We now need to analyze our teaching methods and practices to see if they encourage the development of the flexible attributes necessary to respond to art cross-culturally.

Finally, we need to bring ourselves up to date in our own field. What have art educators done to date in the cross-cultural analysis of art, of teaching art, and of students in cross-cultural situations? We need to analyze their research methods and the quality of their research. We need to find out which research techniques make them comparable. The reports given at this conference should provide a critical assessment of what the literature may mean as a body of knowledge and how it fits with materials from other related fields.

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Using the arts to create bonds between people: The Phoenix experience.

Eugene Grigsby Jr.

A number of instances are described wherein bonds are created or strengthened among people as a result of involvement in the arts. An account is included of a symposium called the Consortium of Black Organizations for the Arts recently held in Arizona.

It was a pleasant surprise and an honor to receive the invitation from Graeme Chalmers to address this conference. It was a greater surprise and an added honor to realize that I would be sandwiched between June McFee and Harry Hillman-Chartrand. I first met June when we served on a panel at the NAEA Los Angeles Convention during the '60s. In 1970 she was outgoing President of the Pacific Arts Association (PAA) when Leven Leatherbury became the President and I the President Elect at the PAA Portland conference. It was here that I gave my first keynote speech, *Paint the invisible artist Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow.* The point of this presentation was that there were major artists from these ethnic backgrounds but few if any were included in mainstream literature. Black scholars had written about Black artists but these works had limited distribution. I contended that art educators needed to bond together to present this story because it had been omitted by major critics and historians. I suspect June McFee had a lot to do with my invitation to make that presentation for she has been in the forefront of creating strong bonds by recognizing cultural contributions and respecting the dignity of different peoples. Research for this address led to writing *Art and ethnics.* (Grigsby, 1977).

The scope of this present CSEA-USSEA conference really became evident when I received a draft of the program, *Exploring cultural backgrounds, exploring cultural futures.* The content of the three day program, packed full of exciting ideas from scholars, artists, and art educators fulfills my highest dreams of the ideal conference. In addition, it takes place in Vancouver, British Columbia, a site I have been trying to visit since doing research on Kwakiutl masks. To top it off, it took us out of the 110 degree July heat of Phoenix. You can see I had many reasons to welcome the invitation from Graeme Chalmers and the Planning Committee of the CSEA. My presentation will share some observations and present some examples about how the arts may be used to create stronger bonds between people.

All of the presentations are interesting to me, but some are especially so. For example, there is one on Arthur Wesley Dow and his legacy to art education. I wonder if Charles Alston is mentioned in that presentation. Alston was one of the artists included in my Portland presentation. While a senior in college, I read an article in *Time* magazine which told of his teaching an art class to youths at a settlement house in New York City. It identified members of the class that included Romare Bearden, Jacob Lawrence, Sarah Murrell and others. A year or so after reading the article I attended art school in New York and Charles Alston became my mentor. He was more than a mentor, he saved me from starving.

Alston told me that he had received the first Arthur Dow Art Scholarship offered by Columbia University to study for the Master's degree. During this period of study he recognized the importance of unique individual differences. He encouraged Jacob Lawrence, his student at the center, to continue in the style that Lawrence had developed early, and for which he is now known.

Lawrence's style has remained constant, while Bearden's has evolved. They are perhaps two of the best recognized U. S. artists who are Black. In May Lawrence received the Doctor of Fine Arts from Yale and on July 10 the Seattle Museum will open a retrospective exhibit, *Jacob Lawrence, American Painter*. Bonds are formed when individual differences are respected.

Lawrence, Bearden and Alston, together with Hale Woodruff, were among those included in the Portland speech. Woodruff is mentioned because he also was a major influence, a strong bond, in the development of my art, my way of thinking and my teaching. He was my first art teacher at Morehouse College, and later a member of my doctoral committee at NYU, a lifelong friend and mentor with no formal degrees. He taught me, by example, to respect a person for what he is and can do. NYU named him in a series of "Great Teachers". For Jerry Hausman he was a favorite teacher; Laura Chapman considered him her best.

My Portland speech, given in 1970, identified artists of note, living and working in the United States, whose background heritage was either African, Mexican, Native American, or Asian. Many of these artists were known in their respective communities and by a few artists and art critics, but for the most part few art educators or art historians were aware of them. Lawrence or Bearden, but not both, may have been mentioned in a textbook or two. A few of the Indian artists had rather wide recognition because of devoted promoters of Indian art. Practically none of the Hispanic artists were known outside their own community.

Some changes in this picture have occurred, but they have been slow. *Art and ethnics* was written to help fill the void but it has not had a very wide distribution. Conferences such as this one will do much to hasten the recognition of the importance of cultural differences and contributions therefrom.

Teachers may ask, "Why is it important to know about artists of different cultures? Isn't it enough to try to cover the material now included in the texts? If artists from other cultures and ethnic groups are included are we expected to eliminate some of those now included?

Or are we expected to teach these as well when there isn't enough time to do an adequate job with those now included?"

It is my contention that the answers to these questions depend on one's attitude about living in a democracy. If high democratic ideals are to be achieved then there must be some understanding of and respect for others in immediate and distant communities. Through pictures and print, the media have shrunk the world; rapid travel has created a mixture of populations that includes every ethnic group, culture, language and religion imaginable. These have created changes that are on one hand very good and on the other explosive: they bring visual and performing art programs via the "tube": but they bring Viet Nam atrocities and the conflict in South Africa as well.

The arts in general but the visual arts in particular, provide us with the opportunity to develop an understanding of different people and a healthy respect for individual differences. This is because we seek differences rather than sameness in the product. We seek unique and creative solutions to problems that cannot be solved by rote. The answers to our problems are correct when they differ from one artist to another. Because these solutions differ, the artist must create these differences and yet maintain a sense of self. This sense of self and self respect is predicted on an understanding *of* and respect *for* others who differ from oneself. It is the respect, understanding, and appreciation of differences that form the basis for creating stronger bonds between peoples. It is this lesson that I learned mainly from my students, colleagues, and associates in Phoenix.

Richard Lyman, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, in his keynote speech to the National Guild of Community Schools of Art's 37th annual meeting in Los Angeles in November stated, "It is a truism to say that the arts have the capacity to lift the soul. It is another truism to say that they have the capacity to bring people together, to bridge the gaps between groups and among individuals by summoning us to a recognition of our common humanity" (Lyman, 1985).

The Portland talk introduced a group of artists long excluded from text books and general literature on art and artists. The exclusion, or rather the lack of being included, provokes a negative reaction from those of similar cultural or ethnic backgrounds. It is like looking in a mirror and seeing no reflection. Just as the artist doesn't exist, the students of the same ilk become non-persons. They resist becoming nobody, often violently. Historians, notably Janson and Gardner, have been guilty of exclusions which weaken the bonds between people. On the other hand, art educators like McFee, Degge, Chapman, and Feldman have been in the forefront of including many-faceted cultures in their publications. *Discover art* for grades 1-6 by Laura Chapman (1985) is a good example. Children from most cultural and ethnic backgrounds can see their reflections in the mirror of these books.

Another barrier to creating bonds between people is when credit denied one group is falsely given to another. For years historians gave the Portuguese rather than the Africans credit for creating the Benin bronzes. Ivan Van Sertima has thoroughly documented voyages by Africans to the American coastlines and given them credit, once denied, for creating the huge Negroid stone heads found among the

Olmecs and other parts of Mexico and Central American in his book *They came before Columbus*, published in 1976 by Random House. Denial can also be subtle but no less damaging as in the use of a lower case "b" for Black when referring to a race. Artists know that black, with a small "b" is a color, an absolute; Black people, who come in all colors, represent a race, and deserve a capital "B". Denial can destroy bonds between people.

My experience leads me to the assumption that when given the opportunity to be included, the arts form the "glue" to create stronger bonds between people. I shall present the basis for this assumption with examples from school and community programs and highlights from the Phoenix Experience.

The foundation for the assumption that the arts can create a stronger bond between peoples rests on a strong sense of self, a predication of self discipline and an acceptance of individual differences. Discipline and respect can be taught in the art classroom. Victor D'Amico has demonstrated that it can be taught to children from vastly differing cultures, as was shown in the Museum of Modern Art's Children's Creative Center at the Brussels World Fair. An invitation from D'Amico to join the MOMA staff and teach during the first three months of the Brussels Fair gave me the rare opportunity to observe children who came from all over the world. Many formed bonds with each other extending beyond language and cultural barriers. An example was two boys from different countries playing pilot and co-pilot of a space ship created by Victor and Mabel D'Amico. The ship was a riot of colors, shapes, and spaces that moved with the flip of a switch. It was one of the most popular toys in the Center. There was always a line waiting to play. Once one of the boys left his seat to seek an imaginary object. His partner prevented anyone from taking the empty seat until the co-pilot returned with an imaginary hose and refuelled the ship. Tank full, he jumped into his seat and they took off for an imaginary planet, with neither speaking the same language. These experiences, reinforced in 1972 by that wonderful PAA conference in Hawaii, helped develop my attitudes about learning and teaching that were basic to the Phoenix Experience.

Permit me to regress to 1946 when Phoenix was a small city, unbelievably hot. I arrived to teach in a segregated high school, Carver High. My previous experiences had been college teaching on the U. S. east coast. Support for a young family of a wife and two sons (a two year and a two month old) made me swallow my pride and take a job on the other side of the continent, for twice the $1400 that the college offered to pay.

The principal who persuaded me to come changed my attitude about many things regarding teaching. One of these was the importance of self concepts, self-respect, and respect for others as basic. In order to get these young Black youths to have a positive sense of self we began a number of experiments which were later continued in an integrated school, when Carver High was closed.

Carver was a school where personal pride and positive self concepts had grown dramatically, despite the fact that its athletic teams had not been permitted to play in city and state competitions in 1946.

Eight years later, the teams had become state champions in each of the major sports. It was the first school in the State of Arizona where all faculty (Black except for one Hispanic) had master's degrees.

By the time it closed Carver High was one of, if not the best equipped school in the State in the sciences, the arts, in athletics, and in other educational departments. It was closed in 1954 because it was "too expensive". The enrollment ranged between 250 and 400 students, and Phoenix Union, the school to which most students and some faculty transferred, had 6000. An example of the persistent positive image of students transferring is reflected in the football team. The Carver team had been State champions for at least two years but had hardly ever had more than a dozen players. Phoenix Union could field three times as many, but for more than a year former Carver players comprised Phoenix Union's first team.

I found a composite ethnic, cultural, and religious mix at Phoenix Union. Those of Caucasian background were most numerous. There was a large Hispanic population, a few Asians, Blacks, and Native American Indians. It was in this environment that I realized that more than the techniques of drawing and painting had to be taught in order to bring out the richness of the cultural backgrounds of those in these classes, and to keep order. One objective was to create good relations between students of different backgrounds; another was to learn as much about these students as possible. We used techniques developed at Carver; having the students draw self-portraits and write autobiographies. Though these techniques I not only learned about the students but I also learned a lot about teaching. I learned that given the opportunity they could and would tell me things no counselor would get through tests. They would show me skills in drawing and writing and relate concepts and experiences often difficult to get in conventional ways. Some would show me what to do and not to do as a teacher, in short, how to teach. Excerpts from one of these autobiographies show how one Hispanic student reflected on his experiences. Names have been changed. Ramon writes:

> May 28, it was 2am, a clowdy morning with light sprinkles here and there around the growing town of Phoenix. In a maternity ward in St Josephs Hospital a couple of doctors were having a tough time getting a little delicate, brand new born baby to let go of his mother's insides. That wonderful little rascal was me. As the doctor held me upside down, I remember looking down the hall through the corner of my eye and seeing good old dad with about 20 cigarettes in his mouth...
>
> Then one day as I woke up I found myself in a totally different home. I grew rapidly in this new home and before I knew it I was enrolled to go the kindergarten at Golden Gate Settlement...I never did graduate from this place [he faked illness to avoid graduation]...Then when I was barely 4 years old with still another younger brother being born...my mother and father were divorced...we all ended up with our dad...and later he remarried. Our new mother had four children of her own...We soon left to go to California to...pick string beans...Instead of living in houses we lived

> in small tents. Every day from about six in the morning till about one or two in the afternoon we would work. For lunch we would eat the same thing...beans wrapped in a nice thick tortilla...sometimes on Sunday we would go to a show because it was the only day we had off.
>
> Here in this camp was the first time I ever went to church or what they called a church. I'm a Catholic and the church...was Catholic. I remember the first time I saw a "Sister" I got scared. I thought they were some kind of people from Africa. Me and my brothers ran and hid inside a wooden restroom a few tents away from ours. We had to withstand the vapor inside this restroom but it was either that or them...About two months later I started the first grade...Mrs. L. was my first and nicest teacher I ever had, she was also the one to start me off on the art track. I was always painting...while the other children were working she had me at our special art table drawing. May be thats why I'm so dumb. In the third grade we had lots of art, only she had a special way for everybody to draw. In this class we started coloring in pictures instead of drawing them ourselves. Here is probably the place where I was directed a little off the art track. In the fourth grade...singing was the main thing and we hardly had any art. In the fifth grade work was our main business...I..was the first one to learn multiplication tables. This fine teacher was Mrs. J.

This student has given, from his Hispanic viewpoint, insight into his development impossible to gain otherwise. His ability to pinpoint problems that have caused him trouble in self expression and skill is insightful and revealing. He has a sense of self, a sense of humor, and a basis for developing relations with others who differ from himself. The PAA Conference in Honolulu emphasized cultural differences and how these differences could enrich a community. As President Elect of PAA it was my job to chair the conference and we named it "Celebration of Peoples". Several participants in this conference will remember it as a "fun" conferences as well as a meaningful one in much the same vein as this one. This conference also contributed much to the writing of *Art and ethnics*.

One of the exciting examples of the arts building relations between peoples is seen in the Phoenix Experience, an art program for the Phoenix Urban League's 236 Housing Project for low income residents. As a member of the Phoenix Urban League Board I pushed for the unheard of position of Art-Teacher-In-Residence. The concept was similar to that of an Artist-In-Residence but the Art-Teacher-In-Residence would teach art to others rather than just do his or her own thing. The teacher would live in the complex along with other tenants, teach art and develop art related programs. There was no resistance to this idea among Board members or staff. The only problem was that there was no money to staff the position so we had to find alternative ways to implement the scheme. We also needed a candidate. It was luck, providence, or the guardian angel that sent an applicant who was trying to decide between Arizona State University and the University of Oregon for graduate work. The idea of using the Art-Teacher-In-Residence as a research project excited her and caused her to choose ASU for her doctoral study. After completion she went to Oregon to teach with June McFee. This student, Grace Hampton, is now Dean of the College of Visual Arts at Penn State University.

Grace Hampton and children at Hayden Park Homes program

After Grace had decided on ASU for her doctorate, we discovered that the Housing Authority (HUD) would not provide living space for such a position. After a long hard search we were able to get a Scottsdale business man, who had shown interest in the arts, to underwrite housing expenses for a year. Over two years, Grace was able to develop through the art program a sense of family, or group self, among the tenants. This created a stronger bond between tenants of vastly different backgrounds. And they created some exciting art. I realized the extent of this bond a few weeks ago. While on a visit to my dentist, his assistant commented that her family had lived in the project until that month, and were reluctant to leave because of the atmosphere the art program had created.

Seventy five families lived at the Hayden Park Homes. Roughly a third of the tenants were of African American heritage, another third were Anglo, and the final third were Hispanic. Interspersed among them was a sprinkling of Native American Indians. In the beginning there was some friction between groups but with the advent of the art program it gradually disappeared. Hampton's study indicated that the incidence of vandalism was practically non-existent, and tenant turnover was extremely low. When compared with the experience of other similar units, the savings realized by reduced vandalism and low tenant turnover would more than pay for such a position as the "Art-Teacher-In-Residence". Yet we were unable to convince HUD of the value of the program.

Art classes were held regularly at Hayden Park Homes. Art majors from Arizona State University conducted workshops in drawing, painting, sculpture, fibers and a variety of other media. Professional artists volunteered for special workshops in tie-dye and instrument making. The age of participants varied from the youngest, at 3 to the oldest, who was 87. Holiday art workshops created related projects. Masked parties were held at Hallowe'en and windows were decorated at Christmas. At the end of the second year a festival was held with Mexican, Indian, and Black folk dancers, a puppet show, and an art exhibit.

Young sculptor at Hayden Homes

A recent example of the Phoenix Experience in using art to create bonds between people is The Consortium of Black Organizations for the Arts (COBA). This Consortium was organized to support an exhibit of African art at the Heard Museum of Phoenix and a Symposium of African Art at Arizona State University. Both events were part of ASU's Centennial celebrations. We felt it was important to involve the Black community in a meaningful way and COBA provided opportunity for this involvement. It was formed by sending an announcement to organizations whose members were mostly Black, telling them what was planned and what was needed to form a coalition to support an exhibit and a Symposium on African Art. Precedent for such an organization happened earlier when several groups banded together as United Black Organizations (UBO) to bring Lorraine Hansberry's "To Be Young Gifted and Black" to the Phoenix community.

We discovered with this experience that even though there may be a commonality of background and heritage, differences can still exist that create problems. It is often assumed that people who look alike will think and act alike. Sometimes this is not true. Examples of sharp differences within look-alike groups can now be seen in South Africa, in Ireland, and in Israel. In COBA we brought together a number of organizations that may not always be compatible. But the objective was strongly supported because of an interest in learning more about Africa, African art, and art by Americans of African heritage.

Thirty organizations with memberships ranging between five and 200 responded to the invitation. Each was asked to contribute $250.00. The number then dropped to 21. Not all of the 21 could contribute the total of $250.00 but they were interested in the purpose and gave what they could. Our objective was to be as inclusive as possible, but also to require some financial obligation. In order to raise additional funds, COBA organized a recognition dinner. For a time it seemed that only a few would attend the dinner, but at the last minute every one of the 400 seats was taken by guests in African costumes. The dinner brought recognition to the organization and served as an additional impetus to bring groups of different persuasions together.

The exhibit, which lasted six months, and the Symposium, held on three week-ends were both impressive in terms of the quality of the works and status of the participants. The Heard Museum, known for its Indian Art Collection, is recognized as one of the finest in the southwest. We planned an exhibit that would match this reputation. The Museum Board, the Director, the Curator, and the Exhibition Designer formed a team to ensure the quality of the exhibit.

One wing of the museum was redesigned to accommodate this exhibit. The exhibition designer, one of our art education graduates, along with the Curator, created what critics considered to be the finest exhibit of African art held in the Southwest. Works for the show had been promised from major U.S. collections including the Rockefeller Collection of the Metropolitan Museum, Hampton Institute's collection of Kuba art, UCLA's Welcome collection, Merton Simpson's New York Gallery, the Hale Woodruff, the John Biggers, and Jack Kimbrough collections, and from two major Arizona collectors, Morton Lipkin and Donald Flax, as well as work from the Heard. An end result of the exhibit was a reassessment of the quality of the Heard collection and removal of some works that had been donated over the years. Unfortunately, funds ran low before all of the promised works could be acquired and most of the works exhibited came from southwest collections.

The exhibit, titled, *"Animal, Bird, and Myth, in African Art"* provided parameters for objects selected. This title was selected on the basis of works seen while traveling across the country seeking items to be included. To ensure the quality of the works we asked the noted African art scholar Jacquline Delange Fry, now of Ottawa but formerly of the Musee de l'Homme, Paris, to help in the selections. She was both pleased and surprised at the quality of the works in the Arizona collections.

One of the major objectives was building a bond with different segments of the community through personal involvement in the exhibit. We planned to have groups create banners based on African designs and display them at the museum when the exhibit opened. Banners were created by members of COBA, by students from pre-school, elementary school, high school and ASU School of Art, by individuals and by family groups. Three graduate students at ASU created a "banner book" and conducted a series of eight workshops on successive Saturday mornings. Representatives of organizations, individuals and families attended these workshops. Included were professionals and non-professionals, club, fraternity and sorority members. The banners they created hung prominently outside the museum on the gala opening night. They have since been displayed at the Phoenix Unitarian-Universalist Church, The State Capitol Museum, and are now hanging at the Stevens House in Heritage Square, a city historical museum. The final Symposium session was a discussion of these banners; their symbolic meaning and the meaning the experience had for the participants; and the bonds they created among the participants.

The list of Symposium participants was equally as impressive as the works in the exhibit. The opening keynote was given by Frank Willett, Director of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Scotland, author of the widely used text, *African art*. He was followed by a stellar, if not as well known, group of scholars; Richard Long of Atlanta University; Rosalind Jefferies, New York, who assisted with the catalog; Babatunde Olatunji, the Nigerian drummer and dancer; Rosalyn Walker, National Museum of African Art; Jeff Donaldson, Vada Butcher, and Kwaku Ofori-Ansah, of Howard University; the Hon. Valerie McComie, Assistant Secretary General of the Organization of the American States; Beatrice Clark of the Hampton Institute and Jim Lee, from the Caribbean. Bruce Onabrakpaye and Susan Aradeon came from Lagos, Nigeria. Kiure Msangi of Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, came from Stanford where he was completing his doctoral studies, and Lloyd New from Santa Fe. Jules Heller, Olatunji, Vada Butcher, and Mark Sunkett brought a lively discussion of African music and dance to end the first week of the Symposium. An exchange was established between the Colleges of Fine Arts of Howard and Arizona State Universities as a result of the Symposium. This was indeed an important bond that has brought exchange of faculty and proposed exchanges of students.

Community Art Program at Okema Community Center

Girls learning macrome program conducted by ASU students in GDAT (Give a Damn Art Teachers)

The second week of the Symposium featured Kwabena Nkeita, ethnomusicologist at the University of Pittsburg. The third segment was a panel discussion with collectors, dealers and curators: Morton Lipkin, John Biggers, Jack Kimbrough, Samella Lewis, Althea Williams and Robert Breunig, who curated the exhibit, were participants.

More bonds were created with the business community in producing a poster for the exhibit and a Symposium program and an exhibit catalog. An ASU student created the poster and program design. Typesetting was donated by a Phoenix company and printing by a power company. All but the paper for the exhibition catalog was donated; one company donated color separations, another the type, another printed it, and a fourth bound it. America West airlines flew in West Coast and New Mexico participants. The YWCA Leadership and Development Center hosted the fund raising dinner and several individuals made significant donations.

A major development to come out of the African art experience was the creation of KWAMBE, a Drum and Dance Ensemble. This group was created to promote the exhibit and the Symposium and to work with the African drummer and dancer, Babatunde Olatunji. It remains together and has become an important Arizona musical and dance group. It has performed in the greater Phoenix community and at other locations in the state, and has recently worked with Olatunji in Los Angeles.

Now bonding with COBA are the Phoenix Links, the Phoenix OIC and Arizona State University to produce a recently completed 4th Annual Inner-City, Multi-Cultural, Invitational Youth Art Exhibit. This featured 76 young artists invited to exhibit their work. Many received cash awards and some scholarships.

The next planned project is between COBA and Arizona State University for an exhibit of the work of Elizabeth Catlett and her husband Francisco Mora for January and February 1987. The most ambitious project, one that will require many bonds, is a renovation of the OIC building to add a cultural component to the vocational program for art related careers. This will add galleries, studios, workshops, classrooms, library, and a sales room in 30,000 square feet of space now empty. Several million dollars will be needed for this project. Unfortunately time does not permit a more detailed discussion of this project; nor of the ABC/AZ Artists of the Black Community, nor the Give a Damn Art Teachers, the student NAEA chapter of ASU, or of COMC - the Committee on Minority Concerns, all of which have created strong bonds between people.

Bonds created through these organizations have yet to reach their potential in using the arts to create an improved quality of living for all. This presentation has included a few examples of the many bonds that may be created using the visual arts, organizations and people.

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The arts: Consumption skills in the Postmodern economy.

Harry Hillman-Chartrand

Three factors are identified that have contributed to growth in audiences and in support for the arts in Canada: rising levels of education, increased participation by women, and an increase in the age of the population as well as increased leisure time. Other changes in the arts today have come about as a result of diverse expectations for design and because of new technologies and production skills.

I am an economist who believes that the future economy will be an economy of quality. Furthermore, I believe it will be mainly through the study of the arts that the economics profession will begin to understand the nature and impact of quality in that emerging economy.

Fundamental changes are transforming the contemporary economy. Some are readily apparent: for example, "High Tech" and low wage "off-shore" production in Third World countries. But beneath the glittering surface of new technology and the "de-industrialization" of First World countries, there are profound demographic shifts which are shaping what I call the Post-Modern Economy.

I use the term *Post-Modern* in preference to the more usual *post-industrial* for two reasons. First, industrial production, in the opinion of most observers, will continue to play a significant role in future economic growth and development. Accordingly, post-industrial is a simplistic and inappropriate label to describe the emerging economic reality.

Second, at present no school of economic thought enjoys widespread public confidence. The success of the world economy from the Second World War through the early 1970s led most economists and politicians to accept the Keynsian creed that government intervention was the ultimate guarantor of growth and development. By the mid-1970s, however, stagflation, recession, the oil crisis, and growth of public sector debt created a crisis of confidence, a crisis predicted by Keynes himself (Shackle, 1967, p. 129).

Today various economic theories and dogma compete for attention and acceptance. To an extent, the 1980s are a time of cultural counter-reformation, a period in which many are trying to resuscitate traditional values and beliefs swept away by the turbulent cultural revolution of the 1960s, and the economic crisis of the 1970s.

In fact, popular confidence in economic theory has been shattered, and a situation created similar to that in contemporary architecture in which the certainties of the "modern" or international style have been replaced by an eclecticism of style and design known as *Post-Modern Architecture*. By analogy, I believe we have entered the era of *Post-Modern Economics*, an era without generally accepted dogma, an era in which we must begin a long trek for economic truth and understanding, and public confidence.

In this paper, I will outline the fundamental demographic changes transforming the economy, and I will demonstrate the relationship of these changes to increasing participation in the arts. Then I will show how consumption for all goods and services is changing in response to the shifting population profile. Finally, I will illustrate ways in which education through art can enhance production skills required in a Post-Modern Economy.

Before proceeding, however, let me define what I mean by the arts. In my opinion, there are three distinct segments of contemporary art: the fine arts, the commercial arts, and the amateur arts. In each, the creative source is the individual artist. The fine arts are a professional activity which serves art for art's sake just as knowledge for knowledge's sake is the rationale for pure research in the sciences (Chartrand, 1980). The commercial arts are a profitmaking activity which places profit before excellence. The amateur arts are a recreational activity that serves to re-create the ability of a work to do a job, or a leisurely activity that serves to self-actualize a citizen's creative potential, and thereby permits him or her to appreciate life more fully.

All three art activities are intimately interrelated. The amateur arts, in actualizing the talents and abilities of the individual citizen, provide an educated audience and initial training for the fine and the commercial arts. The fine arts, in the pursuit of artistic excellence as an end in itself, provide research and development for the commercial arts. The commercial arts, in the pursuit of profit, provide means to market and distribute the best of the amateur and the fine arts to an audience large enough and in a form suited to earn a profit.

Collectively, these three make up an arts industry that includes advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, the performing and visual arts, publishing, sound, and video recording. Among manufacturing industries, the Canadian arts industry in 1982 was the largest, with full-time employment of more than 234,280; the sixth largest, with salaries and wages of $2.8 billion; and the ninth largest, with revenue of $8.5 or 2.5% of Gross National Product (Research & Evaluation, 1985a).

Research conducted around the world has identified three fundamental demographic changes that are transforming the economy, and which are contributing to an enormous growth in the arts audience. These changes are rising levels of education, increasing participation of women, and aging of the population (McCaughey, 1984).

The Demographic Revolution

Rising Levels of Education

The average level of education has risen dramatically in the last generation. In 1961, approximately 11% of adult Canadians had some post-secondary education compared to almost one-third in 1985. By the end of this century, it is projected to be almost 40%. Within the labour force the average level of education is forecast to grow even faster. Between 1977 and the year 2000, members of the Canadian labour force with at least some post-secondary education will double from 3.4 million, or 32% of the labour force, to 6.7 million, or 45% of the labour force (Research & Evaluation, 1985a, p. 2).

Studies conducted around the world, and across Canada, indicate that the fine arts audience is characterized by high levels of education (McCaughey, 1984). A proxy for the size of the fine arts audience is the number of adult Canadians who have at least some post-secondary education. Accordingly, the fine arts audience no longer constitutes a small statistical elite. Rather it represents a significant plurality of the adult population at present, and by the year 2000 it will represent almost half of all taxpayers, taxpayers who are the most socially active, politically aware, and economically powerful members of society.

The impact of rising levels of education can also be seen in the growth rate in participation in alternative leisure time activities. Between 1977 and 1985 the adult population grew at an average annual rate of 1.6%. Participation in arts-related activities grew significantly faster; in fact significantly faster than all other leisure-time activities. Attendance at museums and art galleries grew at an average annual rate of 2.6%; use of libraries at 2.4%; and attendance at live theatre at an average annual rate of 2.1%. By contrast, attendance at sports events increased at an average annual rate of 1.3%, and television viewing at 1.4% (Research & Evaluation, 1985a, p. 3). Through to the year 2000, growth in arts participation is predicted to continue to exceed growth in the adult population, and growth in alternative leisure activities.

Increasing Participation of Women

The second significant demographic trend during the last generation has been the entry of women into the economic and political life of the community. This has had a dramatic impact on family structure and employment patterns. In 1971, one household in three followed the traditional pattern in which the wife stayed home with the children; by 1981 only one household in five fitted this description. It is expected that the 1986 Census will show a further substantial decline.

By 1985, more than 70% of Canadians were employed in the service sector. This represented a 31% increase in service jobs in a decade. There was virtually no employment growth in manufacturing during the same period. Growth in service sector employment contributed to increasing participation of women in the work force, where the participation rate rose from 42% in 1973 to 54% in 1985, and is forecast to reach 57% by 1995 (Anderson, 1986, B2).

Women in North America have traditionally been consisted the carriers or guardians of culture. In fact, next to level of education, sex is the best demographic indicator of arts participation in North America. Women tend to have been more exposed to, and involved in arts and creative activity in childhood than men, forming a taste for the arts that continues into adulthood. In North America, women generally make up 60% of the arts audience. This sex bias, however, is not apparent in Europe where the arts audience is roughly 50% male and 50% female (McCaughey, 1984, p. 4).

Another indication of the important role of women in the arts can be seen through three comparisons of women's employment in the labour force as a whole and in arts-related employment. First, according to the 1981 Canadian Census, women represented 40% of the labour force but almost 50% of the arts industry labour force. Second, 48% of all women in the labour force had some post-secondary education compared to 65% of women employed in the arts industry. Third, only 1% of women in the labour force had a Master's degree, while 11% of women employed in the arts-related occupations had at least a Master's degree.

In fact, no sector is as dominated by women as the arts industry. No car company or major manufacturing firm, to my knowledge, has been founded by a woman. But many ballet and theatre companies, galleries and music festivals have been founded by women.

Accordingly, the domed sports stadiums being built around the country today appeal to a part of the population which, at least in relative terms, is of declining political and economic importance, i.e., young males. It is opera houses, galleries, and other cultural facilities which should form the basis of the political "edifice complex" if politicians wish to appeal to the increasingly important women's constituency. The increasing role of women in the economy and politics will, I believe, lead to increasing political and economic recognition of arts and culture.

Aging of the Population

It is widely known that the demographic structure of Western countries is being fundamentally altered by the aging of the "baby boom" generation. By 1996, nearly 8 million Canadians will be over 50 years of age, and this age bracket will represent 28% of the population, up from 22% in 1976. The over-65 age group will account for 13% of Canadians in 1996 compared to 9% in 1976. There will also be a 7% decline in the number of people under 35 (Anderson, 1986, B2).

It is not generally recognized, however, that after education and sex, age is the best demographic indicator of participation in most arts-related activities. The older one grows the more likely one is to participate in arts-related activities, at least up to retirement age (McCaughey, 1984, p. 6).

If compulsory retirement at age 65 is abolished and the work week continues to decline, then older members of our society will have even more time and financial means to participate in arts-related activities. This trend will, of course, be reinforced as the highly educated baby-boom generation of the 1950s and 1960s becomes a "geriatric boom" after the year 2000.

The Changing Nature of Consumption

The fundamental demographic changes set in motion by increasing levels of education, participation by women, and aging of the population are having a dramatic impact on the nature and pattern of consumption in the general economy, which, in turn, has a relationship with the arts. Demographic changes are altering consumption habits of the population and the marketing behaviour of producers in five ways. First is the emergence of the *narrowcast* as opposed to the mass market. Second is the growing importance of design in the sale of goods and services. Third is the changing nature of advertising. Fourth is the increasing role of the arts in consumer research. Fifth is almost universal access to the fashions and styles of previous historical periods, a phenomenon which has been called the "Re-Decade" (Shales, 1986).

The Narrowcast Marketplace

The emergence of the narrowcast market is the most significant marketing development of the 1970s and 1980s. The growth of numerically small but economically viable markets has resulted from an unprecedented average level of education, an unparalleled division and specialization of labour, and an unrivalled degree of urbanization. If the Industrial Revolution produced standardization throughout society, then what Alvin Toffler has called the Third Wave is reversing the process. There is a rising level of diversity, a "de-massification" of the marketplace with more sizes, models and styles, a de-massification of tastes, political views and values (Toffler, 1979).

Fragmentation of the mass market which dominated the post-war economy has had significant implications for producers, implications which were driven home by two recent recessions with their stranglehold on consumer spending. Producers were forced to try to understand what made the domestic market tick. They soon discovered that demographic and lifestyle changes had delivered a death blow to mass marketing and brand loyalty. A North American economy that once shared homogenous buying tastes had been splintered into many different consumer groups -- each with special and differing needs and interests (*Business Week*, 1983). These groups constitute the narrowcast market.

Among First World nations, the emergence of the narrowcast marketplace can also be identified with two developments, one technologic, the other demographic. First, there is the introduction of cable and Pay TV services which has fragmented the traditional, lowest-common-denominator broadcasting systems of North America during the last decade, and which promises to do the same to European broadcasting in this decade. It is from this development that the term narrowcasting has been derived. Second, there has been the emergence of a new class of consumer, the "Yuppies", i.e., young, upwardly mobile professionals. This group is attracting the attention of producers and politicians (*Business Week*, 1984, 52-62). In essence, the Yuppie is a consumer with a high level of education and income who demands high quality, sophisticated, and often unique or specialized goods and services. It is the Yuppies with whom we can identify the rapid increase in arts participation during the last generation.

And it is the arts which serve as the historical leitmotif for the general market trend toward differentiation in consumer taste. Fxamples of highly differentiated taste in the fine arts can be seen in alternative styles of painting such as impressionist vs. expressionist vs. realist vs. abstract vs. conceptual vs. minimalist. What is a prize to one collector is valueless to another.

Manufacturers and other producers are learning from the experience of the fine arts to succeed in the narrowcast marketplace. Frank Stanton, a former CBS president noted,

> the essential values of the public are most clearly evident, and in some instances only, in the arts -- in music, the drama and the dance, in architecture and design and in the literature of the times. It is through knowledge of peoples' values that corporate marketers know what goods and services to provide and how to motivate consumers to buy their products (Sellner, 1982, p. 17).

Design

In both the United States and Canada, higher quality consumer products tend to come from abroad, particularly from Europe. Why? Given that capital plant and equipment in North America is as good as that in Europe, the answer is not superior European production technology. In fact, it results from a feedback between skilled consumption and production. As noted by Tibor Scitovsky in his groundbreaking book, *The Joyless Economy*, the North American

> buyer of European imports benefits from the high standards which careful European shoppers' finicky demand imposes on their producers; he does not have to be a careful shopper himself. In other words, he can be what is known as a free rider, enjoying the benefits of other people's careful shopping without paying his share of the cost, in terms of time and effort, that careful and aggressive shopping involves. That explains why producers find it unprofitable to cater to his demand by trying to out-compete high-quality imports, despite the often exorbitant price they fetch. Consumers seem willing to pay a high price, in terms of money, for the *reputation* of European imports; that is we pay cash to obtain high quality without having to pay for it in terms of careful shopping (Scitovsky, 1976, p. 178).

When the design advantage of European producers, and increasingly that of Japanese producers of consumer electronics, is combined with the wage advantage of offshore or Third World producers, then the North American producer is left with a narrowing mid-range market. This combination of design and wage disadvantages may explain the apparent "de-industrialization" of North America. Improved productivity through robotics and other new technologies may lower costs of production, but only improved design will secure for North American producers part of the growing Yuppie market. The importance of consumer feedback to producers in generating a more competitive Canadian economy was recently highlighted in the final report of the Macdonald Royal Commission (Royal Commission, 1985, p. 115).

The importance of enhanced design is becoming apparent to some major North American corporations including SCM, Teledyne, Black & Decker, and J.C Penney. This change reflects a "bottom-line" awareness that if a consumer does not like the way a product looks, then he or she may never get close enough to find out how well it performs, and therefore there is no chance for a sale. Growing awareness of this basic principle is resulting in increased recognition of the importance of industrial design and the role it plays in helping companies meet sales and marketing goals. More and more marketers are now enlisting the aid of design consulting companies or setting up their own in-house design departments (Skolnik, 1985, p. 46).

From where do design skills come? They come from the arts. Quoting again from the Macdonald Royal Commission

> There is, then, another aspect to culture, namely good taste, good design and creative innovation, that should enable smaller industrial economies to compete effectively in the world economy... In this endeavour, higher quality implies an organic relationship between business and engineering, on the one hand, and design and craftsmanship, on the other... High-quality products, technologies, plants, homes, cities and locales require the presence of creative artists of all kinds. To increase the long-run supply of artists... governments must support the artists and the arts. The long-term return from investment in artists and the arts is real and substantial. In the absence of strong public support of this sector, Canada will not reap these benefits. Governments at all levels should increase their contribution to their respective arts councils (Royal Commission, 1985, pp. 115-116).

Advertising

It is generally forgotten that within the ecology of capitalist realism, advertising is the lubricant of the market economy. Advertising, to a great extent, is the application of the literary, media, performing and visual arts to sell goods and services. Actors, dancers, singers, musicians, graphic artists, copy writers, and editors are employed to sell everything from fruit to nuts; from cars to computers; from beer to toilet paper. In fact, the production cost of a one minute commercial on national American television equals or exceeds the cost of an hour-long episode of *Dallas*. In some cases, advertising and marketing expenditures of major corporations such as Proctor and Gamble account for more than one third of total production costs of such undifferentiated consumer products as soap and shampoo. These companies spend millions in advertising to differentiate their products, one from the other, even though in objective scientific terms there may be little to choose between them.

Advertising talent and technique come from the arts. Thus with respect to design and advertising, the arts can be considered analogous to research and development in the physical sciences. The arts in the Post-Modern Economy are no longer just a symbol, but also a source of national wealth.

The fine arts also play an increasingly direct role in the advertising and marketing strategies of corporations. The "up-scale" nature of the arts audience, i.e., high levels of education and income, is an attractive market for many corporations. Corporations increasingly sponsor fine arts activities, not as charity but as a major marketing technique. In this regard a recent survey by the Institute of Donations and Public Affairs Research (IDPAR) showed that 47% of corporations sponsored sports events, but 59% sponsored arts-related activities in 1984 (Hopkinson, 1985, p. 61).

Sponsorship reflects the correspondence of a corporate target market and the arts audience. Sponsorships are made from public relations, not from donations budgets. Problems have, however, been reported. Specifically, the control required by commercial sponsors to insure that public relations objectives are achieved may, from time to time, clash with the artistic objectives of an arts organization. No dollar figures are currently available concerning the scale of corporate sponsorship of arts-related events and activities.

Consumer Research

Beyond the role of the arts in advertising and marketing, the arts are playing an increasingly significant role in consumer research. The dominance of the information processing model is increasingly being questioned. This model essentially views consumer behaviour in terms of a consumer with a problem searching for information concerning the best product or service to solve that problem. This model, however, is increasingly seen as neglecting important consumption phenomena such as playful leisure activities, sensory pleasures, day dreams, esthetic enjoyment, and emotional responses.

Consumption is increasingly seen as involving a flow of fantasies, feelings and fun. This perspective treats consumption as a primarily subjective state of consciousness with a variety of symbolic meanings, hedonic responses, and esthetic criteria (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982).

Drawing upon the pioneering work of Holbrook at Columbia University, we can identify six differences between traditional consumer research and what has become known as consumer aesthetics. These differences serve to highlight how the arts can enhance our understanding of consumer behaviour (Holbrook, 1986).

First, traditional consumer research focuses on the buying behaviour or purchasing decisions of consumers at the expense of studying the consumption experience. By contrast, almost everyone accepts that esthetic consumption entails an appreciative experience quite different from conventional market behaviour. This experience may range from simple pleasure to profound responses comparable to self-transcending states of spiritual ecstasy (Holbrook, 1986, p. 4).

Second, conventional consumer theory generally assumes a means-end relationship between the purchase of a commodity and some objective. For example, one buys a hammer and nails to build a house. By contrast, esthetic experience is intrinsically motivated and produces intrinsic values as an end-in-itself, and is pursued for its own sake (Holbrook, 1986, p. 5).

Third, consumer research generally views buying behaviour as a rational decision-making process that begins with a desired goal, leads to an assessment of the efficacy of alternative means, and culminates in the intentional act of buying a product or service. By contrast, esthetic experience fits an irrational paradigm of emotional reaction involving appreciative responses. Though emotions may occasionally be brought under intentional self-control, they generally reflect nonintentional responses to uncontrolled aspects of the environment. Such responses can be characterized as "being moved". Furthermore, an emotive response involves not only a reaction to cognitive elements but also physiological changes, expressive behavior, and phenomenological feeling (Holbrook, 1986, p.7).

Fourth, conventional research focuses on external factors affecting the exchange relationship such as price, advertising, distribution, support services, and consumer demographics. By contrast, consumer esthetics focuses on design factors internal to the product or event of interest such as tempo and complexity in visual design.

Fifth, traditional consumer research tends to use field-survey research to study the link between brand choices and external marketing variables such as price and packaging. For example, on the shelf of a grocery store does red packaging sell better than blue? By contrast, esthetic responses can best be studied by techniques of laboratory experimentation, many of which were developed by psychologists (Holbrook, 1986, p. 9).

Finally, consumer research as generally practiced tends to view a product or service as consisting of a series of distinct but additive components such as colour, weight, and size. By contrast, consumer esthetics provide a fertile ground in which to study interactive or configural phenomena. Artworks are universally regarded as Gestalts in which all parts interact to produce a sense of organic wholeness or unity-in-variety. Hence research on consumer esthetics must focus not just on additive cues, but also on the overall impact of a product (Holbrook, 1986, p. 11).

The Re-Decade

Another change in consumption behaviour has resulted from the introduction of new technologies in combination with demographic change. Through new recording technologies, especially video tape, consumers now have nearly universal visual access to the styles and tastes of all historic periods, at least as presented on television and in motion pictures.

Does one want to watch the gangster movies or musicals of the 1930s? Or does one want to witness the French Revolution or Moses on the mountain? Does one want to re-play it, time after time, or erase it to capture the images and sounds of another time and place? This access to the fashions and styles of historic periods has produced what Thomas Shales has called *The Re-Decade* (Shales, 1986), a decade without a distinctive style of its own; a decade characterized by the pervasive stylistic presence of all previous periods of history.

The impact of this phenomenon on consumer behaviour is, at least in the short term, confusion and disorientation. Time becomes a significant dimension of consumer behaviour.

> It does seem obvious that here in the Re-Decade ... the possibilities for becoming disoriented in time are greater that they have ever been before. And there's another thing that's greater than it has ever been before: accessibility of our former selves, of moving pictures of us and the world as we and it were five, ten, fifteen years ago. No citizens of any other century have ever been provided so many views of themselves as individuals or as a society (Shales, 1986, p. 72).

Interestingly, the art critic Robert Hughes, in his book and television program entitled *The Shock of the New* (Hughes, 1984 a,b) has pointed out that since the turn of the century modern abstract painting has been increasingly concerned with the fourth dimension, Time, in contrast to the traditional dimension of Space. Thus abstract painting can be viewed as a precursor of the increasing disorientation in Time so characteristic of the Re-Decade. What will be the long term impact of the Re-Decade on consumer behaviour is not yet clear. It is likely, however, that there will be a growing market for historic fashions, period piece furniture and other consumer durables.

In summary, fundamental demographic changes, in conjunction with new communications technologies, are transforming consumption in the Post-Modern Economy. Consumption today is increasingly dominated by a narrowcast marketplace in which rising standards of design and advertising require greater and greater inputs of artistic talent and technique. Similarly, consumer research transformed as qualitative, esthetic experience is recognized as a more and more important feature of consumer behaviour. Finally, the time distorting impact of new recording technologies is making the styles and fashions of all previous historical periods available to contemporary consumers.

Education Through The Arts

Beyond traditional arguments concerning the intrinsic value of the arts, education through the arts has at least three significant impacts on the production side of the Post-Modern Economy. These are promotion of invention, innovation and diffusion of new technologies; development of new production skills; and enhancement of the productivity of an aging workforce.

New Technologies

Education through the arts affects invention, innovation and diffusion of new technologies by reinforcing the creative process, and thereby encouraging an innovative institutional environment. It has been increasingly recognized that the psychology of the creative process is an area of commonality between the arts and sciences (Meyer, 1974). In both, creativity occurs when an individual steps beyond traditional ways of knowing and doing and making. It has even been argued that the process which brings about creative advances in science is identical to that involved in artistic creation (Jantsch, 1975, p. 81).

It is also recognized that creativity has an empirical basis in neurophysiology. Recent research in brain physiology suggests that the creative process is rooted in the lateralization of brain function. The left hemisphere is generally thought to be primarily responsible for traditional cognitive activities relying on verbal information, symbolic representation, sequential analysis, and on the ability to be conscious and report what is going on. The right brain, on the other hand, functions without the individual being able to report verbally, and is more concerned with pictorial, geometric, timeless and nonverbal information (Hansen, 1981, p. 23).

In a sense, the arts can be considered the most developed right-lobe sector of contemporary society. Education through art should serve to enhance creativity in other sectors, and balance the over-development of left-lobe thinking characteristic of Western society. In this regard, the noted economist Geoffrey Vickers has said

> I welcome the recent findings of brain science to support the common experience that we have two "styles of cognition", the one sensitive to causal, the other to contextual significance. I have no doubt that the cultural phase--which is now closing--restricted our concept of human reason by identifying it with the rational, and ignoring the intuitive function, and thus failing to develop an epistemology which we badly need, and which is within our reach--if we can overcome our cultural inhibitions (Vickers, 1977, p. 464).

Education through the arts can foster and promote a creative psychological and social climate in which invention, innovation and diffusion of new technologies can more readily occur. It can sensitize entrepreneurs, managers and employees to the context of change, and enhance their ability to respond to change in a positive and constructive manner. In this regard, the need to increase the innovative capacity of the Canadian economy has been recognized by the Economic Council of Canada as critical to future economic growth and development (Economic Council, 1983).

New Production Skills

Since the introduction of universal compulsory education in North America during the last century, production skills training has progressively crowded out education in the arts and humanities, the traditional sources of consumption skills. This crowding out partially reflected the Puritan and republican traditions of North America in contrast to the Catholic and aristocratic traditions of Europe (Scitovsky, 1976). It also reflected an initial need, in the 19th to mid-20th centuries, to develop repetitive industrial skills among a relatively uneducated rural work force.

In the late 20th century this is no longer the case. The new production skills required in the emerging Post-Modern economy are non-repetitive, adaptive, and judgemental, characteristic of traditional consumption skills developed through training in the arts and humanities. Education through the arts can play a crucial role in the emergence of what Marshall McLuhan called "electronic man".

> In terms of our education, the entire establishment has been built on the assumptions of the left hemisphere and of visual space. This establishment does little to help in the transition to the electronic phase of simultaneous or acoustic man. Our educational procedures are still oriented towards preparing people to cope with specific industrial products and distribution of same. Electronic man, on the other hand, is in need of training in ... empathy and intuition. Logic is replaced by analogy, and communications are being superseded by pattern recognition (McLuhan, 1978, p.15).

There are three indicators of the changing and growing importance of education through the arts. First, over one-fifth of all continuing education courses offered by American universities are in the fine arts, the largest set of courses available in American continuing education (New York Times, 1981, p. 6).

Second, university recruitment by major corporations is beginning to favour arts and humanities graduates in preference to MBAs. Recruiters are finding that arts and humanities graduates are more rounded in terms of social and communications skills and more flexible in terms of career development than business administration graduates.

Third, there is a negative side to the emerging narrowcast economy. The concept of a "cultured person" in the European tradition is one who is well "rounded". The cultured European is one who is interested in, and knowledgable about literature, painting, cuisine, dance, and theatre, not just about work.

The North America tradition, however, is characterized by specialization, particularly with respect to production skills. The result is the one dimensional person who knows everything about his or her business, and little or nothing about life in general. Even when North Americans decide to enhance their cultural appreciation it tends to be one dimensional. One tends to specialize in selected activities such as wine-tasting, or specific types of theatre or painting. Rounding is not generally the objective. Increasingly, however, even major corporations are becoming aware that a rounding of perspective is essential if executives are to become leaders, not just managers. Such corporations are spending more and more on liberal arts programs to ensure that their executives can talk to both staff and customers about life, not just about business (Gutis, 1985, F17).

Productivity of an Aging Workforce

Education through the arts also has significant economic implications for the rehabilitation and healing of an aging and increasingly infirm population. In fact, the relationship between the arts and medicine is very ancient indeed.

> Asklepios, the Greek god of health, was worshipped in temples, to which patients repaired to be cured. In the medical wards of these temples, beautiful votive reliefs are found, thanks offerings for received cures. In this connection, attention must be drawn to a series of frescoes made by Domenico di Bartolo in the 15th century in the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, or to the paintings of Mathias Grüenewald in the former monastery of Isenheim, where the painter also worked as a male nurse.
>
> These examples of famous works of art illustrate the close relations among religion, art, and medicine. The most famous physician of all times, Hippocrates, said "Life is short, and art is long...". Today, religion is not all-important as it was formerly, but the link between art and medicine is still important (Granaat, 1983, p. 105).

During the last 50 years, the use of the arts for medical and rehabilitative purposes has been formalized in virtually every artistic discipline including dance, music, theatre, and the visual arts. Academic programs, certification procedures, professional organizations, and international associations of art therapists have evolved (Spencer, 1983, p. 2). National and international systems for the classification of occupations now identify arts therapy as a distinct profession (Research & Evaluation, 1984).

The role of the arts in health care involves both healing in the sense of facilitating recovery from illness, and rehabilitation in the sense of improving physical function. However, the arts have a medicinal role beyond physical healing and rehabilitation. Spencer points out.

> The term "healing" implies illness as well as the implications that something can be "cured". In many human service settings, this is not often the case, for example, among terminally ill cancer patients, inmates of prisons, the physically handicapped, and those who are economically or socially disadvantaged or isolated. ... such people are in "crises", are "troubled", and are suffering psychologically and emotionally by virtue of their circumstances. For such people, "healing" is synonymous with "improvement", with the overcoming of psychological and emotional barriers within the individual and with others... The art therapist goes still a step further to sharply "focus" the energies of the arts to help "dissolve" the barriers to improved function (Spencer, 1983, pp.3-4).

Within the health care system, the arts play a formal therapeutic role. In view of the aging demographic profile of the population and the escalating health care costs associated with an older workforce, it is likely that the therapeutic use of the arts will increase dramatically in the next few decades.

Society's ability to keep an aging workforce active and productive will thus become more and more important as the baby boom generation of the 1950s and 1960s becomes the geriatric boom after the year 2000. In this regard, Tibor Scitovsky has noted that

> Another important--and tragic--example of our economy's failure to provide adequate stimulation to the unskilled consumer is the problem of the aged. When people retire they are suddenly deprived of the stimulus satisfaction their work has given them, and, naturally, they try to fall back on the other sources of stimulation accessible to them. If they are unskilled consumers, they soon find their sources of stimulation inadequate; the result is the heartrending spectacle of elderly people trying desperately to keep themselves busy and amused but not knowing how to do so. Boredom seems inescapable, and boredom is a great killer. That may well be part of the explanation of the male's relatively low life expectancy. Women are better off in this regard, for they have housework and cooking to keep them occupied and alive.
>
> The remedy is culture. We must acquire the consumption skills that will give us access to society's accumulated stock of past novelty and so enable us to supplement at will and almost without limit the currently available flow of novelty...Music, painting, literature, and history are the obvious examples (Scitovsky, 1976, 235).

Education through art has implications beyond the intrinsic worth of the arts. It has implications for promoting invention, innovation, and diffusion of new technologies; developing the new production skills required in a Post-Modern economy; reducing costs associated with rehabilitation and healing, and improving the productivity and performance of an aging labour force after the year 2000.

Summary

We live in a period in which public confidence in economic theory and practice has been shattered, and in which we must begin again the search for a better understanding of the economic process. At this time, three fundamental demographic changes are contributing to the emergence of a Post-Modern Economy, and are also contributing to an enormous growth in the arts audience. These changes are rising levels of education, increasing participation of women, and aging of the population.

In conjunction with new communications technologies these demographic changes are transforming the nature of economic behaviour. Consumption is increasingly dominated by a narrowcast marketplace in which rising standards of design and advertising require greater inputs of artistic talent and technique. Similarly, consumer research is being transformed as qualitative, esthetic experience to become an important feature of consumer behaviour, while the time-distorting impact of new recording technologies makes the styles and fashions of previous historical periods available to contemporary consumers.

In this changing economy, education through art has significant implications for the production-side of the Post-Modern Economy. It promotes invention, innovation, and diffusion of new technologies. It contributes to the development of the new production skills required in a Post-Modern Economy. It enhances the productivity and performance of an aging labour force.

The founding father of economics, Adam Smith, had a strong sense of the cultural matrix of economic phenomena (Boulding, 1972, p. 267). One of the unasked questions of intellectual history, however, is how mainstream economics in the West lost this sense and became an abstract discipline void of any cultural context. It must be remembered that what we in the West have considered rational economic behaviour is, in fact, a form of culturally determined behaviour. If we are to develop a better understanding of economic phenomena in the emerging Post-Modern Economy, then we must account for the impact of culture on economic behaviour, and more specifically, begin to appreciate the role of education through art in the emerging economy of quality.

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Culturally relevant instructional materials in a visual design module for Native Canadian Indians.

Colleen Anderson-Millard

Indian students drawn from two Reserves and a Cultural Survival school were exposed to art lessons where the content was either derived from Plains Indian images or from non-Indian images. Results showed that material considered most relevant to the interests of the group was most successfully handled by its members. Differences in the orientation of the judges who evaluated the results were reflected in the scores awarded the students.

Research indicates that perception is influenced by environment. Moreover, the record of experiences, previous perceptions and learned concepts stored and arranged in the brain is a mapping system that allows us to see.

> Just as an object will remain meaningless or perhaps be misinterpreted by someone who has no place for it in a personal frame of reference, so two members of a culture will fail to see things that are completely outside of their cultural experience or will interpret what they see in terms of their own cultural reference frames (Mangan, 1978, p. 246).

Cultural differences in perception are more subtle and numerous then most educators suspect. For instance, few middle-class Canadians would immediately recognize this picture of a bear, drawn by Tsmishian Indians of Canada's Pacific Northwest.

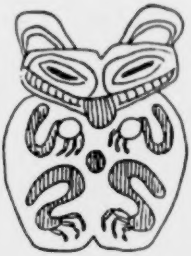

Figure 1. Tsmishian Bear

This image consists of two profile views of a bear joined in the middle, an example of the split profile convention of pictorial representation. Because Tsmishian Indians are familiar with this style of drawing, they have no difficulty in understanding the picture, and might even wonder why others do have difficulty. Since styles of depiction are rooted in a cultural milieu where they have agreed - upon meanings, then the usual encasing format of a picture used in the presentation of lessons must correspond in interpretation to that culturally agreed - upon meaning.

The Research Study

The purpose of this experimental study was to discover whether Plains Indian content previously selected by an Indian advisory committee of 25 for use in a visual design instructional module would increase design ability and self-satisfaction scores among Indian students compared with scores derived from exposure to non-Indian content. It was also designed to discover whether there were differences in the effects of lessons involving representational design compared with those dealing with non-representational design.

A total of ninety subjects were used in this experiment. Two treatment groups of approximately 20 students each were selected from each of the Morley Schools on the Morley Reserve, Alberta, and the St. Mary's School on the Blood Reserve, Alberta. As well, ten students from the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School, Calgary were included in the study. There are differences in language, customs, rituals and the use of symbolic images among these three sample native populations. The Plains Indian content was considered to be most appropriate for the students from St. Mary's School on the Blood Reserve, as this population most definitely falls into the category of Plains Indians. Although the Stoney Indians are included in the category of Plains Indians in some text books (Glubok, 1975; Patterson, 1973; Sealy & Kirkness, 1973), they are actually closer to the Woodland Indian in culture (Dempsey, 1978). The Plains Indian Cultural Survival School population is a mixture of members of the Blackfoot tribe, the Sarcee tribe, the Cree tribes and the Stoney tribes.

The research was conducted between January and the end of May, 1979. The design of this study was 2 x 3 x 4 factorial, with random assignment of subjects to treatments.

The independent variables of this experiment were as follows:

1. Type of content (Plains Indian vs. non-Indian).

2. Lesson Concepts (Representational Design, Exaggeration in Design, Abstraction in Design and Symbolism in Design).

3. School (Morley, Blood, Plains Indian Cultural Survival School).

The dependent variables were:

1. Scores on a student self-satisfaction scale.

2. Design ability scores, from four judges' ratings of the design using three criteria; unity, originality and aesthetic quality.

Learning Materials

The researcher developed the instructional units with the advice of an Indian Advisory Committee of 24 persons, a Caucasian art educator, and an expert in Learning Technology. As well, Hugh Dempsey, Curator of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary, advised the researcher on questions of symbolic interpretation of visuals.

The Glenbow Museum, Calgary, allowed the researcher to photograph much of the material used in the instructional units. Other photographs and related information were obtained from books. The use of the recording lab, and the facilities at the University of Calgary audio-visual lab enabled the researcher to produce the instruction units. Additional films were obtained from the National Film Board.

Eight instructional slide tape units were presented by the researcher. The same basic learning concepts were presented through the Plains Indian content as were presented through non-Indian content. Each group was expected to improve in design ability. The Indian content group was expected to show more improvement than the non-Indian content groups.

At each school in turn, the slide projectors and synchronizing units were set up. At the beginning of each lesson, the entire experimental population met in one of the designated instructional areas. Randomization of subjects was accomplished by distributing drawing paper which had previously been assigned A or B, according to a table to random numbers. A satisfaction scale, devised by Marguerite Lienard (1961) for the purpose of measuring satisfaction with art work, was then explained to the entire population in order to ensure that they received uniform instruction. The groups then separated into two designated instructional areas. A teacher was present in each room for supervision. The slide tape instructional units were shown simultaneously in the separate rooms.

A brief description of the instructional units follows:

Lesson one defined representational design and introduced the learner to the basic design elements of line, shape, tone, color and texture. The students were given instruction in using these basic elements of design to achieve unity, originality and aesthetic quality. The students executed a representational design using monchromatic color, basic design elements and design principles. For three groups of students, the material contained Plains Indian content with appropriate visual references. For another three groups, material contained non-Indian content with appropriate visuals. Suitable still lifes were set up as subject matter.

Lesson two presented the concept of exaggeration and reasons for exaggerating or distorting images. The basic design elements and principles were related to the use of exaggeration, using an analogous color scheme. A film on Indian dance, "Circle of the Sun" was presented to the Plains Indian treatment groups as motivation for their design using exaggeration. The film, "Pas de Deux", was presented to the non-Indian content treatment groups as motivation. The students from both groups then executed a design using exaggeration.

Lesson three treatments instructed all groups in the process of abstraction, applying the elements of design according to the principles of design. The treatment groups learned about the use of complementary colors and, using their color schemes, executed a design that was abstract in character. Subject matter for the Plains Indian treatment groups was a design suitable for a parfleche container. Subject matter for the non-Indian treatment groups was a rug design.

Lesson four treatment groups were informed about arbitrariness in the use of symbols. As well, they were given a definition for the concept, *symbolic*. The students executed a symbolic design, choosing colors, shapes and textures that were appropriate to the meanings intended by each student. The design principles were related also to this lesson. For subject matter, a legend was presented in each of the treatment groups. The Plains Indian content group listened to an Indian Legend, *Tepee Pictures*, and the non-Indian group, to a Greek legend, *Phaeton and the Golden Chariot*. The students were given freedom to use these legends for subject matter or to rely on their own knowledge and experience for the subject matter chosen in this symbolic design.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the SPSS system of the computer at the University of Calgary. Measures employed included one way analysis of variance; Pearson product moment correlations; and a Newman-Keuls multiple range test.

Conclusions

Overall, the results show some apparent differences in design ability scores that were attributable to appropriate Indian content treatment, but these differences were not significant at the .05 level.

Several specific significant differences occurred. The non-Indian judges rated the designs done by members of the non-Indian content groups generally higher than those by the Indian content treatment group. Conversely, the combined Indian judges rated the designs done by members of the Indian content treatment group generally higher than those of the non-Indian content group.

Significant differences occurred between the representational lessons and the non-representational lessons. In lesson three, presenting concepts dealing with abstraction in design, the range of scores was greatest. Abstract design is spatially oriented, dealing with the arrangement of elements in design, whereas representational design, exaggeration in design and symbolism in design are content centred. These results are consistent with those of research reports from the area of cross-cultural concept formation and also with recommendations from those reports that a more accurate rating of native abilities might be obtained from performance in spatial arranging and problem solving, rather than from verbal reasoning.

Observations

The results showed that the Plains Indian content affected scores on design ability and self-satisfaction of the Blood population, for which the material was most relevant, more positively than for the other two groups. These scores were significantly higher ($<.05$) on nine measures with an additional two measures at the $<.10$ level of significance. Relevant content, then, does appear to influence the performance of students, if the content is meaningful to, or congruent with the perceptual styles and interests of the group. Conversely, non-relevant materials can prove to have little impact on a specific cultural group. It is not enough to approximate the needs of the group.

Enthusiasm for the Plains Indian material was noted at the Blood Reserve in the second lesson. The film, "Circle of the Sun" was shown as motivation for the lesson in exaggeration. This particular film was shot at the Blood Reserve, and the students, recognizing members of their band, showed much enthusiasm for the paintings they did after viewing the film.

Similar enthusiasm was displayed for the Plains Indian content at the Plains Cultural Survival School in Calgary, to the point where the entire group receiving non-Indian content boycotted sessions by simply not attending. This was not done without reason. They preferred to be in the group receiving Plains Indian content!

The immense contribution of the native Canadian Indian to our Canadian heritage is evident in the museums and history books of our country. Recent publications have indicated a rebirth in Native Canadian art (Hume, 1979). Collectors are rushing to purchase the art of the Canadian Indian. Why then, do educators continue to ignore this wealth of talent in a people who have such a need for recognition and support? Economic and educational deprivation among Native Canadian Indians should no longer be acceptable to our society. There is evidence that society is beginning to recognize the need to remedy this situation, and move toward a better understanding of the problem. Such a move is overdue. The education of our native Canadian Indians is in need of a systematic approach which would carefully define problem areas and work toward their solution. The drop-out rate of 97% of native Canadian students by Grade XII, 65% by Grade VII and 50% who do not go beyond Grade IV, is indicative of the problem. (U of C Report on Indian Education, 1977).

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Cultural heritage as seen in adolescent drawing.

Linda S. Bradley

This article describes a comparative study of drawings by a Caucasian group of junior high school students, and a similar group of native Indian students. The cultural heritage of the Native Indian group is discussed, and implications for cultural self-awareness through drawings are summarized.

American Indian culture is of particular interest to me because I was born and lived on the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington state until I graduated from high school.

For several years I have been studying the drawing characteristics of the adolescent. In this connection, I was drawn back onto the Colville Reservation to study drawings made by students at the Paschal Sherman Indian School. For a year I conducted research to determine the distinguishing characteristics of their drawing style, the subjects they chose for their drawings and the significance of these choices.

History and Aim of the Sherman School

The school's primary function is to educate the children in the basic general school curriculum and also to enculturate the children about their Native American heritage. Their language, dances, foods and customs are taught to the children, ensuring that they will know and understand the value of their American Indian heritage as well as their United States heritage. They have the unique experience of being a part of two distinct American cultures.

Chief Joseph in 1877 had attempted to lead the Nez Perce tribe away from the invading white settlers and the United States Cavalry troops. The attempt failed and the United States government placed six tribes together on the Colville Reservation in north central Washington state. The United States government during Andrew Jackson's presidency began to forcefully "remove recalcitrant Indians from their lands and relocate them elsewhere" (Gidley, 1979, p. 23).

The Paschal Sherman Indian School began in 1886 as a Roman Catholic mission school for the Indian children living on that part of the reservation. At that time the Indian children were being forced to attend the government school at Fort Spokane. Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce leader, was opposed to sending the children to Fort Spokane, for he realized it was the job of the government schools "to remove the child from the traditional tribal influence" (Gidley, 1981, p. 53). The result, Gidley (1979) states, was that "At the turn of the century all Native Americans were placed at a critical point in their tribal lives; their traditional ways had been made untenable and they were expected to adjust to the white world" (p. 21).

Prior to the 1930s art classes were not offered to Indian students attending any of the boarding schools because the U.S. Federal government wanted them to abandon their Indian culture. Gidley (1979) explained that

> Education, of course, was to be the primary instrument in the making over of "Indians" - as the word was pejoratively used - into appropriate members of the wider American community. While Native Americans were not to be granted formal citizenship of the United States until 1924, they were encouraged at the turn of the century to wear "citizens" dress, to cut off their braids, and to live in fixed houses. To this end government day schools were established at various points on the reservation. (pp. 43-44).

Conduct of the Study

The study on the Colville Indian Reservation began as part of a larger study of the drawing characteristics of adolescents in Grades Seven, Eight and Nine. As part of this larger study adolescent drawings done in Washington state by Caucasians were collected. These then formed a comparison group for drawings by children from the Sherman Indian School. The Caucasian group, made up of students in Grades Seven, Eight and Nine is designated Group I. Students from identical grades from the Indian School comprise Group II.

Procedure

Two pencil drawings were made of subject matter which none of the students had seen before. This was done to limit the effect of perceptual constancies: that is, the tendency to modify images in light of past experience.

The first photo-slide subject was a non-objective sculptural form in an outdoor setting. The second was a staircase in a similar environment. Both compositions contained a geometric sculptural form in the foreground with a background containing buildings, trees, a light fixture and grass. Both compositions contained a similar range of values and sizes.

Analysis of the Drawing Results

A pencil drawing was made by every student from direct observation of the slides. Later, the drawings were scored on a 10 point scale based on the Rouse *Descriptive Scale for Measurement of Art Products* (1965). The domains which were examined were shape, texture, depth, transparency, craftsmanship, gradation, detail, ground, figure and size.

In both samples, the eighth and ninth graders produced drawings which showed greater accuracy of representation than the seventh graders' drawings. Seventh graders in Group I made little use of gradation or value distinctions in their drawings. They did understand transparency and had little difficulty determining which objects were to be drawn in back of other objects. They generally did not show good craftsmanship skills in using the pencil and had poor ability in representing depth and accurate proportions.

The eighth graders typically depicted proportions with greater fidelity than the seventh graders did. They also were able to use the drawing pencil to indicate greater variation of gradation in their drawings, especially high contrast light and dark. Eighth graders did not demonstrate any great differences in ability in overall comparisons with the seventh graders.

The greatest differences in ability were seen between the seventh and ninth graders. The ninth graders tended to render gradation, proportion and size relationships more accurately than had the other two grade levels.

Drawings by both Group I and II indicated they tended to rely on their perceptual knowledge about the subject matter when they were drawing the main figure in the composition. By contrast, most students tended in representative objects in the background to rely on perceptual constancy or on a stereotype of the object rather than what they had actually been shown on the screen.

Group I (Caucasian) students generally relied on their understanding of familiar objects in the environments and emphasized these objects in their compositions. For example, litter cans, light fixtures and grass became important to the composition in cases where students had difficulty attempting the central figure. The Indian students (Group II) did not add these objects to their drawings, tending instead to center on the figure. Their depictions of the trees that formed part of the subject matter of the slides, were inclined to be representational.

At the Sherman Indian School the ninth graders had learned to shade objects better than had the seventh or eighth graders in that school, and employed more contrast of gradation within their drawings. They tended to show more accuracy than their counterparts in Group I in drawing shapes and detail. The Indian students did not use texture or depth in their drawings. Interestingly, traditional Indian art is usually flat, and does not display shading or modeling (Snodgrass-King, 1985). Traditional Indian art subjects tend to have accuracy in details. These adolescent Indians scored high on detail, accuracy of shape, figure depiction and craftsmanship.

The Indian adolescents (Group II) were asked to provide information on what they would like to draw and how they would like to receive assistance from their art teacher with their drawings. Traditional Indian subject matter was popular with the students: animals, especially the deer and eagle, designs and Indian legends. The students expressed a need to receive help from art teachers in learning to indicate detail, especially when drawing faces of people or animals.

One of the main concerns expressed by the school faculty and students was that frequently teachers who do not understand the Indian culture have difficulty teaching the students. Those aspects of art which are important to the culture need to be intensified, rather than being replaced with a program of generic "school art".

Implementing Further Study

The end of my first year of research coincided with the 100th anniversary of the Colwood School's operations. Over a meal of traditional foods I sat by one of the elderly senior women of the tribe. She was dressed in the typical Indian dress of several generations ago, wore her hair in long braids and wore beaded buckskin moccasins on her feet. She remembered me from years ago when my father had owned a grocery store on the reservation. She reminisced about my father and how she would come to the store to purchase her staple groceries for the month and to use his telephone.

Upon hearing of the research I had done at the school during the past year, she smiled and seemed pleased. She then told me she wanted me to meet the tribal council members. At that point I knew I was being accepted as a "friend of the Indians", a term they use for non-Indians they recognize. I knew too the doors for doing additional research on the reservation were beginning to open.

She introduced me to the tribal council members and told them of my study and interest in their children. The council members are elected members of the tribe who represent the tribe on business matters. Before long they told me they would like me to continue my research, by having all the schools within the area included in the study. They also suggested that I look at the elementary child's drawing ability. I am now contemplating a longitudinal study of all grade levels to identify significant characteristics in their drawing style.

Conclusion

These recent events have meant that this study rather than being complete is just beginning. What has been completed so far will now become background information for extended research into characteristics that distinguish the tribe's drawing style.

One question which will possibly become clearer as the study progresses is "How much are the Indian students being affected by Caucasian groups?" Native American painting available to Indian artists today is "essentially a phenomenon of the last 100 years of Indian-white contact" (Strickland, 1985, p. 36). Strickland states that "the continuity of iconography is clear but Indian art has recently focused on a number of new subjects not widely used by Native American painters" (p. 37). Traditional Indian art was generally flat work, typically portraying legends, dances, hunts, ceremonies, animals such as deer and eagles. Traditional flat techniques did not permit shading or modeling and there were no backgrounds or foregrounds. Accuracy was important, even to the details on the moccasins (Snodgrass-King, 1985, p. 27).

Snodgrass-King (1985) states that young Indian artists have been having a conflict over whether they should remain with traditional subjects of their culture, move into white culture subjects, or branch into new approaches to traditional themes.

As this study enters its new phase some tangible evidence of characteristics of style and subject should be revealed that remain specific to the Colville Confederated Nation. Wilson (1985) has stated that within-culture similarities result "from the creation, employment, and perpetuation of culturally related configurations" (p. 101). He further states,

> the cultural-directed developmental path leads children to draw from the available image pools. These graphic imagery models can be elaborate or restricted, expressive or restrained, slowly or rapidly changing. But whatever they are, they will determine the look, complexity, and content of children's artwork, and expand or limit the artistic worldmaking possibilities of children. (p. 103)

Whether the students on the Colville Reservation continue to prefer to draw more traditional images, drawing skills will be needed to make their graphic images culturally significant. Fostering these skills, while at the same time using them as a focus for research, brings benefits to researcher and subjects alike.

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An analysis of the expressive content and formal content in the drawings of French speaking Montreal children on a given thematic proposal: Aie! La police arrive!

Candide Charest

Jacques Albert Wallot

French-speaking children in Grades Four and Six in high, middle, and low income groups responded to the theme "Hey! The cops are coming!" Drawings by the Grade Six samples revealed differences that may be attributable to social attitudes.

To study the drawings of French-speaking Grade Four and Grade Six Montreal children for their expressive and formal contents, we used the following thematic proposal: "Hey! The cops are coming!". Our basic hypothesis aimed at verifying whether, to a given thematic proposal, children from a poor, middle and well-to-do environment would respond differently, and whether those differences would be reflected in their drawings.

Since Montreal constitutes a rich and varied environment, we chose for our study three schools characteristic of the socio-economic level of their population, which basis was provided by the Poverty Map of Montreal, drawn by the Montreal Island School Board from data collected in the 1981 Canadian Census (CSIM, 1984).

The drawings were done in six classes, by a total of 152 children. These pupils attend French-speaking public schools, which means they speak French fluently. However, if we accept the names as a good genealogical indicator, in the low income area group 60% have French names; in the middle one the percentage rises to 66% while in the high income one, it falls to 25%. In two schools, the other children have Spanish, Italian, Greek and Vietnamese names. In the third school, the majority have German names.

In none of these schools are art teachers assigned, as a rule. For the purpose of this study however, the drawings were sketched under the supervision of a qualified fine arts teacher.

The suggested theme was the same for all classes: "Hey! The cops are coming!". All the children were handed 8½" x 11" white paper. We accepted any tools that they felt appropriate to draw with; lead pencils, ball pens, wax crayons, rulers, erasers and so on. The works were completed within 40 minutes.

The theme "Hey! The cops are coming" was chosen because we believe at an early age, even before going to school, the child has already developed a certain knowledge related to political socialization. He can recognize the flag of his country and knows the person who represents the enforcement of the law, the policeman (Percheron, 1974). Accordingly, this theme allowed all the children to choose roles and actors.

Their choices might reflect degrees of intelligence and sensitivity to the setting. Would the policeman be on foot? In his car? In a helicopter? Would he wear a cap? A gun? Would his presence be justified by a fire, a theft, an accident or a parking ticket? Would there be thieves, gunmen or wounded car passengers?

Thus, the theme proposed was evocative rather than formal; playing on the affective and emotional charge it carries. At the elementary level, the pedagogical act of the art teachers is always conditioned by the natural or the spontaneous image of the child. A theme of this type allowed pinpointing what the children's images have to say in a definitive context, by finding out what expressive choices are released in each child by a given thematic proposal and how those choices affect modes of representation.

On a formal level, we were specifically interested in three aspects of the children's representations. These were graphic level, graphic richness and stylistic borrowings.

Expressive Content

Eighty per cent of the children in Grades Four and Six drew policemen. Most of them drew one policeman. This policeman had specific clothing and was easy to recognize in his role, although guns were present only in 11% of cases.

More than 70% of the drawings included police cars. In cases where colouring materials were used, except for one green-blue car, all the cars were pale blue like the police cars in Montreal. Many children went further; they identified the car by writing "CUM" (Communauté urbaine de Montréal), and many also wrote on the car the number of the police station in their vicinity. One characteristic of the police car was also pointed out, especially in Grade Four: the red flashing light. Surprisingly, in Grade Four, half of the drawings did not assign a specific role to the policeman. He was simply in his car, presumably patrolling. The other half of the students made his presence necessary by depicting thefts, accidents and fire.

For Grade Six children, eleven or twelve years old, the role of the policeman differed according to socio-economic level. The active presence of the policeman was noted in two thirds of the drawings, in connection with thefts, social misconduct (Figure 1) and fire. In low income area groups, the presence of the policeman was related in half of the Grade Six drawings to social disorders, killings, rapes, (Figure 2) family feuds and vandalism. Grade Four pupils in the low income group, by contrast, depicted social disorders. In the middle income area group, thefts and fire were most frequently the objects of representation. In the high income area group, accidents and the "friendly cops" (Figure 3) were referred to quite often and a few references were made to vandalism.

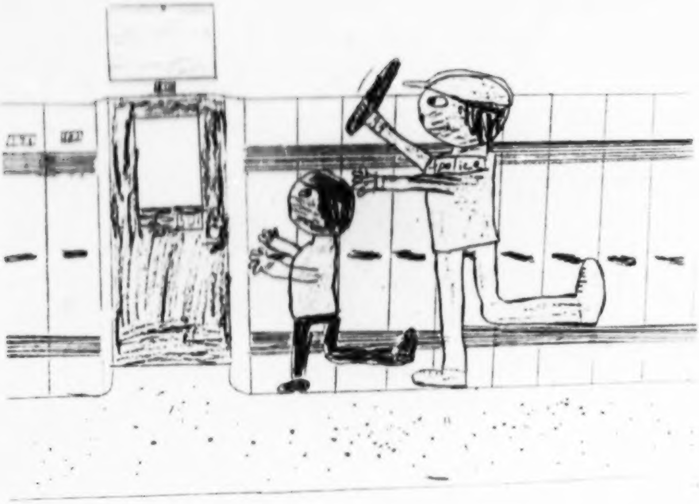

Figure 1. Frederic, 9, grade 4, Ecole Joseph Henrico, high income area group

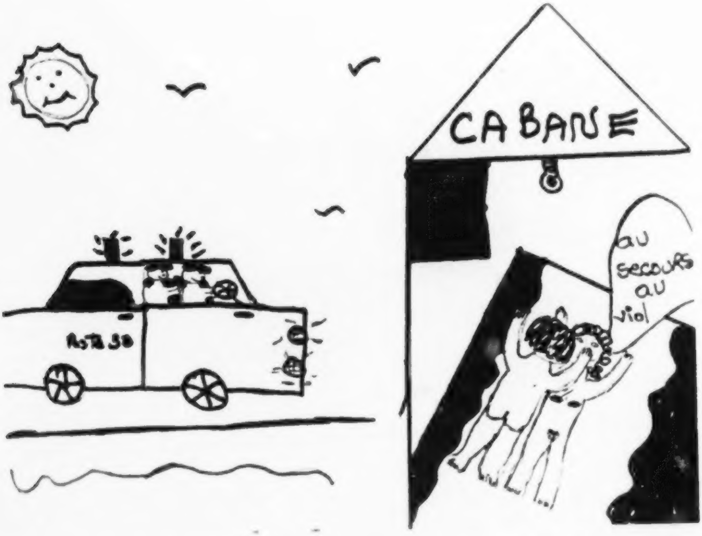
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Figure 2. Nathalie, 11, grade 6, Ecole Champlain, low income area group

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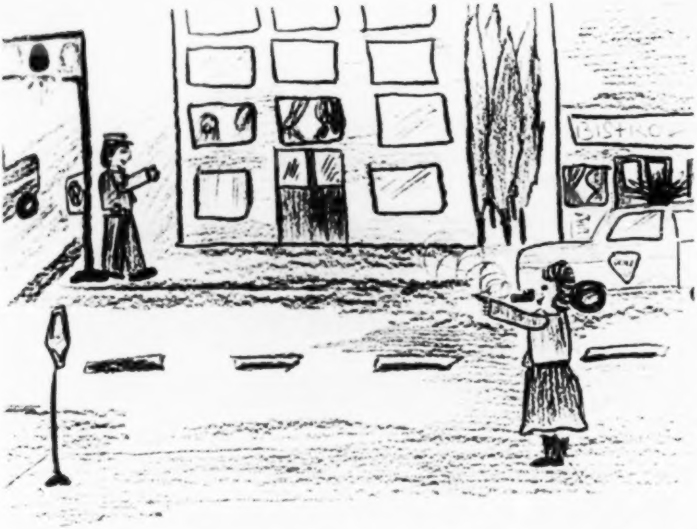

Figure 3. Julie, 12, grade 6, Ecole Joseph Henrico, High income area group

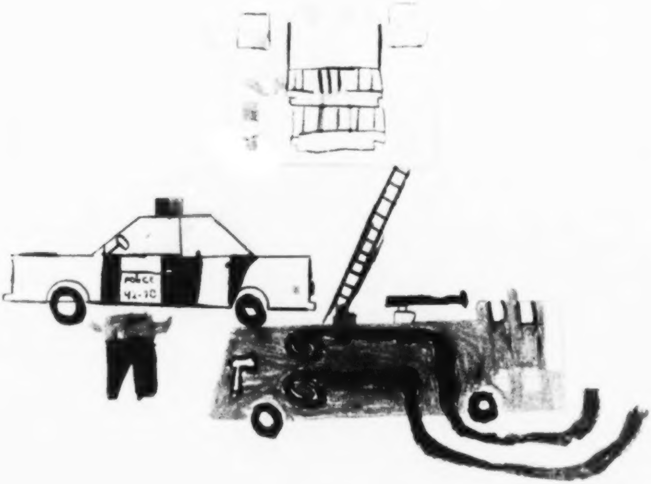
POLICE
44-10

Figure 4. Jean-Francois, 10, grade 4, Ecole Marie-Favery, middle income area group

One special feature emerged in the high income group. Half of the drawings of the girls represented policewomen, although there are only 100 out of 4,500 women in the police force of Montreal and their presence is not more prevalent in the well-to-do environment than in those that are less affluent.

Formal Content

Graphic level

For study of the graphic level in the drawings well-known categories largely used in schools were employed (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1982) particularly as these relate to articulation of the human figure and the spatial organization of the children's images. In all grades, the size of the human figure was always medium or small. Children from the well-to-do environment seemed more advanced in the representation of the human figure especially where flexibility of movement and details of clothing were concerned.

Main differences lay in the organization of space. The pupils in the high income area Grade Four group were much more advanced than those in the other groups. They were nearly as advanced as those in Grade Six. In the high income group, in Grades Four and Six, children used more superpositions, more planes, more attempts at volumetry and perspective, more references to the horizon line. However, in the well-to-do Grade Six class, the students were only a little ahead of the other groups, as if there was a catching up from Grade Four to Grade Six on the part of the low and middle income classes.

The graphic precocity of the well-to-do pupils may perhaps be explained by the ease these children felt using materials such as ballpoint pens, that are linked to regular school activities. In other work undertaken with typical art materials, these differences were not so evident.

Finally, the drawings gave evidence that certain means of representation considered "younger" or "less advanced" coexist with means of representation considered "more advanced". Simple baselines coexist with planes, superpostion and even with volumetry or perspective attempts (Figure 4).

Graphic richness

We evaluated drawings at face value, as being "beautiful, medium" and "poor", from our perspective as art teachers, mainly on the opposition "carefully drawn/carelessly drawn" and on the basis of "more is better". We were looking for differences according to the socio-economic status of the children. The statistical layout of this experiment showed relationship between the variable "beautiful" and a record of academic achievement. This was true for the three schools, for all classes, Grade Four and Grade Six. All the beautiful drawings were in the first third and partially in the second third of the academic range. First third achievers in Grade Six also used much more perspective and horizon lines. In the low income area group, they drew more facial details.

Stylistic borrowings or learned codes

Differences were examined between the children of the three schools as far as stylistic borrowings or learned codes were concerned. Seven stylistic signs were identified as easily recognizable and clearly related to the comic strip or to graphic books for children.

Gombrich (1976) has observed that the conventions of painting have been transposed from high art to the comic strip by stylistic abbreviations. For this study, however, Guy Gauthier (1976) has supplied the model by which seven graphic signs were identified. These signs are: 1) smiling suns or pie suns, 2) lines showing light beams, 3) Waugaman-Russell bird, or "V" birds, 4) speed or movement lines, 5) trajectories, 6) lines showing sounds and 7) balloons or transcriptions of speech or interiority.

These signs were not equally present in the drawings studied in this experiment. The presence of smiling suns in fourth grade of the low income area group occurred in 46% of cases while it reached only 17% and 20% in the other two groups. Their presence drops to 17%, 5.3% and 3.7% in sixth grade, the highest percentage remaining in the low income group.

In fourth grade, lines showing light beams range from low income area group 13%, to 33% in middle income and 50% in the high income group. In grade six in the same sequence the percentages are 30%, 42% and 52%. The "V" birds appear in less than 10% of drawings in all groups.

To our surprise, lines showing movement were present in no more than 15% of the drawings in fourth grade, nor in sixth grade, although experience has shown that this sign appears frequently in Grade Four.

Trajectories and sound signs, which were expected in drawings, ranged from 6% to 25% in Grade Four and from 4% to 11% in Grade Six, whereas the presence of balloons containing information ranges from 35% to 40% in Grade Four and from 15% to 22% in Grade Six. Smiling suns appeared to be less favoured in Grade Six than in Grade Four, less favoured in the high income area school than in the middle and low income area schools. Lines representing light beams are probably considered as a convention; they were frequently used in fourth and sixth grades, particularly in the high income area school. "V" birds and "M" birds were almost non existent.

Conclusion

Expressive level

The hypothesis on which this study was based stated, Children from different socio-economic environments will respond differently to the suggested theme. On an expressive level, the hypothesis was not sustained in Grade Four. Boys and girls answered nearly in the same way to the theme, and whatever socio-economic level the children came from, their representation of the role of the policeman was similar.

On the other hand in Grade Six, the hypothesis appears to have been verified. Children who are eleven and twelve seem to know more about the policeman than his blue car and its flashing red light. Children from low income environments showed elements of black humour in their drawings. They occasionally identified themselves in the drawings as the "bad guys." They know the role of the policeman and they know why he comes to their vicinity. Children from middle and high-income environment located thefts and accidents close to bars, restaurants, banks and highways. In the middle and high income groups, they remain relatively unfamiliar.

Socialization, according to Annick Percheron in L'Univers politique des enfants (Percheron 1974), involves not only the acceptance more or less consciously of the existing political system but also its refusal, and an identification of individual desire to contest the system. The drawings in this study were an indicator of that level of socialization.

Formal content

As for formal content, in this particular experiment Grade Four high income level children's drawings were more advanced graphically in the representation of the human figure and especially in the representation of space than were those of the other two income levels. In sixth grade, that lead is less evident, particularly in the depiction of the human figure.

To our surprise, most of the "beautiful drawings" were done by children who ranked academically in the top third in all classes, in all three schools, in fourth and sixth grades.

Stylistic borrowings or learned codes were not equally present among all groups. Some learned signs such as "smiling suns" or "pie suns" tended to vanish between fourth and sixth grade. Lines showing light beams were more frequent in high income level children's drawings. Typical signs of acknowledged codes of the comic strip, were rarely present in the products of this study.

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The fine art subculture in higher education as cultural patriarch to art knowledge in schools.

Cheryl Cline Abrahams

Higher education claims the monopoly on defining and establishing what art knowledge is to be transmitted through the school system to all cultural and ethnic groups of students. This paper discusses some ideals, goals, and conventions of art knowledge institutionalized in fine art programs in higher education. "Official" or formal statements made in program catalogs and other printed materials for public consumption appear to waffle between, on the one hand, a desire for excellence according to historical notions of style and mastery of skill and technique, and, on the other hand, a desire to experiment in the tradition of the avant-garde. Both traditions represent a culturally exclusive or singular way of thinking about art, at variance with the broader, culturally inclusive definition of art required for a diverse clientele.

Art educators belong to a small specialized subculture in which art and knowledge and skills in art are perceived differently and valued to a greater extent than in the larger culture. What are the rites of passage into this specialized art subculture? For most art educators, one of the formal or officially recognized routes leads to the B.F.A. or other similar fine art credential in higher education. From here art educators take into the school system the formal art knowledge and ideologies that go along with being an artist. For this reason art instruction in higher education might be described as cultural patriarchy to art instruction in elementary and secondary schools. Universities claim the monopoly on defining and legitimating what knowledge is to be transmitted through the school system to all students. This is especially so since the midcentury arts boom in North American higher education and the move of arts professionals onto campuses. Art in higher education plays a dynamic role in the complex processes by which unitary ways of thinking about art are generalized and taken to be essential to the nature of all art. Within the past fifteen years a critical writing in literary theory, art history and criticism, social theory, and, more recently, art education research has identified a style referred to as *postmodernism*. Postmodernism describes a situation in which art includes popular, commercial, ethnic and other cultural forms, as opposed to an exclusively fine or high art deriving from the western European Renaissance. However, this widespread change in thinking does not appear to have significantly changed classroom art practice in elementary and secondary schools. There, for the most part, the dominant cultural bias is still Renaissance-influenced and technically based.

To effect change in the attitudes of the schools, so as to admit a more inclusive range of activities, may be most effectively managed by art schools and art departments in higher education. One way of determining their current position on inclusive and exclusive attitudes is to look at the "official" or formal knowledge--the ideals, norms, goals, philosophies, and conventions of knowledge--espoused by these institutions. One source of this institutionalized knowledge is printed materials for public consumption: in particular, program catalogs and advertising brochures of studio art programs.

A review of these materials was undertaken, and it appears from the results that most programs waffle between two major sets of goals. On the one hand, there is a desire for excellence according to historical notions of style, good design, and mastery of skill and technique. On the other hand, there is a desire to offer the multiple options now open to today's postmodern artist. This second goal conveniently fits in many ways with the desire for individual, innovative, "creative" expression and thinking abilities--variously phrased in that eloquent language of mystification that artistic activity and artistic dispositions in western culture have assumed. Goals such as "the awakening and growth of creative and intellectual aptitudes" (University of Ottawa catalog, 1980) or "to encourage and develop creative thinking" (York University Faculty of Fine Arts brochure, 1985) are as common among the stated objectives of art in higher education as they are among those in elementary and secondary school art curriculum guides and art teacher texts.

There are, of course, different types of studio fine art programs: Some stress a career or practice orientation associated with specialized art schools and college programs, and some stress a "liberal arts" or academic orientation associated more with universities. The majority of art programs lie between these two, claiming to reconcile and offer the best of each model. One curricular convention shared by almost every art program is that of a foundation year of introductory courses in composition, colour theory and other elements of form. This format mirrors the dispositions of the midcentury New York formalist painters (Rothko, Newman, Morris) and their critics (Greenberg and followers).

But it was in 1919, with the German Bauhaus School that concern for form and expression through form was first developed into a systematic and even quasi-scientific educational theory. The Bauhaus curriculum had a foundation year, termed "basic course" or "elementary study of form". Developed by Johannes Itten, it consisted of systematic theories now familiar as teaching tools: the color star, contrasts of textures, light/dark, volumes, and so on.

Less familiar nowadays is the historical context and reasons for a reform of art education that gave rise to the Bauhaus program. In Germany at the time there was a growing need for designers in industry, which only a new kind of art education could meet. The Bauhaus was intended to reinstate the social and artistic virtues of the so-called "lesser" arts--the crafts, architecture, industrial and design arts. It sought to get away from the romantic social notion of the "pure" painter or sculptor as privileged and heroic, and instead to carry on William Morris' ideal that "the best artist was a workman still, and the humblest workman was an artist" (Pevsner, 1973, p. 260).

The Bauhaus was presented as an alternative to the academies of art, and it proudly proclaimed to the outside world that it was anti-academic. The terms *professor* and *student* were replaced with the terms masters and *apprentices* and *journeymen* to announce that the school was a part of a real, working world (Whitford, 1984).

The Academy tradition subscribes to a different set of aims. Academies of art, at various points throughout their long history, have been considered oppressive, rigid, outdated, too bourgeois, and hence not the best organizations for training artists. The word *academy* and *academic* still carry something of this. Certain conventions in fine arts education today are clear remnants of what was once the core of academy training, namely drawing skills--especially from the nude. It is part of a doctrine that goes back to the notebooks of Da Vinci, Vasari, and the first art academies in sixteenth century Italy. The stress on drawing trickled down to the elementary school classroom. However, drawing exercises in these classrooms were not of the nude but of decorative or less "noble" subject matter, a relic of 19th century programs geared toward vocations in industry.

Today, the grand tradition of the European academies lives on in a few North American art schools. One such school that strives to perpetuate the academy tradition is the National Academy Fine Arts School in New York. To quote from its most recent catalog, "Throughout all the years since the School's founding (1825), and throughout all the shifts in taste and fashion, the School of Fine Arts remained true to the standards of excellence as established by the founders." (p. 3). "At the heart of the School program" is studio work "most often from the model but also from antique casts and still life" (p. 5).

This school represents not a typical art school today, but rather one extreme of that balance described earlier between traditional, technical values, and individual expression and multiple options. It survives as an example of what many other art schools developed in revolt against--schools like the Bauhaus, and many art programs in the 1960s, notably the prototypical California Institute for the Arts.

Although art programs modelled directly after the academy tradition declined in the 1960s, the legacy of academies and the Western fine arts they represent continues in the basic categories most current art programs are structured around: drawing, painting, printmaking and sculpture. More recent are departments or specializations in "experimental" or "intermedia" arts, presumably added to provide a forum in which to better nurture up-to-date, innovative activity by transcending conventional boundaries and by bringing art students, as one art school catalog states, "into contact with contemporary experimental developments in the visual arts and their roots in Modernist and Post-Modernist art history--in short, the tradition of the avant-garde." (Ontario College of Art and Design catalog, 1985). Yet these departments appear in program outlines as add-ons, simply inserted into a format otherwise little changed. They act as the "avant-garde", the anti-academic ingredient within academia.

For art students there is a great deal of glamour in the idea of the avant-garde. It represents for them as opportunity to try new things, to go beyond established aesthetic boundaries, to work with ideas (which, in our society, often assumes more status than working with one's hands). One of the effects of the Modern Movement has been that innovation has become an end in itself in art production. Students learn that innovation is essential for being an artist. They witness a parade of visiting artists to their campus who, as the critic Martha Rosler (1981) put it, like "enviable meteors, ...light up the campus for awhile, and then streak off on their trajectories of fame." (p. 31).

The idea of the avant-garde also represents for many art students an outlook on life that is in opposition to or on the fringe of corporate and establishment values--a political rebelliousness close to that of punk culture but with few of the risks (Henry, 1984). The avant-garde of art schools and university art departments is often merely rhetoric, an emptied, romantic version of the historical avant-garde. The historical avant-garde emerged late in the nineteenth century, emphasizing its commitments to political and social goals by producing art that was political in content. An aesthetic avant-garde with its view of art for art's sake merged with the political avant-garde through a complex process (Poggioli, 1968) involving the practical realities of market competition for selling art. The result was an avant-garde with an implicit political message of subversion relayed through a new aesthetic. With the belief that art could have a dimension that would keep it from being merely a decorative item for the bourgeoisie, early avant-garde artists saw themselves as responsible for an attack on market values.

Not surprisingly, concerns about highly intellectual, political, and anti-market art are not a genuine concern of art schools and art departments. What remains of the historical avant-garde for its most recent inheritors, art students today, is what they get through their art history courses--that familiar string of aesthetic styles emptied of subversive intent: expressionism, symbolism, futurism, dada. These have become the classics, the models. Even the more recent avant-garde waves of environmental art, performance art, and punk art have been absorbed and academicized by universities and art schools in order to provide an appearance of being on the frontiers of knowledge.

So where in the eyes of the Fine Arts student is Postmodernism, with its broader, culturally inclusive definition of art and its potential, in theory at least, for a move away from the reigning singular values of high Modernism? No doubt art students are looking to the so-called postmodernist heroes for their models. Andy Warhol is one familiar resurrected hero, product of a postmodernist blurring together of commercial and popular forms with the fine arts. But he is, at the same time, a hero of self-publicity and profit-making, and is unabashedly proud of it. "Being good in business", he has been quoted as saying (Gablik, 1984, p. 56), "is the most fascinating kind of art. Making money is art and working is art and good business is the best art."

That art students may be drifting from one conformity (the Modernist way of thinking about art) to another conformity of this sort rather than to a culturally pluralistic way of thinking about art should be of concern to art educators. Art instruction in higher education sits between the art world and the education system. Its precepts need to be seriously examined in terms of its function in determing what art knowledge is to serve cultural knowledge in schools.

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A universal-relative approach to the study of cross-cultural art.

Karen A. Hamblen

An approach to the study of cross-cultural art is presented, based on the universal-relative dialectic that exists between cross-cultural artistic commonalities and differences. Universal artistic themes, qualities, and functions can be attributed to a common fund of basic human experiences. Differences among cross-cultural art forms can be attributed to the variable shapes of consciousness that develop from environmental and cultural experiences.

All groups of people defined as constituting a culture produce and respond to objects exhibiting an embellishment of form that goes beyond utilitarian functions. The ubiquity of art suggests that art curricula should incorporate the study of cross-cultural and historic art forms. In this paper it will be proposed that a cross-cultural study of art can serve to reveal basic similarities among all peoples as well as striking variations that result from different cultural shapes of consciousness. Based on a delineation of humans' universal fund of basic biological and world experiences and on their culture-specific shaping of such experiences, a rationale will be presented for studying art in both its universal and relative manifestations.

Art literature is rife with intimations that art speaks a universal language, that it transcends the exigencies of time and space, and that it binds us together in our common humanity (Mukerjee, 1954; Read, 1965). Conversely, one also finds, although perhaps less commonly, criticisms of broad claims for aesthetic universalism (Chalmers, 1978; Kampf, 1973). These latter critics believe that the assumption that art cuts across cultural boundaries has obscured the rich diversity of artistic meanings and has often resulted in the ignoring of art forms and life styles outside major Western cultures. To be fully appreciated, art needs to be understood within the context of its originating culture's values, symbolism, and functions.

Rather than opting for either of these opposing views or even working toward a reconciliation between them, I am proposing that both perspectives on art are equally correct and that both should be strongly maintained in any cross-cultural study of art. Art reveals what is universal to human existence; it can be responded to on a pansocial level. Also, art is relative to a particular culture; it can be studied in all the complexity of its cultural meanings and functions. In this paper it is proposed that a universal-relative dialectic exists between what is universal and what is relative in art. This dialectic generates that valuable paradox of "enlarging the range of our recognition of human sameness as it appears in human difference" (Redfield, 1971, p. 64).

Requirements for a Cross-Cultural Study of Art

Just as the sociopolitical condition of modern life has taken on global dimensions, those interested in the arts find themselves occupying, to paraphrase Buckminster Fuller, a global aesthetic village. Through films, audio and video tapes, visits to museums, and color reproductions, an art student can view the work of trendy New York artists, folk artists of the Kentucky hill country, prehistoric cave painters, and ancient Chinese tomb builders. This wealth of art forms, however, is not without its downside. It is blatantly obvious, in terms of sheer numbers, that not even the major art of all past and present cultures can be studied.

Considering the variety of techniques and materials used in making different art forms, a breadth approach to media is perhaps one of the most inefficient ways to understand and appreciate art. Moreover, even if it were possible to make most types of art, this would not necessarily guarantee any understanding or appreciation beyond an ability to deal with specific techniques.

The problem of "more being less" also applies to a conceptual understanding of art. All art forms are not readily accessible in either a perceptual or conceptual sense. We can perceive the subject matter of a Byzantine painting but without further study its iconographic meanings will probably elude us. We can appreciate the craft and form of a Norwegian stave church, but we may not perceive, much less understand, those stylized animal forms that are part of its architectural components.

A strategy for the study of cross-cultural arts needs to be developed against this background of pushes and pulls, between a plethora of art forms and limited time to study them, between claims of universalism and claims that artistic meaning is specific to its cultural context, between a need to understand the art of one's own culture and a need to see one's own art as similar to as well as different from other art. Two generalized approaches for studying cross-cultural art presented by Johns (1986) and Redfield (1971) indicate that what is needed is a strategy grounded in the universal and relative dimensions of human experience as these influence both artistic production and response.

Two Approaches

Redfield (1971) believes that the value of studying art in its cultural context is to understand the world view being expressed. This involves extensive research on a few specific art forms in relationship to their culture's social institutions, history, and folkways. Studying a few art forms thoroughly builds an appreciation for the complexity and possible range of meanings other art forms may have.

Johns (1986) describes an approach whereby themes in art are compared cross-culturally. For example, the theme of leadership in

Chinese and Western art is expressed in portraiture and in the depiction of major historical events.

The approaches discussed by Redfield and Johns by no means exhaust the strategies proffered for the study of cross-cultural art, nor are they new. Their work serves to indicate, however, that what is needed is an approach whereby themes or focuses for study are generated by the strategy itself, inasmuch as it incorporates both the ways humans give meaning to their existence in artistic form and the ways they respond to art. Redfield hints at how this might be accomplished. In a discussion of how anthropologists' approaches to art differ from those of aestheticians, Redfield makes reference to Ortega's (1956) famous analogy of a painting to a window with a view of a garden. In viewing a window/painting, one may look beyond the window into the garden with its recognizable trees, shrubbery, flowers, people at play, and so on. Conversely, the window/painting can be viewed for its surface qualities superimposed upon the surface of the window pane, irrespective of what those elements of design might depict. Redfield discusses how the latter view is universally accessible inasmuch as no background information is necessary, although it may require some instruction and practice to appreciate art in this manner.

These universal and relative views of art have their respective sources in the biological and social conditions of human existence. The universal need not be relegated to the aesthetic response per se. The universal in art, both in regard to expression and response, has its roots in the basic needs of humans as biological, sentient beings occupying a finite physical environment with certain characteristics and properties. Despite the many configurations and variations human interactions might assume in response to specific environmental and social conditions, biological and world process experiences act as baselines and sources of meaning and reference that are integral to all human action and interpretation. The universal is the source of common themes, qualities, and functions in art. Set in opposition to such commonalities are culture-specific ways in which these themes, qualities, and functions are interpreted and given form.

Universal themes, qualities, and functions that emanate from biological and experiential commonalities are subject to culturally relative selection and formative processes. Biological and experiential commonalities remain an ongoing part of the human's interpretational experiences in both responses to and production of art that are set in a dialectic relationship to the particularities of social characteristics.

Models of Universal and Relative Relationships

According to various models of human achievement, adaptation, socialization, and cognitive development, the survival needs of humans may be considered the baseline universals of all human interaction. Some of these models are placed in general relationship to one another in Figure 1. Many researchers of early childhood development have noted that the graphic expressions of early childhood are remarkably similar cross-culturally, with the work of children taking on a social cast when they enter school or when their social contacts are broadened. The adult art of most cultures retains some of the images and configurations of early childhood work, indicating that the child may be subconsciously expressing "structural aspects and themes that are verified and given significance through adult life experiences" (Hamblen, 1985, p. 78).

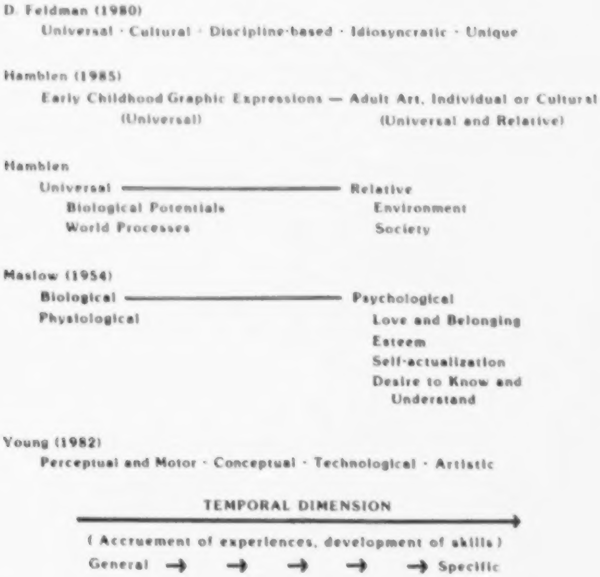
D. Feldman (1980)
Universal · Cultural · Discipline-based · Idiosyncratic · Unique
Hamblen (1985)
Early Childhood Graphic Expressions — Adult Art, Individual or Cultural
(Universal)
(Universal and Relative)
Hamblen
Universal
Relative
Biological Potentials
World Processes
Environment
Society
Maslow (1954)
Biological
Psychological
Physiological
Love and Belonging
Esteem
Self-actualization
Desire to Know and Understand
Young (1982)
Perceptual and Motor · Conceptual · Technological · Artistic
TEMPORAL DIMENSION
(Accruement of experiences, development of skills)
General
Specific

Figure 1. Models of Universal and Relative Relationships

Of particular relevance to the universal-relative strategy discussed in this paper is David Feldman's (1980) delineation of human activity which ranges from the universal to the unique, with the cultural dimension acting as a mediator between both ends of the continuum. For example, language development is a universal phenomenon that takes on a particular cultural configuration. A study of a language's grammar, syntax, and meanings constitutes its discipline status; language in poetry and drama or other specific uses constitute its idiosyncratic dimension, with unique contributions arising from the new work of, for example, poets and dramatists. The cultural domain shapes universal imperatives to fit cultural values, attitudes, and beliefs, and it incorporates unique contributions that make some sort of fit with cultural norms. In terms of artistic understanding, Feldman's continuum indicates that as one proceeds from the universal toward the cultural and beyond, increasingly specific knowledge is required for understanding.

The models in Figure 1 deal with movements from basic, common human experiences to ever more cultural, personal, and specialized meanings. The general framework of human existence resides within the universal domain, what most cross-cultural art forms have in common emanates from that domain, and most types of art can be understood when comparisons are made between aspects from that universal domain and culturally relative interpretations.

A Universal-Relative Strategy for Art Study

A universal-relative strategy for the study of cross-cultural art should start with interpreting art in the universal domain inasmuch as meanings here are accessible to all members of all cultures. Universal themes, qualities, and functions should be studied as to how they relate to and satisfy needs common to all humans. Aspirations shared by all peoples become evident at this level. The universal factors listed in Figure 2 can provide categories for an examination of themes, qualities, and functions. In the universal component of study, reasons for responses to certain configurations and themes can be probed inasmuch as experiences in the universal domain generate areas requiring artistic production. They also provide experiences that, over time, build a fund of more or less universal associational meanings.

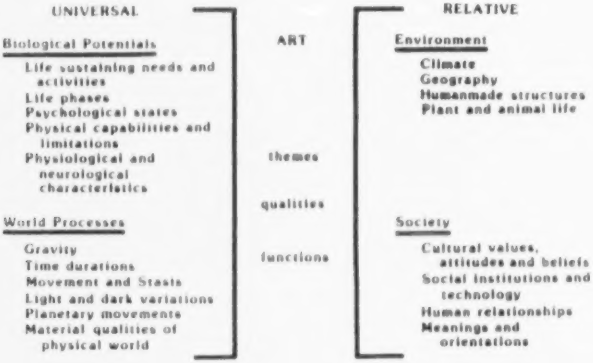
UNIVERSAL
Biological Potentials
Life sustaining needs and activities
Life phases
Psychological states
Physical capabilities and limitations
Physiological and neurological characteristics
World Processes
Gravity
Time durations
Movement and Stasis
Light and dark variations
Planetary movements
Material qualities of physical world
ART
themes
qualities
functions
RELATIVE
Environment
Climate
Geography
Humanmade structures
Plant and animal life
Society
Cultural values, attitudes and beliefs
Social institutions and technology
Human relationships
Meanings and orientations

Figure 2. Universal and Relative Factors for a Cross-Cultural Study of Art

Study in the universal domain should be undertaken to ascertain cross-cultural similarities. Study in the relative domain should concentrate on differences within themes, qualities, and functions based on the relative factors of environment and society listed in Figure 2. In other words, in the second phase of study the focus should be on artistic differences as they relate to relative factors. Cultural interpretations and responses to art should be studied as a function of socially learned expectations. For those students who wish to pursue the study of art and the relative meanings of art, movement should proceed to discipline-based, idiosyncratic, and unique areas. These are the areas in which art specialists are trained.

For a cross-cultural study of art, both the universal and the relative aspects of David Feldman's (1980) continuum are considered, and, in fact, can be used to sequence and tailor instruction to the readiness levels of students (Clark & Zimmerman, 1986). The universal aspects of a cross-cultural art form are most easily accessible, cultural aspects less so, studying art as a discipline in a particular culture even less so, and so on. While all art retains response and productive ties to biological and world process experiences, the universal becomes ever more layered, shaped, and interpreted as one moves to the right on Feldman's continuum.

Sources of Universal and Relative Manifestations

The universal-relative dialectic of artistic production and response has its sources in four general areas of human experiences, as noted in Figure 2. First, there is life as it is biologically experienced. Second, humans have experiences of the organic and inorganic environments that are governed by the laws of physics. These two sources are the baseline of all human experience and comprise the universal component of the dialectic. The third source consists of the environmental qualities of a particular culture's locale. The fourth source, the social experience, consists of the configurations and meanings given to human existence in particular cultures. A strategy for the cross-cultural study of art needs to incorporate what makes art universal and relative both in terms of production and in terms of response. A dynamic between these two poles is evident in both how and why art is made and in how and why art is interpreted as it is.

Universal: Biological Potentialities

The biological needs and potentialities of humans have remained essentially unchanged since the Paleolithic Age (Abell, 1957). These can be delineated as life sustaining needs and activities related to food, shelter, security, procreation, work; life phases of birth, maturation, and death; psychological states of affection, fear, domination, subordination, hate, despair, joy; physical capabilities and limitations due to body size, form, positions, movements, and strengths; and the physiological and neurological characteristics of respiration, circulation, binocular vision, sensory perceptions.

Life sustaining needs, activities, and phases are areas of concern that find expression in themes found in art throughout the world. Themes of procreation, security, fear, and domination find expression in fertility figures, ceremonial items used to assuage the gods, the decorated battle gear of soldiers, and the portable wealth of jewelry used for body adornment. Art functions to mark the importance and meanings of individuals, activities, and environments.

In addition to generating themes and functions, biological potentials are evident in the way in which the formal qualities of art are expressed. Rhythmic patterns and the repetition of motifs have correlates in life phases, body movements, work activities, and physiological processes. Repetition in art provides visual predictability and order that allows for a psychological re-enactment of life experiences.

Not only do universal experiences provide grist for artistic production, they also provide an experiential fund of associational meanings used in responses to and interpretations of art. Symmetry, balance, and order have their correlates in human physique. The symmetrical is balanced and predictable; the asymmetrical lacks a visual counterpart, thereby interjecting a sense of suspense and variety. Vertical and horizontal visual forms may also be interpreted in terms of body form, movements, and positions. An upright body position allows for movement, alertness, and visual control of the environment. Qualities of grandeur, movement, superiority, and decisiveness are often attributed to artistic forms exhibiting a strong sense of the vertical. The Statue of Liberty, medieval cathedrals, obelisks, and objects depicted high in the picture plane appear to be striving for liberation and may symbolize a transcedence from one's current economic class, from the material world, or from the limitations of human knowledge and action. Conversely, the horizontal in art is associated with acquiescence, subservience, quietude, and an integration with nature inasmuch as these are associated with experiences of the prone body.

Leaning forms, asymmetry, and diagonal lines have been interpreted as conveying movement, instability, change, and mutation. Monumental forms often inspire awe since they are impossible physically to move or to encompass perceptually from a single viewpoint. Grillo (1975) discusses the many ways in which architectural elements, city planning, and functional objects relate to the size, movements, and capabilities of the human body. The canons and conventions of art are intimately related to human activities and physiology (Gombrich, 1967; Meier, 1942).

Universal: World Processes

In a similar manner, experiences of the physical world and its laws result in more or less universally expressed artistic themes, qualities, and functions. Universal world processes include gravity, time durations, movement and stasis, light and dark variations, planetary movements, and the material qualities of the physical world. We occupy a world governed by the laws of gravity. The soaring redwood, the mountain range, and the flying bird appear to defy those worldly, gravitational ties. Likewise, in art the vertical is interpreted as defying physical exigencies. The predictable cycles of night and day, seasons, and tides may find visual and psychological correlates in the rhythmic patterns of art. Size variations, repetitions, and placement in art can relate to types of time durations. Implied movement or stasis, the use of light and dark, color symbolism, and so on, also have their counterparts in experiences of the physical world.

Relative: The Environment

Some aspects of the physical environment are universally experienced; others are particular to a given locale. In this latter sense the environment contributes to the relative aspect of artistic production and response. The following features constitute the environment: climate, geography, humanmade structures, and plant and animal life.

Grillo (1975) discusses how humanmade forms are shaped by climate and geography--the pitch of roofs relates to rainfall averages, building materials relate to available natural resources, window sizes relate to intensity of sunlight, and so on. In what can be called a geography of art, Pevsner (1956) attributes many of the distinguishing qualities of English art to the qualities of England's geography, climate, and vegetation.

Living in a carpentered environment with precise horizon lines has been related to an ability to perceive linear perspective. The perception of linear perspective and other depth cues may be relatively unimportant in some cultures and hence in their art. This appears to be the case with traditional Eskimo art inasmuch as their visual environment has few natural features or humanmade structures that give strong depth differentiations or that create converging lines (Hall, 1966).

Relative: Society

Not all artistic possibilities find expression in any one society, and what is actually selected is given culturally relative interpretations. Society interjects such contingencies as cultural values, attitudes and beliefs, the configuration of social institutions and the level of technological development, the nature of human relationships, and meanings given to and orientations taken toward the factors cited in Figure 2.

The need for affection and security is a universal theme that may be expressed in depictions of powerful leaders, of mothers caring for their children, or of gargoyles designed to intimidate intruders and scare away the demons of disease. In any one culture, only certain themes, qualities, and functions are given objective, artistic form. Although it might be assumed that all people perceive and experience movement, whether movement will be a distinct feature in a culture's art will depend on the value given to change, mutation, variation, and mobility. Cross-culturally, design elements and their arrangements are used differently and given variable interpretations. In art, darkness may be used to conceal imagined evils or it may be used, as in the inner regions of Indian temples, to provide the solace for introspection. Artistic forms may function to oppress segments of the population by the use of monumentality that overpowers, precious materials that are generally unattainable, or uniqueness of form that is not easily understood. Conversely, art may function to reveal new insights, to present hitherto concealed meanings, or to sanction the life styles of the less powerful.

Cultures exhibit variable interpretations of reality and variable shapes of consciousness. Together with the particular character of the environment, cultural interpretations of themes, qualities, and functions give the art of each culture its own particular style and flavor. A cross-cultural study of art can serve to reveal this rich diversity of cultural expressions as well as the depths of our universal experiences.

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Creating cultural futures by constructing cultural backgrounds: An elementary art teacher at work.

Nancy R. Johnson

This study identified ways that art knowledge is taught to elementary students in Grades Three to Six by a traveling art teacher. The study utilized participant-observation to describe the kind of knowledge taught and what students think about and talk about in art class. In the situation observed, time for art was limited to two classes per month and lessons focused on the elements and principles of design.

Through the accumulated learned traditions of other persons, children are shaped into participants in the society in which they live. Barrett (1984) noted that babies acquire the prevailing cultural pattern of their society through observation, imitation, and instruction. This process is termed enculturation (Barrett, 1984), cultural transmission (Beals, 1979), or socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Objectives

The purpose of this study was to examine the instructional process in art classes taught by a traveling art teacher in Grades Three to Six. Little is known about the process by which art is taught and learned in elementary schools and how traveling art teachers go about their duties. Participant-observation studies have been made of teaching and learning art in classrooms (Degge, 1976; Alexander, 1980; Johnson, 1985; in press), pre-school settings (Taunton, 1983), university classes (Sevigny, 1978; Stokrocki, 1982), and art museums (Johnson, 1981). At the elementary level, participant-observation studies include a description of children's meanings about art (Johnson, 1982a; Johnson, 1986) and a description of an effective elementary teacher instructing a second grade class in a working class community (Stokrocki, 1986).

Questions to be answered in this study were: What kind of art knowledge is shared with students? How and why did the teacher select this knowledge? How is the knowledge communicated? What do students think about as they make art?

Theoretical Framework

The study drew upon the sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), sociolinguistics (Hertzler, 1965; Halliday, 1978), and work in metaphor and cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The art experience was treated as symbolic because of its invented character. The configuration of our conception of art as we communicate with one another through language is rooted in metaphor (Johnson, 1982b).

Method

Participant-observation and interviews were used to study the teaching-learning process in art. The researcher accompanied one art teacher (recommended by the art supervisor) full-time for three weeks. All together, twenty-one classes were visited: eight third grades, three fourth grades, five fifth grades, three sixth grades, and two special education classes. Audiotapes and field notes were made of classroom interactions. The teacher was interviewed about his approach to lesson planning and copies were made of his lessons. One or two groups of three to four children seated nearest to the researcher were interviewed in class as they worked. Photographs were taken of their art work. These materials formed the basis for a description and analysis in a phenomenological manner. This involved documenting information related to the questions stated in the objectives and then identifying patterns in the information and examining them.

Data Sources

The major informant, the teacher, began his career as a substitute. After three years, the position of traveling art teacher became available. At the time of the study, he had completed his first year in this role. He had received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from a local university, and specialized in Printmaking.

The teacher traveled to five schools and saw about eight hundred fifty students in thirty-seven different classes every two weeks. The schools were located in a small city in an eastern state. Often he would return to a school for half a day or on another non-consecutive day to meet with all of the classes.

Conditions varied from school to school. In some schools, water was available only in the restrooms or the custodian's closet. In one, water for the first floor classes was available in the cafeteria kitchen. Dirty water had to be poured down a drain in the hall floor. In another school, water was obtained by going outside the main building and bringing it back to the room assigned to art, which only had an outside entrance. Many times, the teacher had to run with supplies from the basement to the third floor, then to the first floor, and up to the third again. The supplies were carried on commercial bread trays, or if on one floor, on an AV cart.

Enrollments ranged from one hundred twenty to two hundred students and each school had its own budget for art. The monies ranged from thirty dollars in one to two hundred fifty in another. The Board Office contributed approximately four hundred dollars for special project materials. Storage areas for supplies included shared spaces with P.E. equipment and books and instruments for music. Some were windowless rooms. One was entered at the back of the girl's restroom.

The students came from homes and neighborhoods that ranged from lower middle class to upper middle class. The student population was multi-ethnic, but predominantly white. Some students were identified as talented and gifted, and others were placed in special education classes because of minor learning disabilities or behavior problems. Some classes were labeled by the teachers as "nice groups" and others were called "rowdy."

Findings

What Kind of Art Knowledge is Shared with Students?

The students were presented with lessons about some aspect of the elements and principles of design as specified by the County Elementary Scope and Sequence Chart. Concepts included were: third grade - line, color, texture, and shape; fourth grade - value, perspective, and balance; fifth grade - color schemes and repetition; sixth grade - analogous color relationships and positive and negative space. Specific lessons for third and fourth grade included life-size people drawings, a Thank You group mural project, and leaf prints. In fifth and sixth grade, students experienced lessons like matching colors in nature, stained glass windows, a book report on artists, and a design with one shape.

At the time of the study, the school year was ending and the teacher had decided to finish it with mainly painting lessons. Some classes worked with pastels on still-life images and a few classes completed painting 4" x 4" squares for a paper quilt. Students were allowed to choose their own subject matter, with some prohibition on stereotypical or popular images such as squashed M's for birds, writing a name like Michael Jackson in paint, and putting rainbows in still-life pictures. Appropriate subject matter suggested for the paintings included nature, the outdoors, springtime, summertime, landscape, animals, trees, mountains, and rainbows. Still-life drawings were to be of bowls, vases, or fruit. Things that the teacher emphasized were getting started properly, procedures for cleaning up, covering the entire sheet of paper, painting directly without pre-sketching in pencil, painting in the background first, painting objects so they were solid and not outlines, putting names on the back in pencil, and not wadding up a paper that had mistakes and throwing it in the trash.

How and Why Did the Teacher Select This Knowledge?

The teacher was expected to follow the guidelines for art established at the county and state levels. He relied heavily on curriculum materials supplied by the art supervisor. Ideas for lessons came from art books, art education books, and videocassettes available in the art supervisor's office. He talked to other art teachers who had taught elementary school, and drew upon his own experience. The two volume set of *All Children Create*, levels 1-3 and levels 4-6 (Sefkow & Berger, 1981), and *Create* (Platis, 1966) were major resources. He found the two art education texts used in his university classes to be of little use. Generally, he chose to do one-shot lessons because there was little carry-over.

How is the Knowledge Communicated?

Knowledge about art was communicated through routines, rules, discussions, lectures, demonstrations, and examples. As a lesson progressed, the teacher circulated around the room. Students were reminded not to talk too much, to fill in "see-through or glass" objects that were outlined, or to rethink what a bird looked like. Occasionally, he said: "You guys are workin' really good today," "You're the artist!" or "That's what's good about art. People see different things." Excerpts from the tapes and field-notes illustrate the ways by which art knowledge was shared.

Routines. Fourth Grade - T: ...no more than about four people in a group, all right? Yeah, here's some newspapers.... Boys, get some newspaper.... Dave? Dave, come up and pass out the paper.... Now boys! Boys! You all split up into two groups. One up here and one back here.... OK, everybody, listen up. Girls! In the corner! Listen up, please!... Be sure to put your name--girls, listen please. Put your name on your paper.

Rules. Third Grade - T: Here are your brushes. Now, I'm going to let one person out of each group--you, you and you--you and you, OK? Now take the paper--OK. Now listen. ...one person will have to get the brushes, OK? One person will have to get the paint.... Now--get one little thing of each color. S: Just one? T: You get one blue, one yellow, whatever, OK? And you have to share these. If you want to mix it right there on the newspaper and we'll throw it away. When you get--when your water is real dirty, what we'll do is we'll pour the dirty water in the small bucket and you can dip that out and get that as you want. You should not be up out of your seat for any reason except, ah--if you need to change the water and you asked me first, all right? S: OK.

Discussions. Third Grade - T: Don't birds have a body? S: (Laugh.) T: Everybody makes birds like M's, but birds have a body, and a beak, and a tail, right? S: I don't know how to make 'em. T: Russ? S: Oh, I'll make 'em. T: Everybody makes birds like M's. S: Not everybody! S: Well-- S: From a distance that's what they look like. T: No! S: Yeah! S: Far away--they look like, small like. S: They look like M's!

Lectures. Sixth Grade - T: ...Instead of just making an apple red, OK? Use three or four different colors. There's a pink, dark red, you know, a peach color, whatever, and you can mix those up in together with the pastels. Do not just use one color when you make your design, OK? In other words, don't just use red. Just don't make a red ball and shade it in, you know. Rub in--just use your finger or a paper towel to smear this in. Use two or three different colors of red so that it's darker on one side and then maybe use some white or some yellow, or some pinks--lighter colors for the other side.

Demonstrations. Sixth Grade - T: OK, I'll tell you about pastels....You can sketch it up with a pencil, first, if you want. Ah, don't get too small with things, ah, 'cause you can't add a whole lot of detail to--ah, when you use pastels, one, you don't have to use half the stick just to get something shaded in, OK? In other words, you don't have to rub real hard on something, OK? S: (Unclear.) T: You can. You can do it either way that you want or when you shade something in you can just use this and then take your finger and smudge it in. S: It washes off? T: Oh yeah, it'll wash off, OK? But you should smudge it in. It shouldn't be left just like this, OK?

Examples. Fifth grade - S: What are we making? T: What are you making? You're just making small pictures.... Outdoors. S: Oh, OK. T: Landscapes; make up a large quilt, OK? Or you know, it can be a--some people did rainbows, ah, trees, mountains, ah--here's one--like trees, a park bench. S: Who did that? T: Ah--Who did it? Somebody in (unclear) class.... Here's one with a sunset.... Ah, so we're going to mix the two classes together, OK? Here's another one with birds. Ah, Joel-- S: Let's see. T: Let's see, you can put houses. We need some animals. Now, this is a nice one (unclear). S: (Unclear) animals. T: Animals would be good!. I need you to do at least two, two or three. S: (Unclear.) T: What kind of animals you talkin' about? S: I'm going to do animals. T: Sure, that's fine. S: A squid! S: A giant jellyfish! T: OK. That's it on examples, though; different ones I can show you.

What do the Students Think About or Talk About as They Make Art?

A major interest of the students was the blending and mixing of colors. They watched new colors emerge on paintings, the changes in the water each time a brush was rinsed, or what happened when blending pastels. Comments were made like: "Ooh!" or "Look at that!" "There it goes!" One fifth grader rinsed his brush and remarked about the water: "Army. Vietnam." Other interests included achieving a desired color (mostly brown), making a specific image, keeping the water clean or "new," keeping the paint uncontaminated by other colors, and what colors their finger tips were as pastels were smudged. Students talked about what to put in their pictures and what colors to use.

Images developed as the students worked, without much preconception. Details or additions, and sometimes major changes, would appear as the art period progressed. Quite often, commentaries accompanied the development of an image: "Do something easy like a sunset," "This here's a ray gun," "It could be a tree," "Here's my sun. I like your sun," and "Look, my apples are running together!" Problems were solved as the students went along. For example, one third grade student forgot to leave room for straps on a bathing suit. She was making a picture of herself as she was surfing. Her arms were up and there was no room to paint straps. Consequently, the bathing suit, which had started out as a two piece, became a one piece.

Topics for pictures were discussed within groups. Vacations, past and planned, yielded imagery about Ft. Lauderdale and jellyfish in Florida. An eclipse of the sun generated discussion about space and a series of outer space pictures. One student had visited the Indy 500 and drew the race. His friends drew cars, too, such as Knightrider, which is featured on a TV program. Overall, the imagery in the pictures was more symbolic than realistic. Older students made images that were more accurate than these in the lower grades.

A lot of jokes and clever retorts were made as the students worked. For example, a Fifth Grade boy went around to other students and the teacher with red paint on his brush and asked: "Do you want your palm re(a)d?"

The quality of work was discussed by students. In one fourth grade class, two students were known as artists. A girl said: "John and Glenn are our two artists. You can tell 'cause they can draw good."

Conclusions

The construction of a cultural background for these students included minimal exposure to art. Can two hours of art per month provide an appropriate understanding of art concepts?

The teacher's approach to transmitting what he knew about art was child-centered. Lessons focused on making art and being creative. Students relied more on their own skills to imagine, visualize, and create images than on learning how artists solved these problems. Enculturation took the form of active engagement by the students in appropriating culturally sanctioned ways of making art. The teaching-learning process was interactive.

Educational Importance of the Study

The study contributed to the developing body of literature about teaching and learning in classrooms. It illuminated some of the interaction between teacher and students at the elementary level. The study points to the need for examining in detail the students' working process. Much more information is needed about what happens during art lessons so that we may better understand the teaching-learning process, reflect upon what happens, and improve the teaching of art to prospective teachers and to children.

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Footnote

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The conveyance of aesthetic values during art activities in Grades One through Three.

Martha Taunton

Approximately twenty-four hours of art lessons in one elementary school, Grades One through Three, were observed and audiotaped by the researcher. Transcriptions of classroom verbal interactions, supplemented by observational notes and teacher interviews, were examined to determine how and what aesthetic standards and values for student art work were conveyed during art activities. Values were found conveyed by peer verbal interaction, teacher-student verbal interaction, exhibited art work, written comments on student work, and teacher objectives. Positive values or standards were found related to at least ten factors, which are detailed.

Though the judgmental or evaluative process is fundamental to qualitative and personal subject matter areas such as art, little research has been done on how aesthetic values are developed and conveyed in the art classroom. Research by Rosario and Collazo (1981), Alexander (1984), Cocking and Copple (1979), and Johnson (1981) are among the few observation studies of art classrooms or museum tours to mention aesthetic/evaluative standards or values.

There is an increasing amount of literature and research on the development of children's aesthetic criteria and critical abilities in response to works of art and art reproductions. However, the art curriculum remains studio-focused in the majority of elementary and secondary art programs and there is little research examining the development of children's aesthetic standards in regard to their own work with art materials and the work of their peers.

The present research focused on classroom verbal interactions to examine the conveyance of aesthetic values during studio art activities in Grades One through Three. The research questions were:

What are characteristics of the expressions of aesthetic values evident in classroom verbal interactions? How are aesthetic values conveyed in the classroom?

Method

Approximately twenty-four hours of art lessons in one elementary school, Grades One through Three, were observed and audiotaped by the researcher. The teacher for the observed lessons was certified to teach art and readily agreed to participate. He was in his first year of teaching and was enrolled in a graduate art education program. The district in which the observations were made was a small, rural community, population approximately 3,000. Class sizes ranged from 9 students (transitional first grade classroom) to 27 students. One-fourth of the students were Caucasian. There was also a small number of Asian-American children in the school.

Children came to the art classroom once a week for 40-50 minute periods. The observed lessons occurred over a three-week period. Each art lesson was observed and audiorecorded from beginning to end, using a 6" x 11" tape recorder with a built-in microphone. The recorder was placed on a student work table in full view.

The researcher made written notes describing the nature of the art activities, materials available, the procedures and sequences of activities, children present, concurrent nonverbal behavior, and other relevant contextual information useful in clarifying the audiotapes and classroom events. Photographs of children's art work and classroom activities were made as a record of these events. Additionally, the observer interviewed the art teacher to ascertain his perceptions of classroom events.

Analysis and Results

The sample for this study consisted of audiotapes, observational notes of the observed lessons, and interview transcriptions. The audiotapes of 21 of the lessons were converted into typed transcriptions and coordinated with field notes.

Eight lessons were selected by the researcher from the initial group of 21, based on transcription completeness, on representativeness of the lesson and art knowledge or content emphasized, and on diversity of classroom activities. Further review of the transcriptions and notes of these eight lessons by the researcher provided specific information for the results.

How Values Were Conveyed

Expressions of values and standards in the classes observed were most pervasive when students were working or when their art work, finished or in-progress, was handed back. Few expressions of values were noted when lessons or assignments were introduced to a class.

Values and standards primarily were conveyed in the following five ways:

1. Peer verbal interaction. Classroom routines allowed a great deal of social interaction. Children actively sought peer comments and approval. This was true with finished work, work in-progress, and work posted on bulletin boards.

2. Teacher-student verbal interaction. The teacher commented on finished work and work in-progress. He made large-group announcements, as well as speaking to individuals. The teacher's intent in these comments, while presumably to develop aesthetic competency, also was to motivate or to assure children as they worked.

3. Exhibited art work. The selection of particular art works by children and teacher for display served to convey and reinforce standards. Exhibited work in the room included children's work, art reproductions and teacher examples.

4. Work handed in. The teacher made written comments on some of the collected assignments.

5. Objectives for assignments. Though not frequent, assignments often had criteria for completion.

Types of Values/Standards

The following ten categories represent the types of value expressions of children and teacher in the observed classes:

1. Peer culture. Images based on children's peer/popular culture were held in high esteem by the children and appeared frequently in their free drawings. Smurfs, cabbage patch dolls, premmies, break dancers, rainbows, hearts, and ghetto blasters were represented and their presence in an art work usually guaranteed peer approval, but not always teacher approval.

2. The strange and the bizarre. Students seemed repelled yet fascinated by certain bizarre subject matter. Such subjects generated peer interest and usually peer approval.

3. Individuality or uniqueness. The attribute was encouraged primarily by the teacher but there were occasional accusations by children about "copying."

4. Completion of a task. Often, students and the teacher expressed satisfaction with efforts in a particularly tedious or difficult task. Aesthetic quality had little to do with this satisfaction.

5. Realistic appearance. Students, rather than the teacher, most frequently made comments in this category and made them about their own work.

6. Formal characteristics. These comments were made more frequently by the teacher.

7. Acceptability of subject matter. The teacher also made more comments in this category than did children. Usually, subject matter that was off-limits had to do with images mentioned in category 1 (Peer/popular culture), and related to the issues represented by category 3 (Individuality/uniqueness).

8. Conventional, unquestioned standards. These standards usually were derived from the teacher, but children often echoed them in comments to their peers. These standards included size, filling whole page, addition of details, etc.

9. Criteria related to particular projects. Some aesthetic criteria were appropriate to a current assignment. These were stated when the project began or evolved as the project was completed.

10. *Non specific.* Often comments expressed opinions about work, but no specification of significance was given.

Conclusions

Though little research exists on how aesthetic values are learned and taught in the classroom, this study illustrates that the process is spontaneous and inescapable during art activities with children. The study calls to mind Efland's (1976) critique of the "school art style" as many of the standards present in the recorded conversations of the observed classes were reminiscent of his characterization of "school art." However, the preferred "school art style" in these classrooms had qualities not referred to by Efland, including features from the peer/popular culture and a desired bizarre quality. Peers, as well as the teacher, played a role in determining standards for art work. Additionally, the children in this study were aware of the teacher as the source of some criteria. In many instances, they were aware of differences between their personal criteria and those of their teacher. The teacher, too, was aware that students did not always use his value system.

The application of aesthetic values to their work was not problematic to the children in the particular setting observed. Indeed, the children in this study actively sought confirmation and validation of their efforts. This willingness to risk another's reaction is reflective of Feldman's (1973) thoughts on the role of criticism as a culminating social activity in the artroom: the work of art that does not receive an answering human response is incomplete.

The ease with which children gave and accepted responses to their efforts in this setting also is reflective of special skills on the part of the first year teacher is this setting. Feldman (1973) says:

> One of the things a teacher can do that requires a certain amount of organizational skill is to structure the class so that its members constitute a community of witness to the creative work of each child. Ultimately, we seek a situation where the youngster looks forward to the combination of what he has made with the critical responses of his peers. He is not working for himself alone; he feels that his own destiny and the destiny of his creative work are deeply involved, intermeshed, with the reactions and feelings of his fellows (p. 56).

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The visual arts:
A global perspective for local action.

John L. Weinkein

Art forms play an important role in delineating human experience. They may be regarded as metaphors for rites of passage undertaken by members of a society that result in expanded sensibility. Art is examined in three contexts: human, cultural, and historical, and attention is drawn to a program for schools based upon these contexts.

A major premise of cross-cultural study is that other cultures can provide insight into our own. This is especially true of concepts that reflect patterns shared by all humankind, which may be referred to as *universals*. These include basic situations of birth, death, recreation, teaching, learning, communication, continuity and relationships to human organizations and the supernatural.

Educators, as well as anthropologists, are involved in describing and comparing or contrasting meaningful distinctions within human cultural relationships. These are manifest in all manner of formal rights, privileges and duties within a society and by extension as universal cultural elements. Each individual member of a society is allowed, expected to follow, or responsible for certain behaviors. This is a dynamic process, always in flux.

Accepting these elements as universals is predicated on their presence in endless specific forms that make up humanity's material culture. It is these cultural forms or markers, delineating human experience, that we term rites of passage. The actual physical forms or markers in which this delineation is made we term *art*.

Rites of passage accompanying the major changes in an individual's life in "each society [have] smoothed or cushioned its most important alterations in values, obligations, roles, age, status, and relationships" (Jacobs, 1964, p. 150). Art forms have consistently played a major role in this process.

The specific term *rites of passage* was proposed by the anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep in the early 20th century. Although not embraced by the entire field of anthropology it holds particular relevance for consideration by art educators.

A well defined pattern can be seen in these rites, consisting of three stages. These are separation, a marked change; threshold (limen), an intensified specialized structure; and incorporation, resulting in a distinct difference. Metaphorically, these range from death and rebirth, re-enacted cosmological events and the supernatural giving of ceremony, to ritual and specific technologies which are the foundation of a culture. They provide for orderly social transition and continuity within each society.

The USSEA/CSEA Conference in Vancouver provides an apt example of these stages. The participants separate themselves from their usual environment, participate in an intensified set of events, educational and celebratory, and finally return home as different cultural beings, cognitively and perceptually.

Art itself can be a metaphor for rites of passage. Inherent in each work of art is the movement and change from one stage to another. Art involves ritual, transition, the sequential forming process, and most importantly, the enlargement of knowledge. We are separated from a past stage, undergo the process of forming as threshold and are incorporated as a new cultural being, changed by this phenomenon.

Art always accomplishes this to some degree. Children are intimately involved with it in the developmental process. These rites of development, on the individual level, re-enact the universal process of change and growth in each of us.

If "all art is culture laden content" then we can examine the structure or form of this "series of events" by what happens in the transformation. (McEvilley, 1984, p. 62). The "Ultimate criticism of an artwork...would virtually contain the cultural universe in miniature." (McEvilley, 1984, pp. 262-263).

Despite the great diversity of cultural heritage and artistic legacy, visual art records the commonality of experience, communicates information, displays wealth and power, renews life and cultural continuity. Within culture, through the use of expressive symbols, moral and aesthetic meanings are combined, blended and shared. The history of world art is rich with these, and each generation continues their development. "There is no evidence that a secularized urban world has lessened the need for a ritualized expression of an individual's transition from one status to another" (Van Gennep, 1960).

Whether or not we can effectively link cultural ideas such as rites of passage with the individual physical forms produced in our own culture remains to be seen. But the potential application of this conceptualization to formal education in art suggests a possible way to understand more fully our own cultural domain and that of our children. This can be fundamentally helpful in understanding our own and other cultures.

Although the problem of providing a working model is difficult, viewing education as a cultural process is a necessity. This is most effectively demonstrated in a statement referring to multicultural education as "The general human process of socialization whereby young people are prepared to fit successfully into the internal environment of the community of their upbringing and into the external environment within which exists the total community of human beings of which they are a part" (Thomas & Wahrhafting, 1971, p. 230).

A considerable part of looking at and attempting to understand the material culture, including what we term art, is to experience it within its appropriate context. This most effectively reflects multiculturalism as the normal human experience. Three major areas or contexts provide comprehensively for this range of experience, and serve as means to organize content.

Art in the Human Context

Each society, throughout the world, has invented and developed ways to explain how the world has come to be, and has created models for how it should be in relationship to humankind. Art has been used to communicate these ideas visually. This context emphasizes art's functions in relationship to inherent human qualities. Understanding these functions enables us to identify aspects of art experience and art making that are universal. "Human societies, anthropologists maintain, despite their many forms and diverse customs, are all alike in being expressions of mankind's common human nature" (Goodenough, 1970, p. 1).

Art in the Cultural Context: The Nature of Culture

Culture is the totality of meanings, ideas and beliefs learned and shared by individuals within a group. Material culture is all that is produced by the people within a society. Much of this production and its place in the cultural context is known as art. Many cultures do not separate art with a special designation, but nonetheless have produced vast quantities of materials which transcend their utilitarian function and address aesthetic needs. Each culture has provided its own standards of excellence and quality in this regard. Culture is "a set of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting" (Goodenough, 1970, p. 99) derived from the expectations one has for others with whom one interacts in frequent and recurring situations. Further, "these standards constitute the culture that one attributes to one's fellows" (p. 99). Multi-cultural education is "the process whereby a person develops competencies in multiple systems of standards".[1]

Art in the Historical Context: Our Place in History

Each individual exists in relationship to others in space and on a time continuum. By the fact that we share mobility and movement, we exist in an ongoing process of cultural and aesthetic socialization. Every art object that exists is a product of intentions and outcomes that reflect a time and place. However, in contemporary society ability to experience art works has transcended linear time and localized space. "The artist gives form to the nature and values of his time, which in their turn form him" (Jung, 1973, p. 286).

Implementing the Contexts

These three areas can fit within the concepts of discipline-based education, as found within the 1985 Report from the Getty Center for

Education in the Arts. "The Center believes if art education is to be accepted as an essential part of every child's education, programs will need to be developed that teach content from four disciplines that constitute art: art history, art production, art criticism and aesthetics."[2] Each of the three context areas makes ample provision for each of these disciplines.

These three major contexts form the bases for a program developed for classroom teachers in Iowa.

In addition to each major area, specific thought processes to be taught, teaching suggestions and related concepts for the introduction of each area have been developed. A planning form has been designed to prepare strategies for classroom use. Aims, goals and objectives from Iowa's "Visual Arts in Iowa Schools"[3] are keyed in and can be coordinated with each strategy plan. Current art content can be incorporated within each of these areas or new strategies and units developed that specifically include each area. This initial design for incorporation in existing curricula will be tested this summer and revised throughout the upcoming 1986-87 academic year by twelve classroom teachers in the state. We hope to monitor closely the progress of this project and determine its effectiveness and potential for wider application.

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Footnotes

[1] Gibson, M. A. Approaches to multicultural education in the United States: Some concepts and assumptions. Paper presented at American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, December, 1975.

[2] Report by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts, Beyond creating: The place for art in America's schools, 1985.

[3] The visual arts in Iowa schools, State of Iowa Department of Public Instruction, Des Moines, IA, 1985.

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How do we prepare art teachers for a multicultural society?

Doug Boughton

Cultural pluralism implies differences within cultures as well as between cultures. A teacher education program in South Australia is described, to show how different priorities among students may be accommodated within five program focuses: Art or Design Content Studies, Theory and History of Art or Design, Teaching Studies, Education Studies, and Electives.

Over the past hundred years one of the most consistent rationales for art study has been that it promotes transmission of the cultural heritage. Since World War II particularly in Australia, the original simplicity of this idea has been transmuted into goals fraught with ideological difficulties. *Whose* cultural heritage should be transmitted?

Except for Israel, Australia has experienced the largest migration of any people into any country in this century, and forty per cent of all Australians are the product of post-World War II immigrations. The 1981 census indicated that the proportion of school age children who were born overseas was twelve percent of the total. Of Australian born children 11.9 per cent are the offspring of parents who were both born outside Australia.

In South Australia 0.8 per cent of all South Australians are Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders; 23 per cent of all South Australians were born overseas. Almost 23 per cent of all South Australians have a parent born in a non-English speaking country.

Australia is experiencing a cultural revolution. In 1973 the government of the day committed the nation to a policy of multi-culturalism. This policy has been expressed in a variety of forms since then, through various funding organizations, particularly in the arts and education. In 1982, the Australia Council, the Commonwealth Government's major arts funding and advisory body, formally adopted a multicultural arts policy, and established a centrally-controlled incentive fund to promote multicultural arts projects. The Commonwealth Schools Commission Multicultural Education Program was established in 1979 with an initial budget of $1.5 million, and spend $4.7 million in 1984. The main intention of this Schools Commission program was to promote multicultural education in Australian schools.

For art teacher-educators there are enormous problems inherent in the construction of courses likely to produce teachers who are able to foster multiculturalism through their teaching, simply because of the complex ways in which the idea has been interpreted. The first principle of multiculturalism is that of cultural survival for ethnic minorities. In its extreme form this implies separatism, which in the educational context invites the establishment of separate school systems within which language and religious traditions may be maintained. This has begun to occur in Australia with some ethnic groups who have established their own day-schools, following the Australian pattern of separate schools for specific religious denominations. Taken to its logical conclusion, this interpretation of multiculturalism would result in a proliferation of monocultural sub-groups within the mainstream society. For some groups, particularly non-Europeans, this kind of action may be the only way in which their cultures can survive in traditional form. Australian tribal aboriginal culture, for example, is so totally dependent upon relationship with the land, sacred sites, tribal life, and language, that only those living in remote areas, separate from mainstream western life, have been able to retain their culture.

This point was illustrated by the South Australian Aboriginal Education Consultative Committee in their statement of *Rationale, Aims and Objectives for Aboriginal Education in South Australia*. Three different kinds of educational needs were identified for different groups of aboriginal people. These groups were identified as, i) those living in traditional areas of Australia, such as the Pitjantjatjara Lands and Yalata where Aboriginal culture and values are still observed, ii) Aboriginal communities where the traditional ways are not observed, iii) minority group Aboriginals living in urban situations.

Not surprisingly the committee's recommendation for education in the traditional setting was that education should be an integral part of the community, and that what is taught should be an extension of the current knowledge and values of the community. In the ideal case, informed educational personnel should be Aboriginal.

Even in the urban secondary school seeting a form of separateness was viewed by the committee as preferable, at least in the current context. "Until such time as pre-schools and primary education are able to produce standards acceptable to us we believe that making constructive use of aboriginal peer groups in secondary school is worthy of consideration, even to the point of all-Aboriginal classes."

There is, however, an important difference between the educational expectations of Aboriginal groups living in the traditional way, and those non-traditional or urban dwelling Aboriginal people. Traditional Aboriginals expect to maintain their culture in unchanged form, almost in the sense of a living museum of traditional culture. For the non-traditionalists the appropriate educational outcome is to develop respect and understanding of Aboriginal values, language, and culture, while achieving academic success, employment and equal access to the resources of mainstream society.

This second sense of multiculturalism is what the Task Force to investigate Multiculturalism and Education (1984) called "dynamic but lasting multiculturalism". The basic principle of this notion is that cultures co-exist, interact with each other, and, through this interaction, transform to meet changing circumstances. The Minister for Ethnic Affairs outlined government policy in an address to a Multicultural workshop.

> The arts of ethnic groups can no longer be seen in one dimension only. The attitude that the ethnic arts is only the presentation of an old museum culture fixed in time and geographical space must give way to a broader concept. What is particularly relevant now is that the children of migrants create the spirit of the old culture, and in developing it in a new environment, give birth to new ideas and new forms. It is this new force and new spirit that must be nurtured and developed to allow it to work its way through the entire community.

For most ethnic groups the central core value of their culture is represented through their language. Many of these groups strongly believe that the preservation of their linguistic core is indispensable for the transmission of their cultures to the next generation.

Two complementary and necessary strategies are contained in this policy of "dynamic but lasting multiculturalism." First, school students from different ethnic backgrounds must have the opportunity to learn their own language and culture as part of the school program, in order that the central core value of their cultures is maintained. Second, the value systems that characterize each cultural subgroup must be respected and recognized within the total school program. In other words, all students must learn about the beliefs and values of other groups in order to develop attitudes demonstrating increased tolerence and understanding of the culturally different.

Essentially the difference between these two strategies is that, in the first instance the curriculum is designed *for* specific cultural groups, while in the second case the curriculum content is *about* the culturally different. It is impossible to include cultural content representative of all ethnic groups within Australia in all subjects, for all students, in all schools. So a selection process has to occur. In terms of preparing teachers it is equally impossible to include cultural content representative of all groups.

While is has been fairly common in the art education literature for writers to claim that study of cultural diversity in art will assist students to better understand their own culture, and that of others, the task is not an easy, or simple one. Paywid's (1975) work indicates that ethnic sub-groups within society survive only because they are comprised of individuals with strong emotional ties to such groups. Promotion of multicultural study can stimulate dissent and division.

The view that change is difficult to bring about is supported in the review of the Australian Commonwealth Multi-cultural Program, in operation since 1979. Despite the expenditure of 4.7 million dollars in 1984 alone the review committee reported that lasting and substantial change had not been brought about within the school system. The committee also reported as one of the achievements of the program,

> The Program has provided a funding base for implementing and testing the multicultural education philosophy in the Australian

schooling system. In doing so, it has sharpened the debate and brought a sobering realization of how difficult the task it.

Within this program 2,871 projects in 14 percent of Australian schools were funded, with the major emphasis on community language programs. Empirical data from the review revealed that almost one quarter of these programs was unsuccessful, usually because a group or individual responsible for initiating the program left the school.

The lecturing staff within the School of Art and Design Education at South Australia College of Advanced Education have developed art and design teacher education programs that contain a number of features to meet the needs of our multicultural society. Unique within Australia is the development by the College of two interconnected strands of a B.Ed. programme in which students may specialize in Design teaching or Art teaching. These complementary strands serve two related purposes. The Design strand services the need for all school students to understand the role and function of applied arts within contemporary Australian society, and is responsive to the growing demand within industry for individuals with design skills. The Art strand is designed to promote an understanding of a wide range of visual expressive forms, in both traditional and contemporary media. Each strand is anchored within an appropriate historical context.

In more specific terms the Design strand is focussed upon the applied arts, specifically environmental design, product design, and visual communication, while the Art strand develops understanding of a broad spectrum of fine art, traditional crafts, primitive and popular arts, including newer media such as photography, film, and computer generated imagery.

Given the increasing demand within arts related industries for individuals who have applied arts skills, interest among school students in design areas has steadily increased in South Australia over the past decade. The definitive characteristic of the teaching approach throughout the design studio subjects in our B.Ed. is that of problem solving in relation to externally-imposed conditions. Essentially the learning style of students is patterned upon the working life of professional designers. Content is industry based, and many visits are made to designers' studios during the four years of the program.

Despite the equivalent of almost two years of practical involvement by students in designing, it is not the intention of the program to produce teachers who are professional designers. Instead, the graduates of the course will have a well developed understanding of the design process, experience in visual and functional problem solving in environmental design, product design, and visual communication, and considerable experience with contemporary materials.

The art and the design teaching B.ED. programs share a common structure. Each is comprised of five strands which, like warp threads in a weaving extend from the beginning to the end of the program, holding the final form together. These threads are i) Art or Design content studies, ii) Theory/History of Art or Design, iii) Teaching Studies (including related methodology field experience or lab school experiences, curriculum development and evaluation, planning and production of learning materials), iv) Education Studies (including elements of history, psychology, and philosophy of education), and v) electives, which may be chosen from any courses offered at the college.

Art and Design students alike share the same pattern of teaching studies, education studies, and electives. Both groups of students come together for methodology units, laboratory school teaching experience, and in the final year, for seminar discussions related to their in-depth independent study.

One part of the program, labelled Core Studies, is intended to provide a basic understanding of a variety of ways in which visual research may be conducted, specialized use of art language, and an exploration of a variety of uses of traditional 2D and 3D art materials. The activies are not studio bound in the fine art sense of painting, drawing and sculpture. Instead, concepts related to language and images that pervade art making in all media are the central concerns. Studio Studies is more specialized in its examination of the technology and concepts required to make more contemporary arts and crafts objects. A rapidly growing component of this cluster is film and electronic media, in which computer generated imagery is assuming increasing significance.

All students have experience in all of these areas during the first two years of the program. In the final two years increasing specialization occurs, requiring students to study two of Fabrications, Textiles, Clay, Sculpture, Painting, Printmaking, Drawing, and Film and Electronic Media in depth. In the final year students negotiate an in-depth project in a single, previously studied studio or art theory area. Alternatively they may wish to propose a project involving a combination of studio, theory or curriculum content.

Within our program the concept of art has been broadened beyond "fine arts" to include the study of applied arts (Design), primitive arts, traditional handcrafts, popular arts, and newer media such as film, television and computer assisted image generation.

Individual units of study designed to foster "multicultural understanding", have been omitted from our course design in favour of an approach that integrates a variety of cultural perspectives within each unit of studio study. Drawing, for example, is examined not only from the classic Renaissance tradition, but as a form of representation embracing a variety of modes of presentation that serve different purposes within different cultural traditions. Students studying Fabrications are asked to invent a primitive culture that requires the manufacture of artifacts integral to the hypothetical society they have devised. Such a task requires considerable understanding of the nature of primitive societies and the relationship of art objects ot everyday life. At the same time the expressive potential of an array of traditional materials is discovered.

While it is manifestly impossible in any single programme to do justice to every one of the one-hundred and forty cultural backgrounds, ninety languages (not counting the 200 Aboriginal dialects), and eighty different religions that comprise the Australian cultural mosaic, it is possible to examine and understand some of the ways in which culturally different people may respond to the same visual phenomena.

If, through our art programs, we produce teachers who believe that in contemplating the Aboriginal artist, Johnny Lynch Tjapangati's painting of "Honey Ant Dreaming", it is possible to respond only to the subtle unity of colour produced by the glorious richness of earth tones, the intriguing patterns and rhythms of lines and textures, and the asymmetrical balance of forms, we have not succeeded in developing cultural understanding. We have succeeded only when our graduates are able to understand that the formalist view is only one of many from the Western tradition, all of which are inappropriate here. Viewed from its proper cultural perspective the painting depicts the epic journey of the Dreamtime Honey Ant from the West coast to the East coast of Australia, a journey which entailed conflict with aggressive soldier ant beings. The marks that form the painting are a kind of stylized map showing the resting places of the Honey Ant beings and the land features made sacred by their journey. It is not possible, because of time constraints, to develop in students, deep insights into very many different cultures. But it is only through the realization of the significance of difference, and the power of visual forms to express these differences, that we can adequately prepare teachers for multicultural societies.

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Non-rhetorical questions: Categorizing living traditions.

David W. Ecker

Carleton Palmer

Some of the concerns encountered in building an **Encyclopedia of Living Traditions in Art** *are described. Consideration of the problematic character of existing schemes for categorizing art serves to generate new ways of looking at, and thinking about art.*

At least as problematic as the doing of research is the question of what happens to it when it is done. At New York University we are in the early stages of what promises to be a major effort to address the problem of designing the *Encyclopedia of Living Traditions in Art*. These are the stages where one can ask the most interesting questions - questions one can't answer. These are called non-rhetorical questions, and they are the most dangerous. One reason they are dangerous is because people feed you hemlock when you suggest that their answers to these questions might not be absolute.

As an example: another project under way--not ours--is the development of a list of art terms called the *Art and Architecture Thesaurus* (AAT).[1] The AAT mission is to provided a standard vocabulary for the visual arts arranged alphabetically within a hierarchical conceptual framework. The first major divisions were Architecture, Decorative Arts, and Fine Arts, but the terms Material Culture has since replaced and subsumed Decorative Arts. If it is as widely implemented as expected, the artist-researcher will increasingly encounter the AAT organizational scheme's influence in the future indexes of bibliographic and visual materials and collections of objects. With this in mind we made a Type 0 error and took an informal poll of both cataloguers of art and its surrogates. (A Type 0 error is disregard for self-preservation.) We asked a small sample of our acquaintances among art librarians and curators of collections in New York what kind of thinking had gone into the development of the major cataloging categories in art. Why is the collection universe divided up in exactly the way it is rather than another way.? It is our great good fortune that librarians and curators are not by nature violent, or some urban archaeologist might now be sifting our ashes.

We would have settled for the most likely answer: historical usage by scholars and artists themselves. AAT, in fact, began with a merged vocabulary from major indexes. In summary, the answers we received could be reduced to three:

1. "There are very smart people who think about these things all the time, and so you shouldn't worry about it."
2. "Who do you think you are to questions the system?"
3. "Huh?"

The question of classification is not rhetorical. Our project requires a classification scheme for living traditions in art, and any artist-researcher looking for help from the conventional first line of inquiry is in serious trouble. In looking for existing schemes we find Chenhall's definition of art pervasive:

> Artifacts originally created for aesthetic purposes or as a demonstration of creative skill and dexterity; the essential ingredient is that the artifact was created for no apparent utilitarian purpose.
>
> . . . decorated utilitarian objects are not considered as art for the purposes of object identification.
>
> Folk art is the same as primitive art in many respects. Many of the objects that are considered as prime examples of folk art are artifacts created originally to have some utilitarian functions in the lexical structure. (Chenhall, 1978, p. 32-33).

The formalist aesthetic embodied in this definition of art as non-utilitarian rules out the work nature of the art work. This certainly reflects conventional wisdom. If categories created serve to reflect thought, then consumed categories serve to shape thinking, and so conventional wisdom becomes invisible wisdom and accepted as unreflected truth. However useful nomenclature and all similar strategies may be for cataloging according to this formalist aesthetic, it does not happen to be useful for categorizing living traditions in art. This is because the work nature of the art work is important to the definition of living traditions in art. The nomenclature concept of art scatters the idea of living traditions in art to the winds--not a useful condition for thinking about any subject, but one to which the AAT conforms:

> The vocabulary in the thesaurus covers the following areas in the visual arts;
>
> Architecture; the built environment, or human elaboration of the natural environment.
>
> Material Culture (including Decorative Arts); artifacts with a purely utilitarian purpose, often further embellished.
>
> Fine Arts; primarily nonutilitarian objects created according to aesthetic, conceptual or symbolic principles.

This same formalism compartmentalizes schools and departments of colleges and universities into fine art, industrial art(s), art(s) history, art(s) education and so on. It may take a strenuous wrenching of the imagination to conceive of alternatives, but it can be productive to suspend belief in a tacitly held set of categories long enough to ask some non-rhetorical questions. Should one choose to critically adopt the conventional wisdom, one will have made the necessary moves to know the ground and the limits of one's adherence to it.

People continue to make art, buy and sell it, criticize, fake and study it without an explicit list of categories. One does the best with what comes to hand. If the larger philosophical problem remains a non-rhetorical question, then one modifies a set of Library of Congress or International Repertory of the Literature of Art (IRLA) subject headings, or holds a conference of experts to assemble a useful list. Maybe that's what our librarian friend meant by "Huh?"

The non-rhetorical question currently being addressed at N.Y.U. is "What is a useful way for artist-researchers to organize and classify living traditions in art? If this were a rhetorical question we would now lay out the answer. But we do not know the answer. Even after considerable effort we have found no adequate answer in the various literatures. In fact, engaging in this project has crystallized problems of understanding research, organization, classifications, traditions, and art itself. This alone would be an excellent reason for pursuing the *Encyclopedia* project, since doing so calls for examination of the ideas of dictionary, encyclopedia, thesaurus and taxonomy as they pertain to research into living traditions in art.

Once a classification scheme has been adopted, a significant aid to research would seem to be the computer data base management system. Theoretical questions about electronic information systems and the arts are emerging, particularly with reference to object documentation. It is the art object as the subject of documentation which is most deceptive. One would think there would be a simple hierarchy of events;

1. *object/event*
2. *descriptive record/document, surrogate, analogue, data*
3. *management of data*

Having observed that no description is neutral, we can further see that recording these descriptions also involves critical decisions. Even the selected medium of the record constitutes an interpretation about what is relevant to the object/event. As magnificent an achievement as the technology certainly is, it does not of itself solve the problem of interpretation. Only information that *can* be input *will* be input.

The purpose of making surrogates of objects and events is to be able to think about them for some purpose in relation to other objects and events. The surrogate is a representation that can be conveniently moved for comparison and contrast with other surrogates. The process for arriving at the point of using surrogates is something like this:

1. *Thesaurus*. Development or adoption of a thesaurus of terms relevant to the subject.
2. *Categorization*. Creation of uniform data-capture categories applicable to those terms and subject.
3. *Capture system*. Adoption of a system for data capture.
4. *Capture documents*. Preparation of data-capture sheets to control the transition from acquisition of information to input.
5. *Entry*. Transfer of data from sheets to some intermediary form.
6. *Storage*. Entry of data from intermediary form into main storage.
7. *Processing and retrieval*. Ordering of data processing.

Once available for processing, most such programs perform all or some of the following operations on the data:

1. create and update files
2. sort records into different sequences
3. print reports
4. print to other media
5. retrieve records according to simple or complex criteria
6. split and merge files
7. index on keywords and phrases
8. reconfigure data formats
9. verify or add data using table or authority files
10. interface files with statistical packages and other programs
11. report on the data to aid detecting errors

Imposing a format on the descriptive record for data management tends to justify the description itself. It can be self-serving. If description is a critical act, because evaluations are being made in creating the format and the record which represents the object, then the act of managing that record is meta-critical. The possibilities for the way data can be organized for a particular system shape the data, because not every way that data *can* be organized will be acceptable to a particular management system. The actual program which manipulates the prepared data embodies a theory of management. For that matter, removing an object from its context in either space or time makes of it a surrogate for the original event which may be the desired subject for study. Collecting itself embodies a theory of management--as for example the decision to collect one thing of each type, to corral all the examples of one thing, or to judge what constitutes a representative sampling by some criteria.

Acquisition is a time-honored method for documenting the object, although it is not necessarily the most informative. If an object takes its meaning from its situation, then a drawing of the object and its site might be a superior interpretation if the researcher's skill could capture the sense of context that is wanted. One might live in a castle all one's life, but never observe the secret passages that are self-evident in a blueprint.

Documentation is problematic. Some of the more common modes and tools of documentation are:

Modes:	Tools:
I. Acquisition	
A. Gift	Not-for profit status; charm; influence; power
B. Trade	Entrepreneurship; dealership; possessions
C. Purchase	Money
D. Theft	Guile
II. Making	
A. Drawing, painting, drafting, printmaking	Knowledge of encoding methods; materials skills
B. Photography; still, video, film	Knowledge of the technology

C. Modeling	
1. Computer	Programming skill
2. Fabrication; forgery	Skill with materials used to duplicate objects in all known respects

Documentation generally involves reduction of the phenomenon in question, as when we make an explanatory line drawing to show some unfamiliar route somewhere. The reduction eliminates, hopefully, distracting alternatives and data which would confuse. In this case the document is of the abstraction "route," not the experience of the flowers and trees on the way. This is the task of the semiology of graphics, for example the graphic display of statistical information. If your purpose is to perform a complete material fabrication of something, you would be trying to duplicate every possible experience of the object or event. There are fascinating *Mission Impossible* and *Star Trek* plots involving fabrication of convincing but modeled environments, but they are reduced phenomena or we would never find out that they were not real. One should remain aware that documentation usually involves reduction. It is easier to accept this of drawing and painting than of photography.

Photographic documentation is problematic.

Light sensitive materials came to be used as a substitute for drawing. To make a drawing one has to develop the skill to perform complex acts of qualitative problem solving. Photography offers standard solutions to those qualitative problems. Decisions about contrast, color, space and so on have been preset into the system for acquiring photographic images. The success of photography as a substitute for drawing is directly attributable to the ability of the system to make aesthetic decisions for the user. Beyond even that, within the past five years every major manufacturer of popular cameras has incorporated semiconductor technology into the exposure system of its cameras to automate the exposure selection process. Within the coming five years all major film manufacturers will have packaged their products in cassettes than can be read optically, magnetically or electronically by a generation of cameras and film processors that make camera settings unnecessary.

Without photography most image making would be done manually. The average camera user can obtain "legible" images by pointing a device and pushing a button. The user can do this because all aesthetic decisions except where to point the device have been incorporated into the system. Users can claim as "my" photograph an object which gives evidence of complex qualitative problem solving without having addressed one single qualitative visual issue.

If this system is characterized by a corporate idea of imaging which must be circumvented to express any other idea of imaging, then the documentary nature of photography is called into question. This is not necessarily fraud, it is simply the way that the popular system of making photographic images has evolved. It is, however, so completely taken for granted that "a photograph documents" that the very idea of alternative appearances of the photographic image to the corporate one is, for many, unimaginable. The photograph looks like reality to the perceiver partly because the perceiver has come to accept that it is reality. The distinction is one between metaphor and identity.

Photograph *as* reality implies that the photograph can be other than reality, and that reality can be other than the photographic one. Believing that the photograph *is* reality establishes identity between the two: a belief that we might not consider exactly sane in this day of "special" effects. However, people sometimes display a piece of paper with a photographic image on it and saying "This is my family," or "Look at my house" on the assumption that photography in some way captures reality unedited.

A question for research has to do with whether one set of answers to the qualitative problems posed by the photographic medium constitutes *the* set for documentation. When the computer and the photograph combine their authority is magnified. When a photograph becomes information in the digital sense it is a dynamic phenomenon because anything can become anything else within the particular set of rules governing image manipulation. Again, the management becomes meta-critical.

What happened to the documentation?

The document, obviously, is an interpretation. When this is understood it is clear that *every* document insists that it is a surrogate and becomes the subject of the same kind of test for referential adequacy as any other knowledge-claim, like any other assertion.

These non-rhetorical questions about classification and categorization, the artist as researcher, and authenticity and documentation are among many relevant to our understanding art and its surrogates. Recognizing them as non-rhetorical and problematic informs our work as artist-researchers exploring living traditions in art.

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Footnote

[1] Personal communication with Toni Peterson, Director, Art and Architecture Thesaurus (a J. Paul Getty Trust project).

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A graduate seminar in cross-cultural research and multicultural issues in art education.

Paul Edmonston

The format and content of a graduate seminar in art education are described. The aim of the course was to awaken students' sensitivity to problems in intercultural understanding, as well as their own role in promoting cultural awareness. Ten themes were pursued, using a range of interpretive media, in realizing those aims.

During Winter Quarter, 1986, at the University of Georgia, I embarked on teaching a Graduate Seminar focusing on thematic readings, inquiry assignments, discussion and films relating to ethical and methodological issues germane to the conduct and interpretation of cross cultural research in the visual arts. Other topics included the relevance of the findings and insights of anthropologists and ethnologists to future conduct of significant cross cultural research in our field, and the contribution of enhanced understanding across cultural frontiers in the arts to reduction of parochialism and ignorance among peoples and to the sophistication of Western students in the arts generally.

Some Basic Premises for Multi-Cultural and Cross-Cultural Studies in the Arts

One of the premises guiding my thinking in initiating such seminars was that the most pressing problems of humans are now interpersonal, interracial, intercultural and international. Another was that the visual arts are a potent medium for enhancing cross-cultural communication and accelerating intercultural understanding. A third was that the solution or resolution of cross-cultural conflicts may be enhanced by means of dialogue making use of mass media of which the visual arts are an integral part. Fourth, visual media, artistically and esthetically oriented may contribute to more enlightened understanding of the arts, both within and across cultures, thereby accelerating the process of intercultural understanding. Finally, sensitive identification with another culture through exposure to its art forms makes alternative worldviews accessible, and may enhance comparative understanding of values explicit or implicit in the arts of one's own culture.

The Focus of the Seminar

To expose the student, by way of lectures, selective readings, slides, films and artifacts to the art and spirit of a culture or subculture other than his own was the focus of the course. This exposure was to eventuate in preparation of a research paper and classroom presentation on one culture's world views, its conceptions of man, nature and the universe as reflected in its most characteristic forms in the visual arts. Additionally, the intent was to expose the students to a range of cross cultural research in anthropological literature which contrasts and compares the arts, artifacts, lifeways and belief systems of selected cultures, and addresses methodological and ethical issues critical to the conduct of such inquiry, in order to sensitive the students to potential issues and approaches pertinent to their own research in the future. Last, students were to be exposed to a body of literature describing art education programs in countries other than their own, in order to enlarge their perspective in teaching and the design of future programs with students.

Pedagogical Aims

Several pedagogical aims were also formed. These were to assist students in becoming more sensitive and articulate, both visually and verbally, in analyzing, interpreting, and presenting the arts of another culture, first to their graduate peers, and later to their students, as well as to assist them in locating and developing resource materials for teaching including bibliographies, readings, films, and slides for use in such presentations. An additional aim was to encourage students to develop and test both traditional and innovative strategies and media approaches in presentations for class response and critical review.

Approaches to Inquiry

The method of inquiry to be followed in the seminar was articulated to the students in the beginning. Course reading and the culture under study was to be individually selected, while research strategies were to be self directed and self paced according to each student's individual style of learning. Class sessions were to involve communal sharing, voluntary participation, and ongoing dialogue. Students were to cultivate an attitude of openness and receptivity to unfamiliar art forms and lifeways under study, and each student was to accept responsibility for making the educative environment interesting, informative, stimulating. Each student was to design teaching strategies and material calculated to open others' eyes to salient facets of another culture, its art forms, and its way of life, as well as cultivating the habit of critical reflection and undertaking conceptual analysis of qualitative dimensions of art forms or life styles "foreign" to them prior to being exposed to them in the seminar.

Nature of the Questions and Issues the Seminar Set Out to Address

In the early seminar sessions, a number of discussions focused on some basic questions to be addressed in the course. The present condition of man in the biosphere as reflected in scientific and ecological research was to be examined, along with interpretations of his psychic or spiritual condition as reflected in contemporary literature, philosophy and the arts. The critical need as well as the promise of rethinking the application of primary through adult education to human survival in a world of accelerating population growth, environmental pollution, and declining physical resources formed another question. Definitions of an ecological consciousness and an environmental ethic with sources in models for a reverential ecology in contemporary literature and art were sought as well as study of the lifeways of primal peoples and those of the great traditional historic cultures, East or West. The historical function of art in world cultures and the role of the artist in societies whether contemporary or historical, tribal or civilized; the nature of the risks and benefits to host subjects and investigators in cross cultural studies as reflected in anthropological literature and ethnological studies, including ethical responsibilities and methodological problems attendant upon participant-observer research; and reasons for developing cross-cultural research in the visual arts, along with some premises underlying multi-cultural programs and curricula where they exist were other possible questions for study.

Thematic Organization of Selected Readings, Essays and Films

A bibliography of selected readings arranged under ten thematic headings was provided from which students were to select and report on two articles from each theme per week, in both written and oral form, the latter as class time permitted. On occasion, at least once per week, an additional two hour session for viewing films relating to course content was scheduled as a supplement to class dialogue and as a concurrent stimulus for additional issues. Two different essays were assigned, and the final week's theme included a progress report on their term papers to the seminar prior to their submission.

Titles for the first theme related to anthropological and cultural dimensions of the human condition, questions of contemporary ecology and survival, and works by authors who address fundamental historical values upon which Western culture is based. Readings were devoted to the potential contribution of the several disciplines such as history, philosophy, and art to human betterment. For Theme 2, texts and articles devoted to models of curricula with emphasis on cross-cultural education were included. Such sources addressed issues of ethnicity, cultural pluralism and cultural identity, including ways in which these were addressed in education. In addition, a few sources discussed the function of art in world cultures and the role of the artist in society.

In the third week of the seminar, Theme 3 introduced literature on cross cultural research methodologies, especially as practiced by anthropologists and ethnologists, including filmic studies, and the ethical questions which arise for the participant-observer who is invited or intervenes in a culture foreign to him for purposes of research. Several films viewed at this time added some remarkable insights on such questions, especially *Anthropology Revisited*, a documentary account of a western team revisiting the site of Margaret Mead's studies in Polynesia in which subjects, now mature adults, who were children when she first visited, reflected upon the many questions raised by her methods, her findings, the publication of her research, and some of the questionable assumptions which guided her work.

During the fourth and fifth weeks, Theme 4 and 5 sources included a variety of actual cross cultural studies, whether theoretical or practical, from various countries, including the recent anthology, *Art in Education: An International Perspective*, by Ott and Hurwitz; *Arts in Cultural Diversity*, an anthology of papers from the 23rd INSEA World Congress in Adelaide; INSEA papers collected by the author over time from England, France, the Netherlands, Germany, New Zealand and America; and a work by El Bassiouny on art programs in the Middle East. Themes 6 and 7 followed, requiring students to read about the basic tenets of art education programs from several foreign countries. Here, the so-called "national profiles" in the Ott and Hurwitz text were useful.

By mid-quarter the students had considerable exposure not only to their own readings in each of the thematic areas, but to oral reports of readings on each course theme given by their peers. Having chosen the culture whose study was to eventuate in their research reports, they were ready to attempt several critical and reflective exercises. Theme 8 related to a comparative analysis of two pairs of art objects from different cultures, using criteria and questions raised in earlier class exercises, in which the students tried to generate appropriate categories for use in such analyses under teacher guidance. Further, since the class had viewed a total of seven or eight theme-related documentary films on divergent cultures, reviews of such films, recapitulating salient features and issues addressed, resulted in a critical evaluation of the films' educative value from the students' perspectives.

During the final week, the seminar, under Theme 10, allowed each student to share the results of self-directed inquiry into a chosen culture, including its art forms, rituals, beliefs and lifeways. The insights, revelations or fresh understanding derived about these cultural inhabitants were discussed as well as the possible benefits to humankind in general of adapting these to Western lifestyles.

In addition, at one point, an assignment was given asking students to recollect an experiential incident in which they felt themselves to be "a minority of one," as I called it; and to reconstruct a critical life instance in which they were either an outsider, or an intruder in some unfamiliar cultural context. This assignment arose out of the teacher's past experiences of visiting in foreign cultures, which were shared with the class: occasional feelings of loneliness, estrangement, alienation, fear, or discomfort.

Perhaps one such student incident will suffice to illustrate the nature of the incidents which such an assignment elicited. This testimonial describes an unanticipated exposure by a mature, well educated artist-teacher to the physical demands and work ethic of a Southern subculture of the laboring class.

Reflections on Being a Minority of One

> On my first day as I moved among the sea of black faces, I became aware of countenances which revealed a great deal; some wore masks of weary resignation, some of youthful arrogance and indignation, others indicated that Mother Nature had given them less than their full share of mental capabilities, and some looked too old or infirm to be able to function in the Alabama heat. Most striking were the physical scars which I was later to learn were worn like badges of heroism, a testimony to their individual baptism under fire in a subculture where an accepted form of play

was rough, violent, and confrontational. What were mock fights to them, including striking, kicking, and wrestling with knives (which resulted in some semi-accidental cuttings) were frightening and bizarre to me. Indeed they were in diametric opposition to the manner in which I had been raised. As though these observations were not enough, add to them the extremely boisterous yelling, cursing, and gesturing that accompanied the social gathering of these people and you will know that my confidence was shaken. None of this apparent hostility was addressed toward me that I was aware of, and so the day began.

Being a product of a middle class work ethic believing that hard work leads to success, I swung my blade with a vengeance, determined to assert myself as an equal, if not a superior. The rest of the crew took their time in the heat and quietly smiled at the foolish white boy educated in the ways of one world but so ignorant to the realities of their world. By nine o'clock, only two hours later, my hands were raw and the intensely humid Alabama heat was starting to take its toll on me. By the time for the first water break, I was exhausted. Lesson number one was that a survival ethic had supplanted the middle class work ethic for this group. The only thing that these people accomplished by working harder was that you prematurely exhausted or injured yourself. There were no promotions for a job well done, just endless assignments of other mind-deadening and body-breaking tasks. It was here I first encountered an attitude both demonstrated and spoken that "you don't give the man more than you have to to keep your job." Here it was not a question of bettering yourself but one of simply surviving.

The second rather bitter lesson I was to learn was that without perceived value and status in the major culture one is effectively invisible; or does not exist. As a member of a swing blade crew, I was ignored by people who had previously been under my tutelage. My role as a "significant other" in their lives had been radically changed so that now I operated within a role where they were socially my superiors. Looking me directly in the face there was not even a glimmer of recognition from them. Initially, because of a shame I felt at having been reduced to this situation, I was grateful for this lack of recognition. Later as I learned more about myself and the people I was working with I approached people I knew and made them acknowledge my existence.

The four man swing blade crew that I was a member of provided me with a good cross-sectional view of the men who made up this particular subculture. There was myself, truly an outsider. Bubba (yes, that really was his name) was about 6 foot 5, enormously strong, had a malformed hand which had only a thumb and forefinger and he was obviously mentally retarded. PeeWee was middle aged, slight of build, wore more fashionable clothes to work, and was an alcoholic. PeeWee often came to work still so inebriated from the night before that he would stagger through the first two hours of work, be sick for the next two, barely doing any work at all, and then would work a little better in the afternoon. Old John claimed to be 63 years old, but the superintendent of all the crews said that John had no proof or recollection of his year of birth and was suspected to be in his seventies in actuality. Old John was my unsuspecting mentor for the twelve hellish weeks that I worked this job.

Old John was the undisputed leader of our crew. Although old, infirm, and completely illiterate (he signed an X for his name each week as he collected his pay), he provided me with a living example of the incredible dignity and integrity that all men are capable of no matter their lot in life. John carried himself with such pride, a pride which seemed to be based on the fact that he knew he was the most and the very best that his lifeway and circumstance would permit. His dignity was further an extension of his personal integrity, as the leader of our group he set the example. He could outwork the rest of us and did on many occasions. He kept us to a strict schedule although there was no one who would check-up on him. His personal ethic, not shared by all in our crew, was that for an honest wage he would give an honest day's hard work. Although PeeWee and Bubba did not work to their full capability, John would chastise them, then set an example to shame them. He took great pride in the fact that he did his job well no matter how menial it appeared to the outside world. He never complained and never expressed regrets about his life. Ironically from a worldview so different from my own, Old John gave me an important life experience, a lesson in how important personal integrity and dignity are for every man no matter their station in life. He taught me that success is measured in degrees of how we reconcile those controllable and uncontrollable circumstances which shape our lives and work toward achieving our fullest potential as human beings; that lesson being learned, I no longer felt I was a minority of one, but that John had led me into a larger fellowship in which those things which make us all human are more important than our differences.

Several other topics or cultures for the research papers revealed the wide diversity of interests generated by the multi-dimensional approach to cross cultural issues in the seminar. The wide divergence in student bibliographies of readings, both during the seminar, and accompanying their research papers is also an interesting and nondivergent outcome of such an approach, allowing wide latitudes of individual choice in most, if not all assignments.

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Advocacy of the arts in a multicultural society.

Jerome J. Hausman

In a multicultural world, one might expect sanctions and validations of art to be widely accommodative. This is not always the case. Groups may espouse certain views that reflect only one set of values. Moreover, they may be in an advocacy position, and therefore more able than others to claim their position represents that of the field in general. Only by consciously shifting perspectives can individuals hope to understand art as a totality.

In 1980, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts sponsored an exhibition entitled "The Vikings." The works shown (artifacts ranging from combs and jewelry to a reconstructed Viking house) had previously been exhibited in the British Museum, London and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For Minnesotans, the exhibition served as an important cultural and social event for its citizens of Scandinavian descent; indeed, the whole community demonstrated great interest. Museum attendance records were established. The opening was a stellar affair--black tie, a magnificent reception and banquet with royalty and other dignitaries in attendance. As the well dressed visitors wandered through the galleries, pausing momentarily to engage in contemplation of the artifacts, I suspect that few thought of the reputation of the Vikings for brutality, pillage, and rape. I could not help but wonder about the influence of a museum in shaping (or advocating) a view of particular images. In the case of the Viking exhibition, the setting of a major community institution, works authenticated by other scholars and museums, supportive grants from cultural councils and business -- all combined to put aside thoughts of the wrongdoings that had contributed to the collection and preservation of those art objects.

One cannot but wonder about the dynamics of advocacy. For some vignettes that have a bearing on the subject *advocating and advocacy of the arts in a multicultural society*, refer to the Arts and Leisure Section of the Sunday, June 22, 1986 New York Times. There is an article about James Rosenquist, citing his interest in billboard-sized paintings made up of fragmentary images in crazy-quilt collages -- "an airplane tailpipe spewing spaghetti, a piece of yellow sponge cake covering a car, and a dewy tomato pressing on a woman's face." Using the commercial techniques of sign-painting Rosenquist is now regarded as "one of Pop Art's pioneers." How times and critical values have changed.

There is an article describing an exhibition of photographs by Neil Winoleur. The works are referred to as "composite portraits;" they are characterized as "totems" -- constructed of four or more separately framed pictures stacked in geometric arrangements. Each composite combines a more conventional photographic portrait with other images of things associated with the person depicted. It is like a photographic totem pole.

On the following page there is an article about a book by Margaret Courtney-Clark entitled "Ndebele: The Art of an African Tribe", describing the destruction and abandonment of mural paintings and decorative beadwork created to celebrate birth, puberty, circumcision and marriage.

These three quite different items contained within one newspaper help make the point that we live in a multicultural world. A multiplicity of art forms (created in the past and present in places near and afar), offers possibilities for engagement and insight. Particular individuals, groups, or communities ascribe interest and value to this plethora of artifacts and activities.

Every culture has particular attributes -- values, beliefs, language, that serve to encourage a sense of cohesiveness and community. Within each culture certain objects or events are consciously conceived and advocated. These form the elements of official culture advanced by institutions or groups. This is what is taught in schools, advanced by community or government leaders, and articulated in our rituals and communications.

In addition to elements of "official culture," there are those elements so pervasive as to be unquestioned and unspoken. Beliefs and attitudes are implicit in language and our systems of thought.

Every culture is in a dynamic, changing state. Some place greater emphasis upon stability, others are more admitting of shifts. However, all change. Simultaneously, cultures seek to preserve and protect their traditions and values; in varying ways, they adapt and adjust to the requirements of change. The devices of official culture offer encouragement and rewards for particular ideas and directions. Officially or informally, there are guidelines. Those artists or artifacts that do not fit within these guidelines are variously characterized as "primitives" or "barbaric" or just plain "bad" or "uninteresting."

Rarely are officially sanctioned art forms seen as being barbaric. The official group usually comes to view its own ways as the norm or reference for making judgments and evaluations.

All of this serves as background for discussing advocating and advocacy of the arts in a multicultural society. Ours is a very complicated situation. Currently, it is evident as a convergence of differing cultures, furthering particular art forms. This is what Leonard Meyers characterized as a state of "fluctuating stasis" -- the coexistence of a definite number of styles and idioms, techniques and improvements. Governing our more officially approved approaches is the rhetoric of egalitarianism, the acceptance of a multicultural society, together with acknowledgement of a multiplicity of artifacts, reflecting different forms and styles. These are exhibited in our museums and galleries; they are discussed in publications and mass media. In our schools, texts and curriculum guides include sections and references to the art of primitive groups, art in non-Western traditions, art forms created by women, and so on.

At a more generalized level, efforts are made to accommodate all this diversity within a single meta-system. What is being sought is a larger rubric of understanding, a system of rationality to explain and justify each cultural initiative. This, I would maintain, is cultural bias so pervasive as to be unquestioned and unexamined.

It is a given that those who advocate a particular position or ideology, do so from the perspective of their own passions and understanding. For example, there is a long-standing practice of individuals or groups commissioning or purchasing works of particular artists. In addition, there are institutions and groups that provide education in art. Added to this are individuals and groups seeking to encourage and support particular directions in art education. Forms of patronage have extended to include forms of advocacy. Indeed, advocacy has brought with it differing kinds of involvement. The line that previously separated practitioners and patrons has now become blurred, as individuals combine largesse with active participation on behalf of ideas and values that they hold.

Some attitudes and points of view are [illegible] pervasive as to be unquestioned and unspoken. Our own time seems taken with faith in rationality and systematic means for dealing with problems: the premise that if only we could be clearer and unambiguous, we would be more effective. Efficiency is sometime confused with wisdom.

Faced with the givens of diversity and variety in forms born of differing cultural contexts, advocates are sometimes attracted to systems that appear to accommodate these differences. Generalization is preferable to the tolerance of ambiguity. Within the field of art education, we seem to have fallen prey to a rampant formalism as one way to generalize. Advocates who are seeking to accommodate diverse tendencies within a single framework (their own) have been particularly attracted to systems that can be applied across cultural styles and individual techniques.

Periodization or the constructing of stylistic categories has enabled us to group artists and their works within rational frameworks -- Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, etc. or Impressionism, Cubism, Surrealism, Futurism, etc. From a formalist perspective, it is possible to describe sensory or design qualities: line, color, texture, shape, and use of space. It is also possible to describe the manner by which design elements are organized (balance, rhythm, proportion, contrast). Formalism, in sum, seeks to satisfy the human need for consistency, pattern and clarity.

The use of formal categories to describe and analyze works of art can be valuable. The availability of categories that can be applied to individual works provides a useful conceptual tool for placing and understanding that work in a particular context. What I want to guard against is "hardening of the categories" so as to inhibit or prevent experiencing a work from other perspectives (including that from which it was created).

The very idea of a multicultural society mandates a willingness to accommodate cultural heterogeneity. Meyer Schapiro commented on this point: "The artist does not wish to create a work in which he transmits an already prepared and complete message to a refatively indifferent and impersonal receiver....Only a mind open to the quality of things, with a habit of discrimination, sensitized by experience and responsive to new forms and ideas, will be prepared for the enjoyment of this art" (Schapiro, 1978, p. 223).

We have heard much about the person's phenomenal world -- the continuing dynamics of making sense and value out of life. I am much attracted to a statement made by Jacob Bronowski: "The human predicament is not that each of us is alone but that the problems of life have no unique and final solution....the play of values in the work of art really says that we recognize ourselves in the artist as one of this creations and we recognize the whole creation in ourselves" (Bronowski, 1978, p. 169). Later he concludes:

> I do not think that anywhere in life we can isolate an ultimate supreme value. The thing about life really is that you make goodness or you make the experience for yourself by constantly balancing the values that you have from moment to moment. And you have to have profound moments like that which Einstein had, and you must make profound mistakes, but you must always feel that you are exploring the values by which you live and forming them with every step that you take. (p. 169)

A multicultural perspective is one that invites and challenges us to encounter differing points of view. We can be enriched by them! It is not a matter of force-fitting art forms into our own system (a kind of cultural imperialism); rather, it requires our empathizing with and inquiring into the cultural context in which the form was created. As Mircea Eliade observed in *The Forge and the Crucible* "There is, indeed, only one way of understanding a cultural phenomenon which is alien to one's own ideological pattern, and that is to place oneself at its very center and from there to track down all the values that radiate from it" (Eliade, 1962, p. 11).

Those advocating the arts in a multicultural society need to beware that they are not engaging in the perpetuation of their own implicit systems at the cost of misunderstanding or even distorting the values that underlie the works under study. In such instances, we need to be saved from those whose intentions are to help us. On the other hand, a perspective that radiates from another cultural center enables our reaching beyond our present limits. These new opportunities can lead to new realizations and understandings. Cultural differences can inform each other.

A multicultural perspective is one that invites a different connection between the world of art and the audience. Lawrence Halprin commented on this relationship:

> If the true function of the artist is seen as an energy thrust which evolves the peak condition of awareness and output within the community, then he functions as an essential

> ingredient in an on-going energy chain, driving toward the highest potential of his ecological system. What we are describing here is a symbiotic rather than a parasitic relationship (Halprin, 1969, p. 182).

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Dedicated to
the memory
of Edwin Ziegfield

Fall 1987 • Volume 5, Number 1

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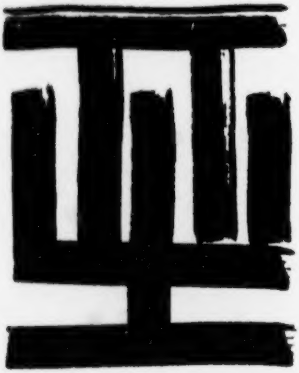
The Ofamfa is an Adinkera symbol meaning a measure of critical examination, taken from the Ashanti culture.



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Editorial

Rogena M. Degge

It is with great respect and indebtedness that this issue is dedicated to the memory of Edwin Ziegfeld, a great pioneer in international art education.

In a previous editorial of this journal, Larry Kantner expressed an appreciation for the difficulties encountered when doing multi-cultural or cross-cultural research. We know that, whether one is from the culture being studied or from another, there are particular culture-based limitations to confront in carrying out and reporting research. A major function that this journal can play is to demonstrate, through examples, various culture-based cautions and considerations that must be addressed when conducting and reporting all research.

For example, one critical question that continues to follow many who carry out cross-cultural research is: To what extent can western thought and values be apposite and germane in seeking to understand aspects of non-western cultures? Commonly, the question reflects problems manifest in using western criteria for understanding and evaluating the art, art making, art values and perceptions as well as art policies, art programming and curricula of non-western countries and their people. The problems are expanded in what westerners and non-westerners choose to recommend for how art learning might be shaped in their and others' countries or regions. Investigators of multi-cultural studies, as well, find such matters are particular. In this fifth issue of the journal, several papers express a range of these circumstances and reveal that such culture specific aspects of inquiry are far from simple in resolution. Collectively, the papers represent a sensitivity to problems that must be expanded and developed if multi-cultural and cross-cultural research are to provide significant comprehension of cultures. Consideration of culture is, of course, not limited to research that might be categorized as multi-cultural or cross-cultural. Sensitivity to cultural circumstances must be addressed in all research if more than superficial understanding is sought.

On a related matter, we are also concerned with the methodology and reporting of research undertaken in various cultural contexts. The fit of methodology to context is one major factor, but that is not the concern of this editorial. Rather it is that many of our international colleagues are not introduced to the distinctions of methodology that, for example, American Ph.D. graduates are likely to learn. Or, their writings will not always reflect the methodological reporting expectations increasingly expected in major western research institutions and journals. Commonly, only one style format is acceptable for any specific journal. Western scholars are frequently trained to write with attention to these expectations yet some of our international colleagues are not. The present systems of style and methodological expectations are means to promote and demonstrate certain amounts of rigor in research and, granted, much research clearly needs the advantage of rigor to be of use. Such a system, then, allows for the reporting of cross-cultural and multi-cultural research by only those trained in these methods or styles.

Based on one round as the editor of this journal, it seems that limitations such as requiring the APA format may need re-examination. Kenneth Marantz has grappled with this as editor of *Studies in Art Education* by proposing choices from among formalized writing styles to allow for the nature of the research and preference of the author. For the *Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* such concerns are more complex, however. As with *Studies*, we address what is appropriate scholarship for a research journal and what are appropriate presentations of research in art education. But, USSEA has indicated that not only is it interested in advancing multi-cultural and cross-cultural research, it is sincerely seeking cross-cultural *exchange* of research and ideas. Our western expectations of scholarship limit cross-cultural exchange of useful knowledge for art education to those trained in the styles and methods we have created. Many of our international colleagues are less facile with the English language and unfamiliar with APA, and their manuscripts are reviewed and judged by United States scholars' standards of writing. One result is that major editing is occasionally undertaken to include papers rich with cultural content and value but written without the experience required — a reasonable editorial prerogative. More often, unfortunately, such manuscripts cannot be published due to time and costs.

My expressed concerns are intended to underscore the importance of this journal in USSEA's quest to promote excellence in multi-cultural and cross-cultural inquiry and also allow for a richness of cross-cultural exchange. In doing so, we must realize this journal's culturally imposed limits on that cross-cultural exchange of knowledge — an exchange we need critically in order to advance art education and civilization. Collective, international efforts are required to address these challenges.

A final word is in order to thank my Editorial Associate, Sara Snowden, and Editorial Assistant, Frances Kirchner, doctoral students in the Art Education Department at the University of Oregon. They did much of the hard work necessary to produce this issue of the journal and, so, gave me the privilege to consider the future.

Edwin Ziegfeld *Photo by Anne Gregory*

Interview with Dr. Edwin Ziegfeld

Anne Gregory

After his retirement from the art education field, Dr. Edwin Ziegfeld made his home at Mt. San Antonio Gardens in Claremont, California until his death on September 12, 1987, at the age of 82. This interview, conducted March 14 and 15,1983, at his home, is part of a research project to increase the documents available on the perspectives and contributions of some leaders in American art education. This interview was read and approved by Dr. Ziegfeld.

Q. Would you tell me about your early education and places you lived as a child?

A. I was born in Columbus, Ohio in 1905 and went to public school there. I am not sure when I became interested in art, but my sister was a teacher there and subscribed to magazines which included art activities. I used to read them. In high school I took art whenever I could, and when I was a junior the teacher got me a Saturday morning scholarship at the Columbus Art School. I went there and had classes with Alice Shilly, who was probably the best woman artist in Ohio at that time. I was very excited about that. Also the teacher at East High School where I went was remarkable in many ways. She spent many additional hours in the school, and any student who wanted to could come up to the art room and work. She was always there to help.

When I was 11 or 12 years old, the art school was just a block and a half from where I lived. I used to go over about three evenings a week each winter and pose in the portrait class. During the breaks I could walk around and talk to people. I got 25 cents an evening for just sitting there. There is no history of art making in my family, although I have a younger brother Ernest who is a remarkable person and can do anything well. I went on to the local university, which was The Ohio State University, since I had no alternative coming from a large family with eight brothers and sisters.

Q. What kind of classes in art did you have when you were in school?

A. When I was a youngster in the Ohio schools we had "picture study" and I remember that I found it quite dull. I remember that in the corridor there were pictures of the Acropolis and Roman ruins and I found those dreadfully uninteresting. One thing that I remember very clearly are grey boards with stands behind them on which teachers would pin daffodils and pussy willows and we would all have to draw and color them. I remember the art supervisor coming around. She painted a landscape on a big piece of paper in front of us and we all had to do the same thing. We made a lot of little baskets out of paper and that sort of thing which was fun, but I do not remember any kind of art that impressed me until I was in high school. I thought that the elementary art was trivial and busy work. I was not particularly attracted to it. The limitation of picture study was that it was so formalized. Each student has his own little picture and you were told what to look for, what was there and how it was composed. There was nothing done to draw out the students' reactions to what they saw.

Q. What did you study at the University?

A. I wanted to be an art major, but I hid that from my parents because it was the one thing my father did not want. He was looking forward for us to be upwardly mobile. I had an older sister at Ohio State who came to me and said that she knew of a course that I might be interested in. I was interested in plants and she suggested landscape architecture. I knew nothing about it so I investigated it and finally figured that it would be what I would like to do. At least it would come close because it would involve a good deal of art. I enrolled in Landscape Architecture and I got my B.S. in it. When I was there the head of the department was a man by the name of Seares who was a graduate of the Harvard School of Landscape Architecture. He said to me, "Edwin, you should go to Harvard and get a M.A. degree. I said I would like to, but was not sure that I could afford it. Coming from a family of nine children, I had to work. He said he could recommend me for a scholarship and would make out a strong recommendation for the two-year course. I said there would still be the problem of living expenses and we talked about that.

At that time I was dating a girl who was also in Landscape Architecture and her mother was an enthusiastic and highly intelligent woman who was taking her Ph.D. at Ohio State. Her mother said that she would see what she could do. Her mother went to see a man called Miller who owned two shoe factories in Columbus. She had never seen him before and he did not know her. He was one of the wealthiest men in Columbus at the time. She told him that she knew this young man who had a chance to go to Harvard and did not have any money. She asked whether he would support him for two years. He said that he would like to meet me so I went down to talk to him. He agreed to send me $75 a month for nine months each year. It did not do everything, but it enabled me to go.

Though I went there, I worked at various kinds of odd jobs and worked my way through the two-year program. I got my degree from Harvard in the Spring of '29, and I got a job with the Fletcher Steel Company which at that time was the best landscape architecture firm in the country.

I also won a Charles Elliot Travelling Fellowship which gave me $1,500 to go to Europe for a year. This amount seems incredible now. I was awarded the fellowship in the fall. Right after that, in October, the Stock Market crashed. Well, Fletcher Steel lost half of its clients. I told the owner of the firm that I had the travelling fellowship and he told me to go anyhow. He thought that when I came back this thing would probably have blown over, but when I returned his office was closed. No one in '29 realized the seriousness of it. There were just no jobs. A friend of mine told me about an art project funded by the Carnegie Corporation which had been set up in Minnesota. He asked me if I would like to be recommended for it and I said that I would be. I also went back to Ohio State for two years. While I was at Ohio State, I filled a teaching vacancy in Landscape Architecture for the first year before completing a B.A. degree in art education in 1932.

Q. Was there anyone at that time who was a major contributor to the field of Art Education on the faculty at Ohio State University?

A. I do not remember anyone in particular there except maybe for Alice Robinson. She taught in the Art Education department. The training I got there was adequate, although it was not an outstanding department. I went on to Minnesota and started the Owatonna project where I remained for five years from '33 to '38. The Carnegie Foundation had given the University $11,000 for the first year. The town had agreed to put up half of the pay of the art teacher who came in, so there were a number of applicants for it. My chief competitor was the daughter of the President of Carleton College which was 35 miles from Owatonna. The superintendent of schools in Owatonna wanted her and the dean of education at Minnesota wanted me. Since he held the purse strings, his preference prevailed and I was hired and started teaching there in 1933 at a salary of $1,200 a year.

Q. Was there a direct relationship between your preparation to work on this project and your return to The Ohio State University to obtain your teaching credential?

A. Landscape seemed to be a dead end and breaking into it at that time with hundreds of landscape architects out of a job was just an impossibility, so I went into art education as an alternative. I did go back to school before I heard of this position in Minnesota. This got me closer to to my adolescent interests than landscape architecture, although I had never wanted to be a teacher. When I graduated from Harvard, I got two or three offers to teach and I said to myself that I would rather starve than teach. I found myself starving! I had two sisters who were teachers and they liked it, so I thought, well, this is a reasonable thing to go into. I have not regretted the decision. I probably made a better educator than a landscape architect. Anyhow, I went to Owatonna for five years and at the end of the first year they sent out Royal Baily Farnum, who was then Head of the Rhode Island School of Design, to review the project. On the basis of the report that he made, the Carnegie Corporation made additional funding for four more years. Incredibly enough, that additional funding totaled $25,000. When you figure that for a while, we had four people on the project and all the local school board would provide was half of my salary, it is just an indication of how times have changed. It was the idea of the Dean of the College of Education that if art could be made an integral part of daily life, it would be supported by school boards. At that time school boards were having to cut back enormously on education, very much like what is happening now. Art, even before music, was cut from the curriculum.

Q. Do you believe that there are areas in the Owatonna Project that we could learn from today?

A. I think so. One must realize that the project was not one of the greatest educational undertakings. Dean Haggerty, who was at the University of Minnesota, had the idea to see what ways the people in the town used art. Owatonna was a town of 7,200 people, about 65 miles from Minneapolis. It was to be a town too distant from a city or a university to be very much influenced by a metropolitan area. It took about two or three hours to get up to Minneapolis from Owatonna. Also it was small enough so that if people there were interested in a subject it would have some impact on the community. On an $11,000 budget, you could not make much of an impact on Minneapolis, but you could on this community. Haggerty had in mind a much more functional interpretation of art than I did, although I had no quarrel with art being an important part of the functional aspects of life. He died the year before the project was completed, and I know if he had lived, there would have been a confrontation between himself and me on the interpretation I was going to put on art, and what he would have done with it.

Q. Where did the idea for the project originate?

A. It came from Haggerty and he went after the funding. I think that, even though he came up through animal psychology, he was a person with a broad view. I believe that he really did feel that an educated person at the elementary or secondary level to the college level should have a broad base of contact with different areas and different disciplines. I think that he felt that music and art were getting a bad deal, which they were, but I think he had a very narrow view of what art was.

Q. Were you to try to change these people by your presence, or were you there to study these people?

A. Haggerty made it clear to the residents of the town that we were there to help them in any way that we could with art problems. That could include giving talks and meeting with groups.

Q. It would seem to me that in the time of a depression, with people out of work, one of the things that would be of least interest or importance to these people would be the arts. Is this true?

A. They did have problems and interests. For example, we were invited by many women in the community to come into their homes and make suggestions for them on the arrangements of their living rooms. We helped people with their gardens and we helped several merchants arrange windows. I think one of the most interesting things was the call from the power plant in Owatonna. They were going to paint the interior and they wanted us to help them with their color scheme. I remember that so clearly. One of our suggestions was that they paint different pipes different colors. I cannot believe that was an original idea with us, but it was picked up and is used in many places now. We ran the gamut as to how art affected their everyday living which is exactly what Haggerty wanted.

Q.What kind of a relationship did you have with the Owatonna public schools?

A. The stipulation of the superintendent was that we have a program of art in the first six grades. In addition to all the community contacts, I supervised art in the elementary grades. He insisted that we have lesson plans so I had to have lesson plans every week for four elementary schools. Then I met with the high school class. In the next year I met with the junior high class, so you can see that I had a pretty heavy teaching schedule. Barbara Smith, who worked with me there the first two years, did more of the community contacts than I did. She was from Minneapolis and knew the area very well. We both wrote articles for the newspapers. I had a series of articles on gardens since I had the training of a landscape architect. Haggerty's idea was that art was something that affected the spirit, and we were to integrate it into the school program. I think that his basic idea of having art as an integral part of everyday life was absolutely sound.

Q. Did you or anyone else document the project?

A. When you think that for five years the project ran on $65,000, we could not afford to have anyone help us. Nowadays they would not think of having a project like this. Every year Barbara and I would write out what we had done and later on we had some help with these reports. We had to prepare a report for the Carnegie Foundation. On the basis of the first report, they gave us the money for four additional years. No evaluation was undertaken which nowadays seems incredible. I did make a few attempts. During the third or fourth year I devised a simple questionnaire asking each of the elementary teachers to give them to their students. Each student was asked to rate the subjects they were taking in order of preference. In all but the fourth grade, art headed the other subjects. The fourth grade is rather a critical age where their view of the visual world is changing. Of course they may not have been interested in the projects they were assigned in art. That was about the only kind of evaluation I can recall, although there must have been other things.

The publication about Owatonna is really the report on the project. It was published by the University of Minnesota. There was one overall description in the first book and five additional books describing the school program. I worked so hard on those reports and I did not finish writing them until I went to Teachers College. I have never read them since they have been published. I agonized over them so much that I still have not been able to read them after 43 years.

Q. Why did the Owatonna Project stop?

A. It ended in about 1938 because the grant came to an end, but the programs in the school continued.

Q. Do you feel that your background in landscape architecture contributed to your unique contributions to art education? I can see how it has affected your work at Owatonna.

A. I certainly hope so. I think I had a broader point of view than the average person in art education who was trained for classroom teaching. The people who worked on the Owatonna project had a considerably broader view than other teachers in the field. These experiences also rubbed off on my later teaching.

Q. If you went back to Owatonna today, do you think you would be able to identify any effect the project had on the school program or the town?

A. I do know now that they have an art center, but that might have happened anyhow. I know for a time after I left that they had a series of art lectures, and also the library did a lot to strengthen its art collection. After not having had an art teacher for some time, the school system hired one and I suspect they still have at least one. I can say that it was very enthusiastically accepted and supported by the community.

Q. What did you do when the project time ran out?

A. In 1939 I went to the University of Minnesota for several years as an instructor in art education and from there went on to Teachers College at Columbia University in New York. First I went to Minnesota as a half-time instructor and I conducted my studies for the doctorate degree in Brooklyn. Beginning in 1940, I was a full-time student at Minnesota and was made an assistant professor. In 1942, I left and went to Washington where I worked for awhile in the Office of the Price Administration (OPA). After that, I went over finally to the Attorney General's Office and the War Department and joined the Personnel Research section in 1943. They had charge of the testing program in the Army and there were some remarkable things going on there. I joined the Navy as a commissioned officer in the latter part of '43, and had my officer's training at Fort Skyler in the Bronx. I then returned to Washington, D.C., and joined the Educational Services section. It was the counterpart of the information education program. First I was the Executive Officer for a man named Earl McGraph and then I was made head of the program. At one point I had about 550 officers throughout the world who organized the programs which enabled men to continue their education while they were in the service.

Ralph Tyler was the best known person in measurement at the time. He had a program where he devised a whole series of general education tests which became the GED tests. Through the Navy program thousands of men who had enlisted when they were juniors in high school were able to get their high school diplomas. We had correspondence with many universities throughout the country. Many of our officers set up live classes right on battleships or on navel bases. The Navy worked closely with the Army. At the end of the war, the Army set up colleges all over Europe. They had about six centers in Europe. While soldiers were waiting to come back, they recruited teaching personnel from all manner of disciplines and they shipped them over to these centers.

The job for recruiting personnel was tremendous. One of the men I worked with very closely with in the Army, Colonel Espy, asked what the hell was wrong with the art field. He said that people in art do not know each other. He said in music you could ask any music educator in New York about music educators in Washington and he would know some there. You could ask a person in art who is good in Ohio and he would not know. I told him that I had a hunch that the reason was that the music educators had a tremendous national organization, and in art they only had regionals. He told me it was causing the Army a lot of difficulty since he could not find out who good people were. When he had to recruit for art nation-wide, he had to talk to 50 people, but in music he could talk to two or three and get a good picture of the whole situation. I told him that I suspected there had been some talk about having a national association, and when I came back, I was all fired up with the idea that we should have a national.

Q. When did this occur?

A. I was in the Navy from '42 to '46. I returned to Teachers College in the fall of '46 as the head of the Industrial Arts and Art Education Department. At that time the National Art Education Association (NAEA) was having an annual winter meeting in Atlantic City. I believe that we had representatives from all four regionals there. The representatives from the regions laid plans for working towards a national association and I was made Chairman of that. Almost simultaneously with my appointment as Chairman at Teachers College, I became Chairman of this group and worked on it while I was on my new job. For 10 years I never worked so hard in my life and I am still not over it.

Q. Where were you living at this time?

A. I lived in New York in Manhattan. I had to because of the full teaching load and being in charge of the department.

Q. When did you originally get involved with the NAEA?

A. I had in 1938 been Program Chairman for Western Arts and I went to Western Arts meetings when I was in Owatonna, so I got to know some of the inner workings of it and the art educators. When I went to New York, I joined Eastern Arts. From 1946, I used to go to every winter and summer art meeting of the NAEA and for many years I went to all of the regionals. The college would give me the money for the eastern, and sometimes a little toward the others, but I spent a tremendous amount of my own money going to the others, encouraging them, meeting with the officers and cudgeling them, always trying to point out the benefits of becoming a strong national organization. In 1951 it became a reality. Besides having a full-time teaching and administrative job, this activity was going on and it was an exciting time for me. I would not have the strength to go through it again though.

I remember that the first meeting of the NAEA was in the spring of 1950 in Chicago. It was in Western Arts Territory and there were many Western Art members there, but just a token representation from the other regions. The first actual national meeting was held in 1951 at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. For a number of years we held biennial meetings, alternating between national and regional. Then the Council decided to make annual national meetings. I frankly think that one of the biggest mistakes that the National has made is to do away with the regional meetings. It is too expensive and it has crowded out a tremendous number of people. Not only has this limited the number of people who can come, but also the level of the people who participate. It pushed it more towards being for people at the college level. If you had to go to another state you might, but a teacher cannot afford to constantly travel across the country. I also think the NAEA has fallen down in its appeal to all of the art teachers. One issue that has to be continually addressed is that the arts are an important part of basic education. I think that they have been neglecting to focus on this enough and it is the reason that people, such as deans of colleges of education, are having no compunction, when they have to cut down, in removing or reducing the arts.

Q. What did you do in the middle '50's?

A. In 1951 I was invited to an international seminar on art education in Bristol, England which was being set up by UNESCO. The book that I edited, *The Education of the Artist*, was pretty much the result of that. Each country was invited to send two people and the United States chose only to send one. I was that one. There were 20 countries represented, but the United States was the richest country of the world attending. There were other countries who sent only one representative. England was the host country and the English had about six. There were about 40 delegates in all. We met for a three-week period in Bristol and each person was asked to bring along a paper about art education in his own country and an exhibit. I prepared an exhibit by getting work from all over the country, making posters and charts about the exhibits and I also prepared a paper. The first week of the seminar was given over to the presentations of the papers by the participants. We attended sessions 12 hours a day for 5 days, the first week. The second week we talked about general issues and the third week we discussed directions in which art education might move. This was not the first time that art educators had met internationally, but it was the first time since the war. That made the difference. After a terrible war, to meet about something that all people were interested in was important.

There were no people from Eastern Europe, most were from Western Europe, and there was one delegate from Japan, two Australians, one from New Zealand, and one from the United States. At that time there were only 67 countries in UNESCO, so it did mean one-third of the representative countries were present. We decided towards the end of the third week that we would set up some kind of a vehicle or organization to perpetuate the interchange which was taking place. On the last night we scheduled a meeting to propose a resolution for what we might do and the proposed organization was passed unanimously. We decided to go ahead, hoping to get some UNESCO support for an international society. There was, early in the century, another international society which seemed to change their name or title every 10 years. At first they were called the International Society for Drawing. They had a big meeting in Paris at the time of the Paris World's Fair and the last time they met was in 1937. They might well have stopped meeting after that because tensions in Europe grew enormously. The next to the last day at the Congress in Bristol we got a cable from the man who had been the secretary of this organization, who was a Swiss, saying that this organization was still in existence. I think he must have had a spy in the UNESCO meeting. He felt that there was no point in duplicating an already existing international organization. I know that the people who were important in the other international society thought that they might be able to get a lot of money from UNESCO to revive theirs. They had not had a meeting for 14 years, so for all intents and purposes we considered them defunct.

We went ahead to organize this one with UNESCO. During the next three years from 1951, I worked very hard on it. I wrote a draft of the constitution for them and had tremendous amounts of correspondence for the international group. At the original seminar we nominated a committee of four people to organize it: an Englishman, a French woman, a Canadian, and myself. I went to confer with Trevor Thompson at UNESCO who set up the seminar and to see what financial assistance we could get. He was an enormous help. Then we had our first meeting of INSEA, the International Society for Education through Art, in 1954 in Paris and I was the chair and we had to ratify the constitution. We went through the same thing that we had gone through with the NAEA. We had an evening where we read each part of the constitution, voted on it and made remarks. We did have some very good exhibits and some good outside speakers. In writing the constitution, I specified that no president could succeed himself. Someone pointed out to me that I was only president pro tem since this was the first meeting that was held, so I was put in for another three-year term. I served as president from '54 to '60.

Q. Where was the second INSEA meeting held?

A. The second meeting was held in the Hague. The Dutch are very reliable and very industrious and we had a beautifully organized meeting. Although not a very big meeting, it was about three times larger than the one in Paris. It went well. The municipal museum in the Hague put up a huge tent on their grounds. I set up a committee to arrange an international exhibition of children's drawings and it was a real smash. We had things from 40 different countries that were beautifully selected. We had a little work from Africa, and we had some marvelous Asian work, but mostly work from Europe and North America. We had many interesting speakers including a man from the Bauhaus. I had written to ask the Russians to come and the second to the last day they wrote that some would arrive. This caused quite a commotion because this was the first time they had taken part. They brought along a lot of highly proficient work which was viewed with some suspicion as to how it was selected. In their talk the Russians told about selecting students and giving instruction to those above the elementary level who had special interests and talents.

For the third meeting we tried to include more people from the Orient by convening in Manila, the Philippines. The Filipinos were very good about getting things set up and organized, but the location was so distant that not very many people outside the Philippines were able to attend. The meeting was interesting and they had rounded up some good speakers, mostly people in the Philippine area, but we had enough speakers from different areas to make it an interesting international meeting. A man who was German, named Soika, was elected president. I attended the meeting in Toronto, Canada, in '63 and the meeting in Prague in '66 which was probably the biggest meeting we have ever had. There were 2,500 people there. The reason for that was most people in Eastern Europe are not allowed to go to Western Europe to attend meetings, but this was a meeting that they could attend. It was filled with East Germans, Czechs, and a lot of Yugoslavs. Since the Hague meeting, the Russians have been to practically every meeting. I know that the meeting we had in Yugoslavia had some very articulate and interesting Russians who were familiar with the writings of a large number of American art educators. They were an impressive group.

Q. From my observations of children's art on exhibit in Rotterdam, I sensed a tremendous influence of American art education regarding visual ideas and the use of media. What do you think about this?

A. I do not think they are willing to accept American imperialism in the art room. There are some very good art education magazines in Japan, and Germany used to have several excellent ones, too. The Germans also took immediately to Lowenfeld because he was one of them.

Q. How long were you chairman of the Teachers College Columbia University Art Education Department?

A. I retired in 1970, so that makes 24 years.

Q. What do you consider to be your unique contributions to art education?

A. I think that the one major contribution which I made was in the book *Art Today*. *Art Today* changed directions of the courses for the general student in the country. The books I had known before that had all dealt with painting and sculpture. They had to have a historical cast, but *Art Today* looked upon all of the visual environment as worthy of study and included it. It also emphasized the "contemporary" rather than the "historic" background.

Q. Do you do anything now in the areas of art education?

A. Not in any major way. I worked so hard for 40 years that I find it very difficult to make myself work anymore. Now, living in California, I have more things to do than there is time for.

Q. What do you think the role of art should be in the schools?

A. Essentially, if we are going to have a country that has any kind of balance to it, we need to have a society which has humanistic values. If we do not have humanistic values present in our society, we are headed for an awful downfall. I do not like the way the country is going at the present time. I think that you have to train the intellect, but you also have to train the emotions. A person is not educated if he is educated in only one area. Art is just as basic, maybe in the long run more basic, in terms of the culture being a reasonable and civilized culture. We have to have a strong emphasis on the arts. I think it should not only focus on the visual arts, but should include music, and probably for some students, the dance. I think that for small youngsters, the dance is just as important as any of the arts.

Q. Do you have any idea where the future of art education lies?

A. In spite of the fact that art education has been cut back in the schools right now, there are many other things in our culture which are quite promising. I suspect that no civilization can be a great one without a basic interest in art. Once we are past the bad period we are now in, the interest in art and the quality of production will improve.

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The Morality of International Art Education

Kenneth A. Marantz

I will address here some questions that have become increasingly bothersome as I've travelled abroad, dipped into the contemporary anthropological literature, worked with and observed international graduate students. I wish that I could bring you more than questions, could offer you guaranteed procedures that answer these questions. I fear I can't even hand out nostrums. Indeed, my objective is to apply more the mustard plaster than some glitzy palliative, to stir up the quiet waters and maybe even cause some wavelets to lap over into the swamp of cross-cultural research. My motives arise from a sense of conscience. They are a form of moral belief generated by what I perceive as an absence of concern in my behavior and in our field regarding our responsibilities to international graduate students.

At The Ohio State University we have graduated 32 foreign nationals who have returned home to continue their careers; they came from 18 nations including Nigeria, Nicaragua, India, Brazil, New Zealand,Thailand, Austria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and more. After some 15 years of advising international students why do I now ask the questions that ought to have been asked before?

A young woman from Jamaica, now a graduate student in educational administration at Harvard wrote in 1986:

> How well is my Harvard education experience preparing me for useful work upon my return home? This is a difficult and frustrating question that has been gnawing at me, as I am sure it has other 'Third World' and other international students studying in the United States (International Education Newsletter, 1985).

"Preparing me for useful work" is the keystone in the arch of questions that have long been gnawing at me. The mathematician speaks and thinks in a universal semiotic culture: Symbols, syntax, and systems are elegantly arbitrary. So may it also be with other sciences and technologies (putting aside of course the social values of the work they do, the ethical implications of the practical consequences of their beautiful theories). But art and education and art education are so totally immersed in their cultural matrices that we cannot, in good conscience, even begin to pretend to do our work isolated from the social framework.

Ergo, we keep returning to the consequences of our labors as educators, the functional exportability of our teachings. Perhaps the puzzlement might be approached on tip-toe, with catlike tread, if we look at our effectiveness much closer to home. While my focus here is on graduate education, many of the questions raised have deep hooks in undergraduate programs, as well. How well do those of us who manage terminal degree mills know, understand, appreciate, or even care about the world in which our graduates must seek their future? To what extent do we pay attention to the words of wisdom we expound in our classrooms? A homily in curriculum theory advises us to know our students and their needs. What are the needs of a typical doctoral graduate desiring a career in "higher" education? By "higher" I mean, of course, "post-secondary," a title that refers to an educational landscape that contains lowland seas, arid deserts, vast flat plains, forests, hills, and a very few mountains. The metaphor describes the vast variety of institutions from junior colleges to research universities, academies to large teacher preparation colleges (nee normal schools). Most (and I'd guess quite soon, all) seek teachers with terminal degrees. And, from the announcements that come my way each year, it is the doctorate that is most coveted because of the pressures by accrediting agencies to see a string of letters after the names of faculty. To what extent are we attending, can we attend, to assorted needs of such assorted institutions? What skills, attitudes, knowledges, and values do we inculcate that are universally exportable? Or do we, rather, define what is teachable in terms of our own lives, seeking to clone ourselves to create disciples ready and able to carry our Word to the benighted world?

Graduate degrees in art education, in many if not most institutions, are research degrees. Thus our responsibilities are to help our students come to grips with the complexities of the rules of the research game. We don't consider it our task necessarily to help them sharpen insights and skills of student teaching supervision, to become effective instructors of weaving, to design and practice courses in art appreciation, to deal with the older urban student now coming to city institutions. If we're good we sharpen both the skills to do research and the appetite after graduation to carry on studying the never-ending problems in our field. But what opportunities to do so are theirs when work loads occupy the majority of daylight hours and there are no incentives nor resources to continue? To paraphrase the Jamaican student "How well has graduate study prepared me for useful work when I get my teaching job?"

If I have overstated the situation it has been for rhetorical effect to point out that the problems I perceive in educating international colleagues are similar to those that characterize our national operations. We are clearly far from a single American culture although we sometimes make-believe otherwise. But educational headlines which bandbox conflicts involving content (e.g., evolution vs. creationism and the odd notion that the non-definable "secular humanism" is a religion), teaching methods (e.g., the ebb and flow of behavioral objectives and the more pernicious accountability and bilingual education), censorship, and currently the means by which teachers are prepared (cf. Holmes and Carnegie), such open conflicts surely make it clear that we live in a nation based on cultural pluralism. By paying more attention to what's going on under our noses we should be able to do a better job with matters at our fingertips.

We are more than ever the target of educational aspirations of colleagues from the Orient, the Middle East, and South America, areas not yet able to offer advanced education in our field. Practically, if we believe that we should be responsive to the cultural needs of those coming to us from all parts of this globe then how should we change our current behavior? I say if because there is a point of view that makes a case for what may be called a "single standard." That is, send a clear message that we offer a point of view we believe is fundamentally appropriate and that we expect those who come to study with us to learn that point of view. How they (an Idahoan or Ugandan) choose to exploit that learning in the specific context of their home culture is up to them. While I have personal difficulty in understanding how we can teach about curriculum or philosophical issues or evaluation or even research methodologies outside a cultural context, I can respect others who have reflected on the situation and come to their reasoned conclusions that our responsibility is only "to educate." Indeed, I'd suspect (and Professor S. Dechow reports as well in 1982) that a form of democratic, every-one-treated-alike ideology dominates our universities.

Our Harvard student points out a general need: "Because faculty in the U.S. aren't always aware of the issues confronting international students [I'd guess more likely are rarely aware], students themselves must determine the areas requiring focus. This is a crucial obligation for foreign students from 'Third World' countries where we are attempting to overcome colonial traces in the content and substance of our educational systems and to replace them with a more indigenous educational message." A more indigenous educational message: the voice of the culture in which are embedded the political supports and constraints, the resource limitations, the aesthetic values, the psychological self-understandings, the definition of reality.

Because very recent surveys have shown a dramatic increase in the number of students from countries with the greatest difference in cultural values and behaviors and because, at Ohio State, we have had a dramatic increase in graduate students from Saudi Arabia, I will use that country as the case in point. You may wish to extrapolate, to plug in any other country to see how many of the questions stimulated by this instance reflects broader concerns. Obviously I believe that there are indeed overarching concerns. In gathering information I've had the cooperation of matriculating Saudi students, and I used a report on Students from the Arab World made by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (Althen, 1978) and a more recent paper given by an Ohio State colleague on "Intercultural Relevance and Reentry Ethical Issues in Curriculum Development—The Saudi Arabian Case" (Dechow, 1982).

As was the concern of the Harvard student, the focus is on "relevance." "How can we responsibly educate and prepare students to return home equipped to relevantly translate the education they have received here into their own cultures' terms?" Our Saudi students are males, university educated (with a least a B.A.), who come with a wife and sometimes young children because marriage is assumed as a basic value. For the most part their command of reading English is much better than the spoken. Indeed, some come to the States first to study English in order to pass the language examinations (TOEFL or others) which are a prerequisite for admission to graduate programs. But such crash programs hardly prepare them for the complexities of our idiomatic tongue, cannot begin to supply them with the literary, political, and historical allusions that make our language the richly textured expressive tool it can be. If, as many of us believe, the language in many ways helps to define the culture, not only are these students able to handle just our basic English, but they are essentially ignorant of our cultural values, our educational protocols. What we take pretty much for granted, how we disport ourselves linguistically in class, casually dropping mixed metaphors on desks or calling upon our rich literary heritage to extend an argument, helps increase the wall of alienation we build between us and them. I can well remember weekly sessions with a lively young woman from Taiwan which were devoted to helping her shape her thesis study but which always included a lesson in which I taught her a few idioms. Indeed, I found that I developed a habit, as we chatted, of labeling such figures of speech as I used them with an afterward, "That's an idiom." It became clear, quickly, how much of our speech isn't found in the textbooks used to study English. However, while such pleasant sidetracks helped her operate more efficiently in our local university culture, I wonder if they had any value at all for her when she returned to teach in Taipei?

What are some of pertinent facts about Saudi Arabian culture I have learned so far? Theirs is an oral culture; i.e., the significant communication occurs face to face, not in written form. In attempting to establish contact with my counterparts in two major universities over a period of 18 months, I can report that there has been no reply to a series of increasingly pleading letters. Nor can I stimulate so much as a postcard from a recently graduated doctoral student despite the closest of conversational relationships maintained over a couple years of his residency with us. Such an oral dependency results in a pattern of irregular contacts, of a milling about in corridors in order to pop into the office or to intercept me in my many voyages out and in during the day. And I'm reminded of my visit to Qatar and the "strange" involvement with the heads of colleges and departments as they sat at their desks in what we would identify as faculty commons rooms complete with the ever-present coffee service. Business was conducted in the public view — both visual and auditory — of faculty who sat about drinking coffee and chatting. So different from our paper dominated and closed door conferences. As Dechow reports, when a Saudi student declined to keep an assigned daily journal, " It's like talking to yourself.

When I talk, I want people around me that I can see and know are listening and understand me." This is so logical given the specifics of their cultural values. Do we then insist on the daily journal?

Or, how do we deal with the differences in concepts of time with which you're all familiar? Westerners insist that time is linear — and we have bells in our halls that proclaim this steady and inevitable march each hour. Thus, when we demand timely submission of written assignments, we simply assume: of course. But if time is cyclical, as is clearly the case in some other cultures like Saudi Arabia, then our rush to meet deadlines seems to make no sense. The task at hand determines its own conclusions and when it's done, it's done and only then is it ready to be turned in. "Incompletes" are a way of life. (I realize some Westerners have adopted this way of life as well.) How insistent should we be that they alter, pervert, their cultural norms in order to fit ours?

Probably most fundamental, from the perspective of education, is the concept of what it means to be educated. For me, one of the more wonderful aspects of the Saudi culture is its relatively monolithic structure. There is no separation of church and state. It is a theocracy and the writings of the Koran and Hadith contain the wisdom and guiding principles for all aspects of life. One becomes educated by learning, by memorizing, what has been written and one demonstrates success by repeating what one has memorized. One accepts; one does not challenge the teacher.

For some of us such a student attitude may seem like pig heaven (surely not pig in Arabia). But in the main at the university at least if not in elementary or secondary schools, we demand questioning, we invite personal interpretation. If not using the Socratic method we expect our students to reflect on what they read and hear. We put a very high value on academic freedom, on both cultural and personal relativism. We condemn educational catechisms and expect that our students will, like the camel, push their noses under the tents of claims and propositions to see what exists behind the decorative facades. But, it is frequently difficult with Saudi students to obtain class participation because personal student opinions are not considered valuable and only the teacher is worth hearing.

In essays a parallel situation prevails. Writing assignments come in as a set of pure, i.e., uninterpreted quotations or paraphrases. The authors of books and articles are the experts and they are not to be questioned, only reported. In examinations, this training to memorize authority can be useful and we find our Saudi Arabian students very well prepared for their candidacy orals where name dropping is taken seriously. Of course they frequently take three times as long to prepare for these sessions as their Western cohorts.

I could present more facts about cultural differences relating to family life and economic/political conditions, but by now you have enough to comprehend the conundrum we face. In remaining content neutral I've failed to indicate a hard-core conceptual puzzlement that is squarely in the middle of the art education domain. Art education in Saudi Arabia refers to studio practice. There is an almost total vacuum of theory of educational methods, of curriculum, and evaluation instruction. This educational forge creates a double-edged sword. One edge is the undergraduate training that is essentially studio bound that hardly prepares them for our theoretical orientations. The other is the expectation that when they return home they too will be studio teachers. In other words, the focus of our educational enterprise is skewed. We teach them about research, an activity that has little to do with their "useful work," which doesn't seem to respond to their "indigenous message."

And of the objects themselves, those that are called art, we have more mismatches. While, I'm told, there exists some argument about the extent of the religious prohibitions concerning depicting the human figure, the sort of freedom we encourage here in representational work is not possible there.

Calligraphy is central; geometric patterning and scenes of animals and plants abound. Sculpture is essentially nonobjective or functional.

Thus, even in a studio dominated course of study, there is the problem of serious limitations on content, to say nothing of the issues involving the study of art – the role of their rich history of metal and fiber crafts, and the critical approach that must be couched within the broader cultural norms. Problems, issues, concerns – but only if we allow ourselves to become sensitive to them. For our foreign students, of course, they are intimate and perpetual concerns. And, for me, they have created this belated act of moral consciousness.

Clearly I believe we can't simply put up the Caveat Emptor sign although the pressure to earn an American degree will no doubt bring us students regardless of the conditions of servitude we impose. Some of our students have recently suggested that we adopt a double track grading policy. "Do not compare our work with the high scholarly work of American students who have more knowledge about Western Art Education . . . a B-, or C will bring down the image of the performance to the eye of the sponsors or the government,"one student wrote. A genuine appeal for cultural relevance. But can we justify the practice? If we give low grades that result in recall, how have we helped the student learn?

"The inferiority complex in almost each and every foreign student due to the influence of their local background in their country makes them shy to talk in class. But the professors could brake [sic] the ice by making them talk about something that has connection with their culture or practice in their own country, a student suggested. "How often do we try to do this, to seek out concepts from the two cultures that may bridge them, might make connections? If we don't go to live in their country, at least ought we not to learn about it by listening to those who live there?

Some of us believe that education has a role to play in leading society and, it follows, that in preparing teachers we seek to instill in them the verve of change-agents. Ethically, we may be on shaky ground even for domestic pedagogs. But what are we asking of our international troops when we inculcate our values and expect them to risk their necks (literally I fear in some instances) in our cause on their turf? Yet if not ours, we must be more than merely slightly aware of theirs.

Only as a young child did I believe that all problems had solutions. Yet as a much older child I believe that we can't determine the possibility of solutions unless we first identify the problem. And that's all I've been trying to do here — to point out what I see as a fertile landscape waiting to be cultivated. Cross-cultural research is very iffy when it's practiced unilaterally . The etic/emic pairing seems a more promising approach, and our current international students are a cadre of others who are the potential partners. They are also our future colleagues and deserve our respect as many of them move from profound colonial influences. They don't need a fresh form of educational colonialism thrust upon them, whether produced intentionally or by our neglect. I end with a paraphrase of the Harvard student's self-reflective question: "How well will the education we offer prepare our international students for useful work upon their return home?"

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The Underdevelopment of Art Education: Political Intervention in Brazil

Anna Mae Barbosa

Modernization of art education has been a painful and difficult process. In Latin America, where cultural modernization has been connected with movements toward democracy, the general education system has tried to control methods and quality of art education. Brazil provides an example of how politics and financial policies have contributed to the underdevelopment of art education for all its citizens.

Leaders in art history and modern art criticism suggest that artistic development means artistic production associated with artistic understanding. Because it promotes critical thinking, appreciation, understanding, and enjoyment of art products, art education is a crucial issue for development of the arts.

In a paper presented in Vancouver to the World Conference on Art, Politics, and Business, the economist Kenneth Boulding suggested that art education is presently underdeveloped. To understand why art education is at least 50 years behind the development of artistic production, it is first necessary to understand the political and financial reasons behind this lack of development in art education.

For many consumers and art specialists, modernization of art has been a painful and difficult process. While the teaching of art previously was concerned either with teaching geometric drawing to elementary and secondary school children or with helping artists develop, current art education is a combination of modern psychology and modern art. Reactions against these new forms of artistic expression were strong, particularly in the Western Hemisphere where introduction to modern art occurred through provocative events such as the Armory Show in the United States and Modern Art Week in Brazil.

To educate future artists, schools promoting modern art were created everywhere, although the best ones — the Bauhaus (Germany, 1919), the Vitebesk School (Russia, 1919) and Black Mountain College (United States, 1950's) — were closed for political reasons. To educate the public, art was introduced into the established general education curriculum with the intent to modify taste, artistic sensibility, and aesthetic perception. But the education system worked against art in general education, transforming it into a dispensable school subject emphasizing only free expression, a laissez-faire method lacking in critical sensibility.

When I asked Ernst Gombrich in 1982 about his thoughts on the crisis of art today, he replied that it is a crisis of value, and he blamed art education itself. In his view if an artistic child's scribbles are indiscriminately praised, the child may grow up unable to judge his own work. In addition, he believed there are few available critics who are able to accurately judge works of art.

The educational system has weakened art education in schools, transforming it into mere therapy or skills training. By contrast, the scholarly study of art, expression, and criticism could possibly help students understand modern art as well as modern life in all its complexities.[1] To be able to make value judgments means to be able to avoid manipulated opinions. Among politicians who make important decisions concerning education, few appear interested in avoiding the manipulation of popular opinion. Politics affects art education more harshly and directly than it affects art itself, since art as individual statement can be assimilated by the official system. The sub-system of art in formal and informal education, however, affects the political system more than art educators realize, because they are educated not to recognize this effect.

In Latin America, where cultural modernization has always been connected with movements toward democracy, the general educational system has attempted to control the methods and quality of art education. Identification of art education with social reforms or revolutions toward democracy in Latin America is not a rhetorical affirmation. Rather, culture, education, art, and art education are closely linked to politics.

Modern art education in Latin America began in Mexico with the revolution of 1910, when illiteracy and an inefficient system of education was dominant. Indigenous arts and crafts had deteriorated and, in some cases, had been completely forgotten. Painting and sculpture followed European trends and methods.

The first community effort to re-establish education in Mexico was the creation of the Escuelas ao Aire Libre (Open Air Schools). National artists travelled the country, establishing art classes for the Indians and the poor. The strong commitment of artists (such as Best Maugard, Alfredo Ramos Martinez, and Rodriquez Lozano) to make these schools successful aroused a new appreciation for Mexican art and a respect for art as a method to educate the illiterate and to develop citizen consciousness. The muralist movement helped revive the old method of fresco painting and ancient Indian designs. Later, as Minister of Public Education (1921 - 1924), Jose Vasconcelos organized educational missions which also travelled throughout the country. He collaborated with people such as Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, David Siqueiros, Alva de la Canal, Fermin Revueltas, Jean Charlot, and Fernando Leal.

The Escuelas ao Aire Libre and Best Maugard's method of teaching art influenced many Latin American countries which, under the democratic regimes of that time, were developing an attitude of visual and cultural respect for the environment of the past. Both Maugard and the Escuelas ao Aire Libre were committed to the idea of art for cultural regeneration; to develop a relationship among artists, the people, and the state; and to build a sense of citizenship through art.

Maugard's book begins with an essay on "The Social Function of Art."[2] For him, the purpose of teaching art was to democratize the pleasure of art, to initiate the people into its practice, and to diffuse its use throughout society and each individual's life. It is curious to note that Maugard's graphic exercises are similar to those proposed by Marion Richardson in England. It would appear that Maugard's method is a type of classificatory deconstruction of Mexican indigenous art, taking into consideration the general principles of Western design.

The success of the Escuelas ao Aire Libre was significant, and the aesthetic quality of the works produced was high. Many students, including Tamayo, became artists. But the highest achievement of the Escuelas was to influence the formation of a sense of community work and learning. Mexico set the pattern for art education in Latin America.

When a democratic regime begins political and social changes, and when open discussion is established, art education can lend impetus to changes in art as well as in general education. An example of art used to overcome an elitist system of education during political change can be seen in Brazil, which changed from a monarchy to a republic in 1889. For almost 30 years, the opponents of slavery and the monarchy in Brazil demanded popular education and training for slaves to prepare them for free work. Criticism of education came from the two political factions engaged in the fight, Liberalism and Positivism.

The Liberals promoted drawing as the most important subject of their curriculum. Their liberal political theory was directed toward the practical function of enriching the country economically. This would be possible only through industrial development, they said, and they considered the technical and industrial education of the people to be one of the basic conditions for this development.

Although this fight between Liberals and Positivists dominated the Fine Arts School and the Brazilian "intelligentsia," after the Proclamation of the Republic, the Positivists became the educational leaders. They reformulated the Fine Arts School and education in general, establishing geometric drawing as a subject in primary and secondary curricula in order to develop the "scientific mind." Without orientation, however, teachers returned to the old practice of copying. Politically, the Brazilian Positivists recommended a dictatorship of knowledgeable citizens. Culturally, in art education at least, they leaned toward the past.

Only during the period of 1927 to 1935 would the debate on education reappear. This time, political efforts were directed toward changing from the oligarchic system to a democratic system. The Brazilian middle class contested the inability of the Republican regime to change the feudalistic social, political, and economic bases inherited from the Empire. This fight was directed toward establishing popular participation and free elections.

Art education again became a principal subject in the schools, with the preparation of art teachers a chief concern. The first university course to train art teachers was developed at the experimental University of the Distrito Federal.

This was a period of awakening modernity. In 1922, Modern Art Week was held, an event similar to the Armory Show in the United States. Modern Art Week is considered Brazil's systematic introduction to modern art. Mario de Andrade, a leader of the Modern Art Week who later became the Secretary of Culture of Sao Paulo, instituted art classes and directed some investigations on children's art. Anita Malfatti, an influential modern artist, tried to develop methods learned with Homer Boss (one of the teachers in the New York Art Student's League) in her teaching. It was a period of educational reforms in the majority of the Brazilian states, all of them giving great importance to art.

The idea of the reformist period was to extend art teaching to all social classes, not only as preparation for work, as the Liberals claimed, but as an integrative means of learning and a way to develop aesthetic appreciation and appreciation of nature. In the public schools, John Dewey's influence was strongest during this period.

A dictatorship interrupted the movement for political, social, and educational change. The Getulio Vargas dictatorship (1935 - 1945), known as "Estado Novo," persecuted the educational reformers by either jailing or firing them. Under this dictatorship, education was a tenuous career plagued by politics and the danger of being called a socialist or a communist.

The Estado Novo dictatorship, however, did attempt to show some concern for art education. The Minister of Education asked Lucio Costa (the architect who planned Brasilia 10 years later) to write the art curriculum for the secondary schools. But his project was never officially accepted and never put into practice. The secondary curriculum consisted only of geometric drawing, without the Positivist preoccupation of making the principles of geometry understandable and without the Liberal concern with initiation into industrial design. Since the government's concern was to repress expression while simultaneously creating artistic symbols of its power, Le Corbusier was hired to design the first modern office building in Brazil, the Ministry of Education building. He was assisted by young Brazilian architects such as Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa. At the time, this attempt made the Estado Novo regime appear more benevolent toward the arts than the concurrent dictatorship in Uruguay.

Mercedes Antelo, one of the pioneers of art education in Uruguay, told me that geometric drawing was the single subject that took the place of art in the schools during that time. She recalls Major Soto, a powerful figure in the government, saying that any kind of free expression was subversive, and if art was free expression, it was prohibited.

In Brazil, after the period of the Estado Novo dictatorship, some freedom of expression and freedom from school-dominated art education occurred. The phenomenon of art as extracurricular activity for children and adolescents began with the creation of the Escolinhas de Arte, small private schools established throughout the country which were to remain outside the official system of education in order to preserve their freedom.

Again, during the crucial period of re-democratization, art and art education were called upon for assistance. It was a period of expansion of mass education and of the creation of schools for worker, financed by industry and commerce, all of which maintained the same concern for art education.

After the first years of re-democratization (1945 - 1958), a fertile period of cultural experimentation emerged (1958 - 1963). A multi-party system, the creation of professional unions, the expansion of industry, free elections, and political competitiveness revitalized social life. It was a period of affirmation of a national model of education and development of the methods and conceptions of Paulo Freire, who, as president of the Escolinha de Arte do Recife until 1964, was engaged in art education.

University students felt committed to the movement against illiteracy and for the revalorization of popular art and culture. A federal law permitted the organization of experimental classes in a system that until then were completely standardized by the Ministry of Education. All the experimental classes throughout the country included art in the curriculum, including the University of Brasilia, an experimental university created with special attention to art education.

In 1964, a military coup d'etat eliminated the evolving democratic process, and the military government hired certain North American universities to reorganize Brazilian education. Through federal law, "art" became a compulsory subject in Brazilian schools in 1971. This law established vocation education,which the involved North American universities determined was appropriate for an "underdeveloped" country. The inclusion of "art" was a deliberate attempt to mask the technical orientation of this law. The intent was to give the impression that the government valued the humanities, creativity, and reflective thinking, despite the fact that this law excluded history and philosophy from the curriculum.

The absolute failure of the 1971 reform was apparent within 10 years, when more than 50% of the children began dropping out of school in their first year, even before learning how to read. The situation of art education was no less dramatic. In 1973, the federal government created a two-year university course to prepare art teachers to teach music, visual arts, drama, dance, and geometric drawing, simultaneously, from the first to the eighth grades, and in some cases until high school. By providing incompetent teachers, the government avoided the positive effects of art education on the students, for example, to learn analysis, gain the ability to "read" the environment, understand native traditions and values, create and institute changes, or understand symbolic communication. In short, they were denied access to any education dangerous to a dictatorship.

Within 10 years, art education became a disposable subject in the schools. The art teacher was there only to organize social events such as Mother's Day, Soldier's Day, Independence Day, and so on. Weakened by the system, the art educator was easily manipulated by politicians for populist purposes. A clear example of such manipulation took place in the state of Sao Paulo. In 1979, the governor, who had been appointed by the military government, stated that during the entire second semester, art teachers were to prepare their students to sing songs in order to participate in a 30,000 voice choir at the governor's Christmas party. Teachers who trained their students would receive a salary increase of five points (a master's degree was worth 10 points for salary improvement). This same governor, who played the piano and proudly professed to preferring classical music, spent more than half the state's yearly budget reserved for cultural activities on a mediocre festival of erudite music, called Campos de Jordao Festival, in a town in the hills.

In 1983, after 20 years of military dictatorship in Brazil, the first democratic state government in Sao Paulo was elected by the people. Again, the first move toward recuperation of meaning and quality in education came from art education.

Democratic transformation began in Sao Paulo with the reformulation of the Campos de Jordao Festival. The facilities built by the pianist governor, such as the luxurious theater and gardens, were used. The festival was transformed into a large and varied program, including all the arts, in order to bring the 400 art teachers of the state's schools up-to-date, and to give the general public the opportunity to evaluate the professional art events that year. The shows were free and open to everyone. The best of current examples of art, as determined by public choice, were assembled and analyzed, including three plays, two orchestra concerts, one piano concert, one medieval cortate, several popular musicians (such as Hermeto Paschoal and Egberto Gismonti), three dance recitals, and three multimedia shows. The organization of the program followed the principles of open participation and general commitment of the artists.

Through the Theater Association, the Association of Public School Teachers, and the Art Education Association of Sao Paulo, 50 university professors, artists, and professional people, who had previous experience with the training of art teachers, were brought together. The general approaches, objectives, and theories of the program, and the content of each workshop and studio course, were to be determined in three month's time.

During this three month period, I also traveled around the state organizing large meetings of art teachers to discuss their needs: what they expected from a course organized to bring them up to date; what they were teaching; and how they would like to teach if they had better facilities and working conditions. I had the opportunity to talk with and to receive suggestions from 2,500 art teachers in the allotted three months' time.

The 1,200 candidates for the program were selected by lottery, not by resume or curriculum vita, thereby encompassing a wide variety of teachers. Among the chosen were: teachers ages 19 to 62, teachers who were able to afford a car and teachers who had to travel from one town to another on foot to give classes, and art teachers who were artists and art teachers who had never painted or even been to a theater after they left the university.

Which epistemological approach to follow with such a highly heterogeneous group, in order that every one could learn, was a serious question. Paulo Freire's concept of knowledge as a state of consciousness and Michael Polyani's idea of a personal knowledge helped us build a course where all the subjects, all the contents, all the theories, and all the workshops were based on the reading of the aesthetic, natural, and social environment. The courses on art appreciation were based on decoding the aesthetic environment and the mass media (television, radio, etc.). Several workshops were based on research of the artistic activities of the population of the town where the course took place, including several popular composers, a group of Japanese dancers, a circus, and laser project, and so on. History of art was based on the architecture of the town, which encompassed a nearly complete survey of the history of architecture since the Middle Ages (some of which is bad imitation), and on the art collection of the governor's winter palace, itself a copy of an Italian castle. To help the teachers analyze their own work and place it in historical and social context, and to critique professional art work, there were two art critics in residence.

In addition to the established general methodological guidelines, each workshop had a specific approach which sometimes conflicted with other workshops. In this way, a type of multi-methodological principle was developed. For example, at least four methods were employed in the six theater workshops: those of Peter Slade, Viola Spolin, Augusto Boal, and Joana Lopes. In the five dance classes, there was direct inspiration from at least three professionals: Laban, Martha Graham, and Patricia Stokoe. The theoretical courses offered varied approaches of interpretation of child development through several media, including television and video. As the student-teachers evaluated the different methodologies, they began to realize that no single "recipe" is sufficient in art education.

The Festival de Campos do Jordao of 1983 was a hopeful beginning of reformulation for education in the state of Sao Paulo. However, in Brazil, realization of democracy is still in progress, and politicians still must negotiate with conservative forces that ruled the country under the previous dictatorship. The Festival de Campos do Jordao in 1984 returned to the previous model of the pianist governor, and was directed by the same person. The politicians who reinstated the old model festival and cultural policy, however, lost the mayoral elections in 1985.

The voters want to see changes. The swing faction which decides elections in Brazil is constituted by people who are not associated with professional politics or with its apparatus (cultural, economic, parties, unions, etc.). As Guy Hermet said, if those independent voters would manifest their thinking more frequently, not only in the elections, they could be the artificers of the progress of citizenry, with bases in a constructive skepticism.

A further reason for the under-development of art education is a lack of financial support. Governments in general consider art educational a frill. They fund art education in moments of crisis or political change, but when financial adjustments are needed, the first area cut is art education. When reformist enthusiasm has passed, few of the principles discussed during reform are incorporated into the system, and art education returns again to the fringes.

On the other hand, corporations do not fund art education at all. They want their image associated only with museological art: products that have been proven to delight the elite, end products valued by the establishment, and even commercially successful cultural products. They do not fund projects to develop art audiences in different social classes, or to encourage the process of art production. In Brazil, art educators are very much alone in the struggle to make art meaningful in the lives of all its citizens.

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Footnotes

1. An illuminating article about this issue can be found in Hamblen, K.A. (1986). There you go again,Tom. *Art Education, 39*(3), 56-59.
2. Maugard, A. B. (1923). *Metodo de Dibujo Mexico.* Departamento Editorial de la Secretaria de Education, p. ix.

Verbal Mediation Effects on Comprehending Works of Art in a Multi-cultural Educational Setting

Judith S. Koroscik, Elizabeth Garber, and Laurie R. Baxter

This research was designed to examine multi-linguistic influences on children's comprehension of visual art when it is introduced through verbal and nonverbal art viewing strategies. The participants were monolingual and bilingual elementary school students from Vancouver, British Colombia, who spoke only English, or spoke English as a first or second language. Verbal mediation effects were assessed by a word-match test that measured the comprehension of descriptive and interpretive art meanings. Results suggest children's art viewing experiences draw upon the cognitive benefits that stem from learning more than one language at an early age.

The purpose of this study was to examine some of the variables that influence children's understanding of art. We were especially interested in the role language plays in forming two kinds of art meanings: (a) descriptive meanings referring to an art work's subject matter (representational content), and (b) interpretive meanings about an artwork's expressive qualities (mood, feelings).

Evidence from our earlier research with adults has shown that descriptive meanings are generally easier to derive from art than interpretive meanings (Koroscik, Desmond, & Brandon, 1985). Our findings also indicate the abstraction level an art work displays largely determines the kind of meanings viewers comprehend (Koroscik, 1982; Koroscik & Blinn, 1983). We found that highly realistic (low abstraction) art

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work often lends itself to accurate construction of both descriptive and interpretive meanings. Yet this accuracy often drops markedly for descriptive meanings and even more sharply for interpretive meanings when viewers attempt to comprehend less realistic (high abstraction) works of art. In fact, many of the adults we studied made little effort towards constructing interpretive meanings for highly abstract art work. Instead, they typically devoted their full attention to trying to determine what each art work was about by identifying its subject matter.

Later research matched these findings with one notable exception. Results of a cross-cultural study comparing American, Brazilian, and Egyptian adults showed the Egyptian art viewers were as successful comprehending high abstract art as art work displaying lower levels of abstraction (Koroscik, DeSouza, & Osman, in press). We found that the Egyptians constructed far more interpretive meanings for highly abstract art work than American and Brazilian viewers. The latter two cultural groups focused almost exclusively on descriptive meanings. These findings led us to conclude that cultural variables can play a large part in determining the cognitive orientation art viewers take towards comprehending meanings.

We were curious about the function of language in these cultural patterns. Language is frequently used within cultural contexts to transmit ideas and expectations about works of art. These expectations guide the search of information from art and thus determine the comprehension of meanings. In this sense, " a person's culture is a principal determiner of what he or she can come to know" (Anderson, 1984, p. 8).

The role of cross-cultural differences in the acquisition of knowledge has been demonstrated in numerous verbal learning studies (Bartlett, 1932; Steffersen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979). It has been examined to a much lesser extent in art related research (Hardiman & Zernich, 1985).

Multi-cultural influences on verbal learning have been approached in studies of bilingual and multi-lingual children and adults (Bain, 1975; Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Oren, 1981). Educators have become interested in "bilingual situations because of the effects of language attitudes and norms on social and cultural institutions, because of the access to two cultures that bilingualism grants, and because of the practical pedagogical problems it often raises in structured school settings" (Reynolds & Flagg, 1983, p. 396).

There is strong evidence that suggests bilingual children have greater cognitive flexibility than monolinguals because fluency in two languages provides alternative ways of comprehending, storing, and using linguistic information (Reynolds & Flagg, 1983). Researchers agree "that being raised and schooled in a bilingual manner represents a unique form of child development" (Bain, 1975).

This phenomenon is worth focusing upon in multi-cultural research in art education because art teachers often ask students to talk about art in order to facilitate the acquisition of aesthetic understandings. Multi-cultural backgrounds provide students with more than one way of comprehending linguistic information about art. Yet there is no research evidence of which we are aware that indicates whether multiple linguistic codes add or detract from a child or adult's understanding of art.

Students with multi-lingual skills have access to two or more cultures; therefore, they may benefit from the multiplicity of referents each culture provides for interpreting art meanings. On the other hand, multiple referents for any one set of descriptive or interpretive meanings may confuse comprehension.

We approached our study of this problem with three specific questions in mind:

Research Question 1. Do bilingual children differ from their monolingual counterparts in the kinds of meanings (descriptive vs. interpretive) they accurately comprehend from works of art?

Research Question 2. Do these patterns of comprehension differ among groups of low, average, and high grade level readers?

Research Question 3. To what extent does the construction of descriptive and interpretive meanings differ for art with varying levels of abstraction?

We felt it was essential to examine these questions by testing older English-speaking children in a multi-cultural educational environment. Vancouver, British Columbia, was selected as the site for this research because it satisfied these requirements and provided us with the opportunity to study children from a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Method

Subjects and Design

Fifth and sixth grade students (N = 89) attending an urban, middle to lower-middle class school in Vancouver, B. C., volunteered to serve as subjects in the investigation. Table 1 details the linguistic diversity of this school aged sample.

Subjects were assigned to between-subjects groups on the basis of (a) their primary and secondary spoken languages, and (b) their scores on a standardized grade level reading test and on a vocabulary test of words from the experimental measures. Language groupings consisted of:

1. An *English only* monolingual group comprised of students who reported speaking only English (n = 30).
2. An *English-first* bilingual group consisting of students who reported speaking English as a first language but indicated they spoke a second language (n = 21).
3. An *English-second* bilingual group with students who reported speaking a language other than English as their first language (n = 38).

Language groups were further divided into low, average, and high grade level readers. Thus we created nine between-subjects groupings. Wherever unequal groups of less than 13 subjects resulted, estimates were provided for missing values

Table One
Frequency of Subjects by Linguistic Background

	First Language	Second Language
Chinese	16	11
English	51	38
French	0	1
Greek	3	0
Hindi	3	6
Japanese	2	0
Polish	0	1
Portuguese	5	0
Russian	0	1
Spanish	2	1
Tagalog	3	0
Vietnamese	3	0
Yugoslavian	1	0

using procedures included adjusting the degrees of freedom for error terms after analysis of variance tests were performed on the data. The experimental design also included manipulation of Abstraction (low, medium, high), Viewing Task (nonverbal-focal, nonverbal-global, verbal-focal, verbal-global), and Meaning Type (descriptive, interpretive) as within-subjects variables. Thus the experimental design was a 3 (Language) x 3 (Reading Level) x 3 (Abstraction) x 4 (Viewing Task) x 2 (Meaning Type) mixed analysis of variance with repeated measures on the latter three variables.

Materials

Visual art stimuli. A set of 24 twentieth century European and American paintings were selected for use in this study. Black and white reproductions of each painting measuring 7 x 9 inches, were prepared. This set of stimuli included pairs of art works by 12 different artists. Each pair by a single artist consisted of a portrait and a nonportrait painting with similar expressive qualities. For example, both paintings by Francis Bacon conveyed feelings of distress and horror. This control was introduced as a means of circumventing any advantage subjects might have had in responding to figurative art work.

The abstraction level of art stimuli was also controlled in the present study. An equal number of the art works displayed low, medium, and high levels of abstraction as determined by a panel of three independent judges. We defined abstraction as the degree to which an art work's representational content deviates from its real-world referents (i. e. low abstraction = high realism).

Viewing task demands. Verbal and nonverbal tasks developed by Koroscik and Blinn (1983) were used in this study to direct students' attention to either the visual features or meanings of each work of art.

1. The *nonverbal-focal task* required subjects to position clear acetate over an area (one-quarter section) outlined in an art work and to carefully trace all lines that appeared within the outlined area with a red fine-tip marking pen.

2. The *nonverbal-global* task directed participants to compare and rank the linear qualities of an art work with those displayed in four to five simultaneously presented segments of line drawings.

3. The *verbal-focal task* was designed to induce comprehension of descriptive meanings by asking subjects to trace and label all identifiable things appearing within a specified area (one-quarter section) of an art work.

4. The *verbal-global task* instructed viewers to examine an art work in its entirety on verbal terms by generating a title that best characterized the work. This task provided subjects with the opportunity to verbalize descriptive and/or interpretive meanings.

Word-Match Test The experimental measure consisted of

12 verbal items for each work of art. These items consisted of six words or phrases about interpretive meanings. Half of each word list actually corresponded to an art work, while the remaining items were plausible mismatches. Word matches and mismatches were generated from a synonym-antonym dictionary and validated by a review of literature on each work of art. An equal number of the test items were normed at fourth, fifth, and sixth grade reading levels on the basis of Dale and O'Rourke's (1981) standardized vocabulary inventory and the graded reading texts used within the Vancouver School District.

Subjects' responses on the Word-Match Test were made by indicating (yes - no) whether each word or phrase corresponded to the art work just viewed. The participants were also asked to rate their confidence in each answer on a five point scale where 1 = not confident; 5 = extremely confident. It was emphasized that guessing was permitted as long as it was reflected in the confidence ratings subjects made.

Test booklets. Booklets were constructed for each student by assembling the art reproductions, viewing task instructions, and all forms of the Word-Match Test including a sample test. Presentation order of the art works and corresponding tests were independently randomized for every subject. The order of viewing task demands was randomized by abstraction level.

Copies of a vocabulary test and questionnaire were also prepared for each subject. The vocabulary test was a multiple choice measure of 10 words randomly selected from each of three levels of difficulty represented in the Word-Match Test. The questionnaire solicited information about students' cultural and linguistic background and their prior experiences in the visual arts.

Procedure

Participants were tested in groups of approximately 30 students in classrooms under the supervision of two or more adults. The importance of maintaining silence throughout testing was emphasized before and during each test session. Oral and written instructions informed subjects they would be given a short time to study a work of art and to perform one of four viewing task demands. Every student was asked to perform all four viewing tasks in the same sequence, but the order of art works was varied so no two students were simultaneously responding to the same work of art. This procedure precluded students copying from each other. Students were instructed to raise their hands and wait until an experimenter or cooperating teacher approached to answer any questions. If students questioned a word used in the experimental measures, the word was pronounced but no definitions were given.

The art works were examined for one minute durations. Immediately after viewing a single work of art, students were instructed to complete one of 24 interpolated tasks. These tasks were designed as distractions to prevent students' short term memory recall from influencing performance on the Word-Match Test. Tasks similar to those used in our previous investigations were prepared for the present study. They included such activities as writing names backwards, drawing an imaginary undersea world, and listing animals that begin with the letter "b." Following completion of a one minute interpolated task, students were provided written and oral instructions on how to respond to the Word-Match Test. A sample test was reviewed prior to the completion of the first test. When it was certain all students understood these procedures, they were allowed as much time as needed to complete their answers.

These procedures were repeated in three testing sessions (one session per week) until students responded to all 24 art works. Each session lasted for approximately 45 minutes. A makeup session was held the fourth week for anyone who missed a previous session.

Cooperating teachers administered the vocabulary test and supervised completion of the questionnaire. The teachers also completed background profiles on their students with information about standardized grade level reading scores, artistic achievements, general academic performance, and any other information they judged as pertinent to the study.

Results and Discussion

The data were analyzed in a 3 (Language) x 3 (Reading Level) x 3 (Abstraction) x 4 (Viewing Task) x 2 (Meaning Type) mixed analysis of variance. The statistically significant findings presented in Table 2 were further analyzed in post hoc tests and are summarized below in relation to the research questions we raised.

Research Question 1. Do bilingual children differ from their monolingual counterparts in the kinds of meanings (descriptive vs. interpretive) they accurately comprehend from works of art?

As shown in Table 3, we found significant differences in the meanings comprehended by the three language groups. English-only speakers were more successful than the other two language groups in identifying descriptive meanings, $p < .05$. And as expected, comprehension of descriptive meanings exceeded interpretive meanings wherever significant differences were indicated, $p < .05$.

While it is difficult to speculate why the three language groups performed differently in discerning descriptive meanings on the basis of these findings alone, we suspect the bilingual groups may have been disadvantaged for several reasons. Two explanations seem most tenable. First, bilingual students simply may have been unfamiliar with the subject pictured in many art works. Or second, bilingual students may have been confused by this representational content because it was taken to have multiple meanings. In either case, we were intrigued by these findings because they suggest monolingual and bilingual children may approach understanding art somewhat differently.

The monolingual students we tested may have performed better in identifying descriptive meanings because they

Table Two
Summary Table of Significant Findings

Reading Level, *F* (2, 82) = 56.24, *p* < .0001

MS error = 440.48

Abstraction, *F* (2, 164) = 173.89, *p* < .0001

MS error = 202.70

Viewing Task, *F* (2, 246) = 12.54, *p* < .001

MS error = 173.54

Reading Level x Abstraction, *F* (4, 164) = 10.41, *p* < .001

MS error = 202.70

Language x Meaning Type, *F* (2, 82) = 6.05, *p* < .005

MS error = 244.63

Abstraction x Meaning Type, *F* (2, 164) = 43.38, *p* < .0001

MS error = 155.55

Reading Level x Abstraction x Viewing Task, *F* (12, 492) = 3.22, *p* < .001

MS error = 178.55

Reading Level x Abstraction x Meaning Type, *F* (4, 164) = 8.03, *p* < .001

MS error = 155.55

Abstraction x Viewing Task x Meaning Type, *F* (6, 492) = 22.28, *p* , .05

MS error = 201.38

Note. Significant four-way interactions were not further analyzed and have been omitted from this table. Results shown reflect estimates for missing values wherever n < 13 for between-subjects cells. As recommended by Linton and Gallo (1975) this procedure required adjusting degrees of freedom and corresponding MS values for all error terms.

thought it was important to observe an art work's subject matter regardless of what viewing task they were asked to complete. In comparison, bilingual children may have assumed it was important to take note of subject matter but more important to decipher interpretive meanings. And perhaps the only difference between the two bilingual groups was the disadvantage English-second speakers had over English-first bilinguals in translating interpretations of expressive meanings into English.

Research Question 2. Do these patterns of comprehension differ among groups of low, average, and high grade level readers?

Our results show children's use of language in understanding works of art is limited by how well they use language in general. As expected, we found that high grade level readers were most successful in identifying descriptive and interpretive meanings on the Word-Match Test. The overall

Table Three
Mean Comprehension Scores for Language x Meaning Type

	Meaning Type	
Language Group	Descriptive	Interpretive
English-only	15.90	12.14
English-first	12.77	13.70
English-second	12.50	12.66

Reading Level effect was as follows: high readers ($\underline{M} = 18.63$) >average readers ($\underline{M} = 12.73$) > low readers ($\underline{M} = 8.43$), $\underline{p} < .01$.

This pattern of results did not vary as a function of language group differences. Significant statistical differences were not indicated in the Language x Reading Level interaction. We had hoped to achieve this equivalency as a means of controlling deficiencies in language skills that may have biased our interpretation of bilingualism effects.

Research Question 3. To what extent does the construction of descriptive and interpretive meanings differ for art with varying levels of abstraction?

As in our earlier research with adults, the present findings indicate abstraction level differences influenced the kind of meanings students comprehended from art (see Table 4). As also reflected in the Abstraction main effect, comprehension decreased as increasingly abstract works of art were presented to viewers: low abstraction ($\underline{M} = 18.01$) > medium abstraction ($\underline{M} = 15.48$ > high abstraction ($\underline{M} = 6.35$), $\underline{p} < .01$.

We found, with few exceptions, that students identified more interpretive meanings than descriptive meanings for art work displaying lower levels of abstraction. But a reversal in this pattern of performance occurred when students attempted to identify meanings for highly abstract works of art.

Contrary to what these findings suggest upon first inspection, we propose students found descriptive meanings relatively easy to identify for realistic art. We think students found these descriptive meanings so easy to identify most of their time was spent attending to higher-order (interpretive) meanings. It is quite possible students scored higher on interpretive Word-Match Test items than descriptive items because they simply forgot many descriptive details.

This explanation is in line with evidence from language comprehension research (DiSibio, 1982). When attempting to remember a passage of literature, readers are usually better at recounting its gist, or overall interpretive meanings, rather than recalling its descriptive content word for word. But as

Table Four
Mean Comprehension Scores for Reading Level x Abstraction x Meaning Type

	Abstraction		
Reading Level	Low	Medium	High
Low Readers			
Descriptive Meanings	13.25	8.96	6.41
Interpretive Meanings	10.14	12.02	-.20
Average Readers			
Descriptive Meanings	15.47	14.24	9.31
Interpretive Meanings	17.24	14.48	5.65
High Readers			
Descriptive Meanings	23.81	18.33	13.74
Interpretive Meanings	28.14	24.87	3.16

with more ambiguous passages of text, highly abstract art is difficult to understand on a rudimentary descriptive level. In such cases unsophisticated learners usually find themselves focusing almost exclusively on establishing elementary understandings of descriptive meanings. The new findings add evidence to our earlier research by again suggesting art viewers are reluctant to form interpretive meanings for art work they find incomprehensible to describe (Koroscik & Blinn, 1983; Koroscik, Desmond, & Brandon, 1985).

This pattern of abstraction effects was generally consistent among low, average, and high readers within each of the three language groups as shown in Table 3. Therefore, we think it is safe to conclude that multiple linguistic codes and/or advanced language skills did not override the difficulty students faced when attempting to construct meanings for highly abstract works of art.

This pattern of abstraction effect was generally consistent among low, average, and high readers within each of the three language groups as shown in Table 3. Therefore, we think it is safe to conclude that multiple linguistic codes and/or advanced language skills did not override the difficulty students faced when attempting to construct meanings for highly abstract works of art.

Results of the Abstraction x Viewing Task x Meaning Type interaction indicate the only benefit to comprehending meanings for art with high levels of abstraction came about in response to the verbal-global viewing task. This task required children to generate their own titles for artwork. Upon doing so, students from all language and reading level groups discerned descriptive meanings for highly abstract art as accurately as for art work exhibiting lower levels of abstraction. The same performance was not elicited by the other viewing tasks. In the latter case, comprehension of descriptive meanings was far better for low abstraction works of art than high abstraction work, $\underline{p} < .01$.

As expected, more accurate comprehension of meanings occurred when students responded to art with global viewing tasks ($\underline{M} = 14.41$). These tasks asked subjects to attend to an art work in its entirety rather than focus on only a small area of a work as did the focal tasks ($\underline{M} = 12.15$), $\underline{p} < .01$. Results also indicate verbal task demands ($\underline{M} = 14.12$) led to overall higher comprehension than nonverbal tasks ($\underline{M} = 12.44$), $\underline{p} < .05$.

But findings show none of the task demands employed in this study offset the problem students encountered in comprehending interpretive meanings for art with high levels of abstraction.

Conclusions

The findings of this investigation seem to support the argument that cognitive benefits are likely to occur from children learning more than one language at a very early age (Oren, 1981). While the language groups we tested did not significantly differ in the total number of art meanings they identified, our findings show bilingual students were more successful at forming balanced understandings.

Results suggest English-only students may have been overly concerned with identifying descriptive meanings. We think they may have approached responding to art in the same way as illustrative pictures — the distinction being that illustrative pictures and works of art represent real-world referents in different ways (Goodman, 1976). Art works can be pictures but all pictures are not works of art. While illustrative pictures are essentially descriptive, works of art function to describe ideas and feelings through expressive means. A cognitive orientation that fails to acknowledge the expressiveness of art is underdeveloped.

Previous research on bilingualism suggests "teaching children to express various phenomena using different [linguistic] coding systems . . . can contribute to the achievement of cognitive flexibility in areas that do not appear to be related to labeling ability" (Oren, 1981, p. 168). Evidently, bilingualism aids children in finding conceptual links to override the literal uses of language that impose rigid word-object/word-image associations (Bain, 1975). As such, the bilingual children we studied may have assumed it was just as important to take note of and verbalize about the interpretive meanings of art works as their corresponding descriptive meanings. Although verbalizing about descriptive content required using literal language, it seems the bilinguals may have differed from monolingual students in seeing past these literal associations to form interpretive conceptualizations of art meanings.

We are interested in exploring this problem further by examining whether the linguistic effects we observed vary as a function of different degrees of bilingualism. We hope to do so by comparing coordinate and compound bilinguals. According to Oren (1981):

> The extent to which a person [may] be considered a coordinate or compound bilingual depends on how well he or she can use languages as independent systems without interference and conflict between them. In the case of coordinate bilinguals two symbols representing a specific object are not necessarily identical. In the case of compound bilinguals the coconceptualization of one symbol in one language corresponds to the same symbol in the second language by means of translation (p. 164).

We think this distinction is an important one to consider in light of the present findings. At a time when the cultural diversity of student populations is on the rise in classrooms within the United States and Canada, researchers in art education might best serve practice if we made further inquiries into the function of bilingualism in the acquisition of art understandings. The existing gap in the research literature on bilingualism and verbal mediation effects imposes serious limitations for educators who hope to design effective visual arts curricula in which verbalizing about art plays a predominant role. We might begin to fill this gap in the research literature by studying linguistic effects on art learning with students from a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This might include the study of bilingual immigrants, first and second generation bilinguals, in comparison with monolingual students who have lived in a country for several generations.

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Cultural Diversity, Arts Policy, and Arts Education

David B. Pankratz

This paper examines policy arguments in support of the arts of ethnic cultures and traces implications for arts education. After reviewing arts policy research to date, claims regarding affirmative action and cultural diverse definitions of excellence as bases for arts policy decisions are discussed. The paper concludes that multi-cultural arts education can help ensure arts policy based on equal opportunity and fair consideration of diverse sources of excellence in the arts.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss government support of the arts of ethnic cultures at the national, state, and local levels, to analyze underlying theoretical and policy issues, and to trace implications for arts education, in particular, for multi-cultural arts education. Before proceeding with consideration of this specific topic, it is important to place it within the context of arts policy research to date in the United States, most of which has avoided many of the issues to be discussed here.

Arts Policy Research

Two of the most basic issues confronting government policy in the arts in the United States are whether public support is justifiable and, if so, who its beneficiaries should be. The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the state arts council system have been in existence for over 20 years granting funds to a wide array of artists and organizations. It could seem, then, that the justification issue has been resolved.

In *The Democratic Muse*, however, Edward Banfield (1984) reintroduces the question of whether government has a proper role in support of the arts. He argues that public support of the arts become politicized and has distorted the primary role of the arts, i.e., to induce aesthetic experience, and has led public attention to extraneous benefits of the arts. Further, he argues that aesthetic experience, even at its best, is a purely private experience, and that government promotion of aesthetic experience is not in the public interest and not a legitimate function of a government whose sole purposes are the protection of individuals' rights and the establishment of preconditions for a competent citizenry.

Not surprisingly, a good deal of arts policy has focused on arguments used to justify government support for the arts (Mulcahy, 1982). To date, economic arguments have dominated. The market failure argument contends that the arts, being labor-intensive by nature, are characterized by "cost disease" and will experience increasingly debilitating income gaps without public subsidy. The economic impact argument holds that public subsidy of the arts has a multiplier effect in that for every dollar spent on the arts, another dollar is generated on ancillary services. Reliance on such arguments has been frequently criticized. DiMaggio (1984) argues that the economic impact argument fails, in part, because its claims can be too easily turned against the arts — "for example, by those who would cut arts funds in favor of other expenditures with even greater economic impacts" (p. 97). Yet, "such justifications are often . . . attractive to policy-makers trained in a market society which calculates the means to familiar ends while avoiding discussion of the ends themselves" (p. 97).

Another basic question that has been considered is, simply, whether the United States has an arts policy either at the federal or state level. To state that the NEA and state and local arts councils have disbursed public funds for over 20 years is obviously not an adequate response to the question. One possible response is to state that to have no arts policy is to have an arts policy by arguing that the United States, unlike Europe, has decided largely to leave to private and local institutions the determination of decisions which most overtly affect the conduct of cultural institutions (S.N. Katz, 1984).

In general, few attempts have been made to define or stipulate conditions for use of the terms "arts policy" or "cultural policy" (Degge, 1986; DiMaggio, 1983; Pankratz, 1987; Simpson, 1976). To suggest areas of concern of cultural policy, such as cultural facilities, support for individual artists, amateur participation, and so forth, is a far cry from articulating the conditions that an arts policy or cultural policy must meet to be rationally defensible (Burgard, 1983). Analysts have also made little attempt to criticize arts policymakers' lack of comprehensive consideration of the nature of arts policies' short-term, long-term, or ultimate goals. Instead, analysts have focused on the effects of the political process and the marketplace on arts policy decisions. In addition, analysis of the representatives of publics that are and should be involved in arts policy-making has been limited. Finally, while the NEA has been criticized for the fact that it has largely failed to articulate a set of inter-program priorities (Urice, 1985), little discussion has occurred which analyzes how priorities are decided, how they shift over time, or what is lost when certain priorities are established. In particular, despite passing mention of the cultural equity argument stating that every citizen has a right to participate as a producer or consumer at some minimal level of activity (Mulcahy, 1985), analysts have done little to critique or analyze arts policy decisions in terms of a defined principle of justice (Beardsley, 1973).

Trends in Cultural Diversity and Arts Policy

Out of this thicket of issues there have recently emerged increasingly strong claims upon government support of the arts made by representatives of diverse cultural traditions, notably, on behalf of peoples of color. The Association of American Cultures (TAAC) has become one of the major voices in this advocacy effort.

The formation of TAAC can be traced to the 1983 annual meeting of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA) which had as its theme "Cultural Pluralism." NASAA's treatment of the topic was deemed unsatisfactory by a group of attending arts administrators and artists who "pledged not to wait for others to make us [i.e., peoples of color] a topic of concern but to focus ourselves on our own issues" (Gray, 1987, p. 12). To identify and discuss various issues, a conference titled "Open Dialogue" was held in Washington, D. C., in December 1983, followed by "Open Dialogue II" in May 1985, in San Antonio, Texas, which drew about 400 artists, administrators, and arts policy-makers. Out of these conferences, TAAC was established. "Open Dialogue III, titled "The Family of American Cultures in the 21st Century," will be held in June, 1988 in Washington, D.C.

TAAC's goals are (a) encouragement of the development, growth, and preservation of the arts of ethnic and culturally diverse peoples of color; (b) promotion and encouragement of growing public awareness and appreciation for the contributions of culturally diverse arts organizations and artists to American culture and world culture; (c) creation and development of research, communications, educational, and networking activities; (d) sponsorship of conferences, workshops, forums, and symposia, and (e) development of technical support services (Gray, 1987, pp. 17-18).

A number of issues and problems emerged during the Open Dialogue II conference. Participants were repeatedly cautioned against use of the expression "minority," since people of non-European origin constitute a majority not only in the world, but in many American communities. "Communities of color" was suggested as a replacement. As stated by Barry Gaither, Director of the National Center for Afro-American Artists, "... communities [of color] need established institutions to counterbalance the efforts of white institutions to define [entities] based on their concepts of reality" (Gray, 1987, p. 20). Other issues identified included the lack of enforcement of civil rights/affirmative action legislation and statutes by public arts agencies, the need for greater ethnic representation on arts councils' staffs and grant review panels (and not just minority arts positions), the necessity for improved management, marketing, and generation of earned income, and the need to raise funds from private sector funders while at the same time competing more effectively for a "redistribution of wealth" from public arts agencies. Barriers to increased private funding persist, however, according to

Arlie Schardt, editor of Foundation News. These barriers include: (a) subtle forms of racism — minority art has often been labelled as "primitive"; (b) social protest — some funders fail to recognize social protest in ethnic arts as a legitimate component of such arts; (c) access — "mainstream" cultural organizations have been funded for "outreach" to minority communities, rather than developing minority arts institutions within these communities, and (d) standards of quality — minority arts have been classified as "anthropological" in a pejorative sense and judged as lacking by the formalistic aesthetic standards of European cultural traditions (Gray, 1987, p.22).

Issues of cultural diversity in arts policy formulation are also, it would seem, of increasing concern to public arts agencies at the local, state, and national levels. The National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies (NALAA) has developed a Minority Issues Focus Group which is advocating the promotion of culturally diverse arts as part of NALAA professional standards for local arts agencies (LAAs) and has advocated the development of incentives to LAAs for increased support to culturally diverse constituencies. These activities are backed up by statements advocating cultural pluralism, for example, that "the major European arts are no longer the major culture in America. Ethnic arts are just as important as . . . symphonies, because they are the basis of our culture and . . . the strength of the United States lies in the mix of its cultures" (NALAA, 1986, p. 2).

The NEA has also been affected by increased attention to cultural diversity and the arts. The Congressional document re-authorizing the NEA stipulates that NEA data collection and reporting "shall include a description of the availability of the Endowment's programs to emerging, rural, and culturally diverse artists, arts organizations and communities in such programs" (House of Representatives,1985, p. 364), as well as criticism of the NEA's lack of enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Historically, the NEA has provided assistance to ethnic arts primarily through the Expansion Arts program by funding "professionally directed arts organizations of high artistic quality which are deeply rooted in and reflective of the culture of a minority, inner city, rural, or tribal community" (NEA, 1987,p. 4). In the early to mid-1970's, Expansion Arts funding categories were based on its constituency's main project activities: teaching and instruction, arts exposure, community cultural centers, and special summer projects (Berholtz, 1985). In recent years, Expansion Arts has moved away from only project support toward the stabilization and institutionalization of the best of the Expansion Arts organizations. Increasingly, programs have been developed to leverage private sector funds, notably, the Community Foundation Initiative, "a collaborative effort with local community foundations designed to secure private money on a permanent basis for [Expansion Arts] organizations" (NEA, 1987, p. 4).

Affirmative Action and Arts Policy

In all of this activity on cultural diversity and arts policy, there are two issues which are in particular need of policy analysis, namely, the application of affirmative action criteria to arts policy and programming decisions, and the determination of quality from culturally diverse perspectives.

Three general arguments have been used, more often implicitly than explicitly, to justify the application of affirmative action criteria to arts policy: (a) equal opportunity — that the opportunities of persons should be equal with respect to societal goals and not subject to inappropriate forms of discrimination; (b) distributive justice — that government has a positive duty to redistribute society's opportunities and resources and to improve the condition of those underserved by societal benefits, and (c) compensatory justice — that those who have benefited from past injustices acquire an obligation to compensate victims for their losses (Dworkin, 1977; Frankel, 1971; Fullwinder, 1980; Glazer, 1985; Goldman, 1979; Thomson, 1973).

These broad arguments have been used as justification for widely different programs in state and local arts agencies. Justified by the argument that citizens deserve equal access to excellence (equal opportunity), the Georgia Council for the Arts (1987) has as its goal to make quality arts accessible to all citizens regardless of race, income, isolation, or social barriers.

The distributive justice argument, phrased in the terms that arts policy should benefit all citizens equally and reflect the ethnic diversity of the jurisdiction served, is the basis of the Dallas Department of Cultural Affairs' Minority Arts Incentive Program, designed to provide incentives for cooperative projects between major arts institutions and minority arts organizations, thereby increasing opportunities for the entire citizenry to experience minority arts cultural events (Dallas Parks and Recreation Department, 1986). As another example, the Kentucky Arts Council holds that the audiences, staffs, and boards of all grantees must reflect the racial diversity of each grantee's community. The Council withholds funds from any grantees not in compliance with these regulations, (Rodriguez, 1986). The Minority Arts Program of the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, rooted in the view that administrative problems incurred by minority arts organizations are the results of historic discrimination of current racial bias, offers an extensive technical assistance program (compensatory justice) to help minority arts organizations and artists to compete more effectively for grants (Granderson, 1984).

Finally, the Civil Rights Plan of the Michigan Council for the Arts, designated as a model affirmative action plan by the Association of American Cultures, is based on both the distributive justice and compensatory justice arguments. The Plan stipulates that all grantees must comply with Civil Rights laws, that the council and grantees must develop timetables to improve representation of minorities of staffs, and that if grant applications by minorities are poor, preferential assistance must be extended to improve the quality of the applications (Mandingo, 1985; Michigan Council for the Arts, 1983).

Apart from the curious phenomenon that very different arts council programs have been derived from similar justifications of affirmative action policy, a further issue that requires attention is the fact that general justifications of affirmative action policy have been challenged on several grounds. The equal opportunity argument, defending citizens' rights against inappropriate forms of discrimination, would appear to be irrefutable on theoretical grounds. But it is complicated in practice by the fact the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not even define discrimination. Further, it is argued by defenders of the distributive justice argument that any attempt to equalize opportunity does not go far enough in that it allows for unequal results, i.e., unequal distribution of social benefits. Yet critics of the distributive justice argument contend that it is extremely difficult to be explicit about who should receive special treatment, and in what proportion, in the distribution of societal benefits, and to estimate what the effects of such treatment would be. The argument is further complicated by the very different histories of ethnic minorities in the United States.

The compensatory justice argument does not appeal to the widely felt intuition about making victims of injustices whole. But usually, rights arising under compensatory justice are specific and limited rights against particular persons or entities. It can be argued, then, that a member of the majority culture must do his or her fair share in government's discharging of compensatory justice or that since every member of the majority culture has benefited from past discrimination, such individuals are liable to make appropriate compensations. Alternatively, it may be argued that compensatory justice limits the opportunities and benefits of individuals whose accrued advantages could not have been avoided.

The social utility argument, although rarely cited in arts policy debates, is, in my view, the most persuasive argument justifying the application of affirmative action criteria to arts policy. It is based not on a conception of restitution, but on a conception of social, racial, and ethnic integration contributing to the overall well-being of society. The social benefits to be gained include upward mobility for minorities, the provision of role models for young minorities, and in some cases, the breaking down of ethnic stereotypes. In terms of the arts, benefits would include the greater availability of a wider range of objects of aesthetic value, in particular, a wide range of the arts of ethnic cultures, to be experienced and learned from by the entire citizenry. While the social utility argument does avoid some of the problems of the equal opportunity, distributive justice, and compensatory justice arguments, it does have problems of its own. After all, it is extremely difficult to foresee the social and artistic consequences of any affirmative action policy, and any definition of overall social well-being is bound to be vague. On balance, however, it would seem that the potential benefits for the art world and the American public outweigh the risks.

Yet, admittedly, such a conclusion begs the question posed by Banfield (1984), namely, whether government has a proper role in support of the arts. While a full exposition cannot be detailed here, Banfield's challenge can be met by arguing that the experience of aesthetic value by a society's citizenry can, as articulated in various philosophical traditions, have many desirable social consequences. For example, aesthetic experience can foster mutual sympathy and understanding, development of imagination and the ability to put oneself in the place of others, and the reunion of means and ends in daily living. These claims for the social value of the arts are admittedly far from certain. In Monroe Beardsley's words, "it will take much thorough and delicate psychological inquiry before they can be made good" (1958, p. 573). These claims, though, have been persuasive to many. Further, a government which has a responsibility to promote the general welfare, of which a high level of aesthetic experience is an important component, certainly has a role to play in providing support to ensure that its citizens have ample opportunities for experience of the arts in their many diverse forms. Application of affirmative action criteria to public arts policy is designed to ensure that the arts of ethnic cultures are made widely available to the citizenry.

Aesthetic Value and Arts Policy

Of course, this entire discussion of affirmative action would be dismissed by some arts policy analysts who argue that artistic quality should be the only criterion for decisions affecting disbursement of public funds to the arts. For example, Ronald Berman (1984, p. 69), former head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, has criticized various constituencies who want racial, sexual, or regional exemption from aesthetic criticism — "they merely want what they do to be called art and supported by government."

Whatever the merits of Berman's view, it does recapitulate the concern expressed at TAAC's Open Dialogue II, namely, that arts policy makers do not have sufficient knowledge of the aesthetic values of ethnic cultures to make informed decisions. It could be argued that advocates of ethnic arts have done little to articulate their aesthetic values. After all, to say that the aesthetic standards of ethnic arts are misunderstood is no substitute for formulation and articulation of the standards themselves. But such an argument can be adequately refuted by asserting that representatives of ethnic cultures have had limited opportunities to articulate their aesthetic standards and that traditional aestheticians have been focused elsewhere.

In terms of arts policy, arts councils, often without making their aesthetic value premises clear, have assumed that aesthetic value is relative to a culture and have tried, by their own accounts, to balance grants review panels with representatives of ethnic cultures. A common response is that, since qualitative judgment in the arts is so subjective anyway, this strategy is the best arts councils can do. In any case, this strategy as well as affirmative action programs in arts policy are at best temporary strategies reluctantly necessitated by broad public unfamiliarity with the aesthetic values of ethnic cultures. These strategies are rarely conceived of as being short-term in nature or as a stage in a long-term process, perhaps because of pressures on advocates to ensure institutional survival. Whatever the case, their short-term view represents a failure to consider the need for basic research on the aesthetic value of ethnic arts and, of equal importance, the need for broad-based multi-cultural arts education.

Admittedly, identification of the need for these long-term developments begs the question of whether, indeed, aesthetic value is relative to a culture. This issue, which requires in-depth treatment, can only be outlined here.

There have been many attempts to assert the universality of aesthetic standards. Arnold Hausen (1982), the social historian of art, and no friend of art for art's sake thinking, contends that while great works of art depend on the moral and social power of their subject matter, the possibility of art serving functions of extra-aesthetic value is contingent upon the aesthetic value of the art work, defined in terms of significant form. Going even further, Jacques Maquet (1986), an anthropologist, argues that formal criteria of artistic excellence are universal and found in all cultures, and that distinctions of aesthetic value are based largely on *preferences*, usually based on the correspondence between human values embodied in the art work and those held by the culture of the individual viewer.

Liberal pluralists, following the relativistic assumptions of the functionalist school of anthropology, view culture as the whole way of life of a people — its values, beliefs, social structures, and so forth — and the arts as cultural products which reflect the ideas and beliefs of a culture through symbolic expression. The arts thereby serve valuable social functions: (a) objectification of subjective values, beliefs, etc.; (b) enrichment and celebration of ritual in human events; (c) communication of meanings, qualities, and forms, and (d) stabilization and perpetuation of cultures' identities and conceptions of reality (McFee, 1986). The value of the arts resides in their capacity to fulfill these social functions.

Neo-Marxists, adopting a more radical relativism, argue that any attempt by aestheticians to posit an independent, ahistorical meaning of aesthetic value obscures the contingent, historical, and ideological nature of such judgments (Wolff, 1984). Bourdieu (1977) argues that high culture of the Great Tradition has functioned to reproduce the social order in that individuals reared in dominant classes have greater access to the cultural capital needed to secure social positions of power in later life. But Giroux (1981) argues that the hegemony of dominant classes is far from cohesive in contemporary society and that the generated tensions open up possibilities of counter-hegemonic struggles, a notable example being the dynamism of ethnicity. Liberal pluralism, he argues, does not question the deeper socio-political conditions of an unjust society that generated ethnic cultural styles. Instead, ethnicity must be mediated through viable political categories including a concept of ethnic culture redefined in relation to the dominant social forms and power relations in society.

The radical divergence of these views suggests no easy rapprochement. But it seems to me that it makes sense to say that the value of great works of art, residing in their formal and moral power, transcend their historical and social roots, and can thus stand the test of time (Savile, 1982). Even neo-Marxist aestheticians such as Wolff contend that to comment on the origins of an aesthetic judgment is not necessarily a comment on its truth value. A historical, social analysis of aesthetic judgment need not lead inevitably to complete aesthetic relativism or reductionism (Wolff, 1983).

It does not follow from this conclusion, however, that criteria of aesthetic value are universal across cultures. It seems obvious that ethnic arts can and do serve important social functions for groups, functions which can be fairly construed as the value of those objects. Yet social scientists and aestheticians have provided insufficient documentation of the incidences of such values. Admittedly, such documentation is complicated by the effects of assimilation on ethnic group culture in American life. While this deficiency is unfortunate, it is also imperative to investigate the purely aesthetic value of the arts of ethnic cultures. A further task is the study of whether ethnic cultures do provide some sort of challenge to the dominant culture as well as claims that the arts of high culture of necessity reinforce dominant social relations.

Conclusion: Arts Education and Policy

Obviously, ample research is needed to formulate and implement rationally defensible arts policy, especially regarding the arts of ethnic cultures. Yet it is the nature of any policy that decisions about action alternatives must often be made without "perfect information." As an example, I have argued that a conception of affirmative action rooted in a social utility argument is a defensible short-term strategy for arts policy, although its effects on the art world are difficult to project with confidence. The key to the development of sound arts policy in the long-term, it seems to me, is arts education, and given the issues discussed above, multi-cultural arts education.Yet, as with arts policy, the practice of multi-cultural education in the arts cannot await resolution of theoretical controversies or detailed empirical studies in aesthetics and social theory.

A defensible concept of multi-cultural arts education includes development of skills in understanding the social, cultural, and economic contexts of the production and evaluation of art works of diverse cultures. This concept goes beyond the limited assumptions that art merely reflects the values, beliefs, and attitudes of a culture and, further, includes consideration of the inequitable social conditions which shaped ethnic cultures and their cultural products. Yet, multi-cultural arts education as a social study may often result primarily in discursive understanding of the context of the arts (Chalmers, 1981). Ultimately, the goal of multi-cultural arts education should be to provide students with understanding of the principles of appraisal for art works in a variety of different cultures. With such a base of developed skills, students will be able to experience the art works of diverse cultures in ways characteristic of each culture, whether that turns out to be aesthetic experience as defined by the Western fine art tradition, or experiencing the functions that arts serves in other cultures through the imaginative reconstruction of the cultural contexts of art works.

In this way, the study of the arts of diverse cultures not only can serve to alter stereotypes of ethnic cultures as merely exotic or strange, but also can contribute to a basic goal of liberal education, namely, the leading of a critically examined life. Further, multi-cultural arts education can provide a firm foundation of critical understanding of ethnic arts among the citizenry necessary for the arts to exert their distinctive social benefits, including mutual sympathy cross-cultural appreciation, and imaginative understanding.

Finally, given the concerns addressed in this paper, the critical understanding developed by multi-cultural arts education can provide the basis for arts policy formulation based on the principle of equal opportunity and criteria of artistic excellence. Thus, arts policy decisions can be made in a broadly participatory manner, with comprehensive and fair consideration of diverse sources of excellence in the arts, with the application of criteria of excellence appropriate to the arts of ethnic cultures.

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Within Culture: The Place for Art in America's Schools

Eldon Katter

This paper argues that art education curricula should place more emphasis on cultural contexts and the aesthetics of a given culture when that culture's works of art are studied. It is claimed that such an emphasis might facilitate greater recognition of standards of judgment and respect for the aesthetic concerns of traditional peoples and help establish a cross-cultural approach to the study of art.

Introduction

That art is a product of the culture in which it is produced is an important concept for young learners to acquire. It is equally important for them to understand that art forms of one culture are no less significant than those of another. World views and ways of representing experience in the world vary considerably. According to Allison (1972) appreciation of what art of other cultures means within those cultures has value in itself and serves to illuminate the significance of art within one's own culture.

The primary purpose of this paper is to encourage more consideration of cultural contexts and the aesthetics of a given culture when studying works of art from that culture. Such an emphasis might facilitate recognition of standards of judgment and aesthetic concerns among traditional peoples and help us move toward a cross-cultural approach to the study of art in societies outside the urban centers of the contemporary industrial world.

Aesthetics as a Discipline in the Multi-cultural Classroom

Although Plato raised questions about aesthetic concerns, aesthetics is generally seen as a fairly recent and esoteric discipline — a product of eighteenth century, western scholarship (Maquet, 1986). If aesthetics is based only on western definitions and standards that cannot or do not account for critical and aesthetic inquiry that might occur in traditional third and fourth world cultures, then it can be argued that the discipline is monocular and culturally-biased. Imposing western-biased aesthetics upon a multi-cultural classroom population is questionable, to say the least.

In his survey of oriental aesthetics, Munro (1965) makes clear that there is an abundance of literature in the classical languages of India, China, and Japan devoted to analysis, explanation, and theory of aesthetics. According to Walimbe (1980), an Indian specialist in aesthetics, the concept of Sanskrit aesthetics originated in a collection of texts from the fourth century and reached its highest development in the 10th century. Even if we embrace the theories of oriental aesthetics, is it important to realize that such questions as what is art? what is good art? and what is the function of art? go beyond the boundaries of oriental or western aesthetics.

The Search for Aesthetic Concerns

If aestheticians attempt to answer questions about art in western and oriental societies, a major question raised by this paper is who answers these questions in traditional societies? Maquet (1986) suggests that most languages contain ordinary words referring to visual qualities and intellectual reflections about experiencing visual qualities. He offers this as support for his belief that aesthetic concerns have been developed in most literate as well as non-literate societies.

In observations of the visual arts in traditional cultures, however, few anthropologists offer evidence that formal, reasoned inquiry about aesthetic concerns or the nature of art is the role or function of any particular individual within the traditional culture. One explanation is that art in the western world is viewed differently from that of the rest of the world. Western art, with its roots in the churches and in courts of the kings and queens of Europe, has developed with its own rules, form, and materials in a very strong, linear, historical pattern. Various functions of art in society have been determined and meanings found. Roles such as artist, craftsman, art critic, art historian, connoisseur, collector, and even gallery director are clearly defined in western culture. People in these roles form ideas about art: the forms it can take, places it can be found, what it is for, whom it is for, the range of feelings and ideas it can embody and communicate, and the relationship it has to people.

Yet the art of the western world is only one kind of art. The particular nature and characteristics of art as a product of a particular culture can only be realized fully by comparing and contrasting it with that of other cultures. A concept of art based solely on the study of art of western culture is limited and misleading (Maquet, 1979).

An effort to create something beautiful as well as useful, to elaborate objects and actions beyond the requirements of function, is an aspect of every people's cultural tradition (Leach, 1964). Numerous examples could be given, but a few will suffice. Consider, for example, a representation of an African deity, carved from wood to please ancestors in accordance with artistic as well as religious criteria of excellence; or a Polynesian islander's canoe made not only to move swiftly through the water with spiritual guidance but to be beautiful as well; or a Japanese tea ceremony carefully performed to provide participants with an aesthetic as well as a thirst-quenching experience. Are the aesthetic concerns inherent in these acts culturally determined?

Maquet (1986) proposes that search for visual order finds its source in "the meta-cultural layer of the human psyche: neurophysiology and the unconscious" (p. 131). If this is true, then origins of aesthetic concerns, related to the search for visual order, are not culture specific. Maquet, however, states elsewhere that the aesthetic concerns of a culture "may not be immediately identifiable to observers outside the culture. A certain familiarity with culture is necessary" (p. 183). If we cannot easily perceive aesthetic concerns in their own right, how can we possibly know them well enough to see how they contribute to the culture in which they belong? Is there, perhaps, a universal aesthetic?

While efforts to elaborate objects beyond what is required by their function are seemingly universal, standards for such elaboration appear to vary widely among different cultures. Hatcher (1985) suggests that in any culture, elaborators of objects — artists — face similar challenges, not the least of which is one of exciting the senses through manipulation of limited techniques within prescribed aesthetic concerns. If an artist deviates too far from conventional aesthetic concerns, the work will be denied as art.

Art and the ideology of a culture are closely linked. In Christianity, for example, they have been combined since the first century. Even earlier, art and ideology were linked in Greece and Rome. Today art and ideology are related through the forms of masks and sculptures of Africans, American Indians, and Melanesians, as well as in the black art and feminist art of contemporary America. Irrespective of the degree and various specifics of the relationship, art is always an integral part of culture, never a thing apart (Horowitz, 1985). For fuller understanding and appreciation of art objects, we benefit from knowledge of the ideologies and the aesthetic concerns of the culture in which objects are produced. What we know of a culture often rests on what we know about its political or religious ideology. We need to investigate the specific aesthetic concerns that are part of a culture in order to fully understand the art of that culture.

Models of Investigation

In order to reach this understanding, some suggest following Boas' (1927) anthropological model of inquiry focused upon museum collections of items of material culture, the artifacts and art forms from other societies. As products of a culture, objects may be studied, for example, in terms of their formal qualities, technology, symbolic representations in relation to the social and political organization, or utilitarian and ritualistic functions. Important as such investigations may be to knowledge about either a culture or an art object, learners can study art objects in collections without becoming involved specifically with aesthetic concerns. Aesthetic concerns are not easily revealed when an object is treated in isolation from its cultural environs. As D'Azevedo (1958) suggests, once an object is removed from the cultural setting and isolated in a museum, even the most intensive description, classification, and analysis of formal elements of an art object will fail to disclose the insights necessary for delineation of the aesthetics of a culture.

Another alternative might be to study artists in traditional societies. Hasselberger (1961) advocates detailed study of artists by discovering, among other things, the background, social position, training, and motivations of artists in traditional societies. Such inquiry might identify important issues about creativity and artistic production, but it cannot explain why some objects are accepted as art and others are not or why some art objects are considered better than others.

There is a dimension of understanding aesthetic concerns that goes far beyond the artist or art form. It may well be what we in western society call art criticism. Perhaps we need equal study of the art form, artists' creative behaviors, and perceivers' responsive and critical behaviors to arrive at a more complete understanding of aesthetic concerns operating within a culture.

If this is the case, we need to look at the issues of aesthetics as relationships between the critic/responder and the art object and the issues of creativity as relationships between the artist and art object. In the context of cross-cultural understanding, we are now confronted with comparative creativity and comparative aesthetics.

In comparative creativity, we get information by going to artists in the cultures under consideration. Artists in any culture are usually accessible and not too difficult to identify. But where do we get information about comparative aesthetics? In western societies we go to aestheticians and connoisseurs. But who plays these roles in more traditional societies?

A Case in Point

Perhaps among the Dan, in the western region of the Ivory Coast, the "resident aesthetician" would be the center of the spiritual community. His powers are of a deeply mystical nature. Gerbrands (1971) has noted that even though Dan masks are pieces of valued personal property, the go-master has an important voice in deciding whether a mask is to appear in public to please the ancestors. For a mask to please the ancestors, according to Himmelheber and Fischer (1984), it has to be "as beautiful as possible." When a Dan mask is no longer considered beautiful, when it has lost the favor of the go-master, it is thrown away, left to decay in a hut, or sold to western collectors. Ironically, Dan masks we see in western art museums are actually masks that in their own culture are considered "no good" or "not beautiful." In the opinion of the go-master and other community leaders, the masks that have lost their aesthetic value and their function are those that are made available to collectors.

This example indicates that there is a system of aesthetic concerns working within the Dan culture and that there are people who deal with issues of defining beauty, art, its function, and criteria for judgment. Himmelheber and Fischer (1984) tried to identify the criteria for a "beautiful mask" by comparing the judgments of leading men among the Dan, although they were denied access to the go-master. Based on their investigations of dialogue about the visual qualities of certain masks, they were able to formulate a few aesthetic criteria. They concluded that aesthetic criteria are far more vitally necessary to the Dan than to westerners. A mask must be "as beautiful as possible" to induce the favor of the ancestors . Without a beautiful mask, no contact with ancestors would be possible and the community would be doomed. Imagine, if you will, how this belief system would affect the artists in our own culture.

While working among the Tiv in central Nigeria, Bohannan (1961) found that artists and community leaders talked about what would "please the eye" and what would make a "better" sculpture. Although his accounting of these incidents is not based on formal study, he suggested that "there are perhaps as many seasoned art critics in Tiv society as there are reasoned theologians or political strategists" (p. 94).

Bohannan has suggested that, when studying the aesthetics of traditional cultures, we need several sorts of information. This information includes the art objects, knowledge of the general ethnography of the people who made the objects, specific knowledge of the criticism of the objects by members of the society which used them, and a general knowledge of aesthetics (p. 86). By addressing questions of relationships among artists, art forms, and perceivers such as those found in the Tiv and Dan cultures, comparative aesthetics could arrive at descriptions and explanations of aesthetic concerns in traditional societies.

Traditional cultures are well represented in collections of art in western museums, and journals of anthropology provide detailed accounts of traditional systems of culture. Although we still know very little about artists and creative behavior in traditional societies, it seems safe to say that we know even less about critics and criticism in traditional societies. We need to seek out such critics and analyze their critical language. We need to identify individuals who reflect intellectually on these critical behaviors.

Classroom Strategies

While we wait for anthropologists of aesthetics to carry out their investigations, there are some strategies we can use in classrooms to sensitize students to other world views and aesthetic concerns within cultural contexts. Art educators have recognized the need to address classroom situations of students representing stratified economic classes and numerous ethnic and minority groups (Bersson, 1982; Brooks, 1981; Feldman, 1980; Lanier, 1969; Nadaner, 1981). This has led to criticism of the exclusive use of western high art as aesthetic exemplars. Appropriately, Chalmers (1987) says, "Surely there are other art worlds also worthy of consideration, particularly if we are to understand art in its full complexity" (p. 60). Art educators have also responded to anthropological and sociological studies that emphasize the socially integrative functions of art. McFee and Degge (1977), Hobbs (1980), Brooks (1981), and Andrews (1981) see art as embedded in a social context and offer specific approaches to the study of art and culture. Chapman (1978) recommends that art educators be willing to talk "about life not just art" (p.99) and Chalmers (1984) suggests transforming the study of art from sensual to conceptual by focusing on meaning rather than the perception of form (p. 281).

Belief systems, values, concepts of reality, and cultural mores are important considerations for the study of art of other cultures. Role playing might be one way to assist students in understanding that people who live in different cultures might reach different conclusions about what art is. Activities that invite students to stand in someone else's shoes and assume the viewpoint of another person can be facilitated by the use of cultural factor cards which give detailed information about the beliefs, values, behaviors, economics, etc. of specific cultural groups (Erickson and Katter, 1987). In such activities, students are asked to examine aesthetic objects from different cultures, and respond to questions such as: Does the picture symbolize your values? Would you treasure the object ? Do you consider it to be art? Would you wish it to be different in some way? Do you associate it with anything in your experience? Which of the objects would be most valued in your culture and why? By focusing students' attention on the delineation of aesthetic concerns within a cultural context, a teacher can offer promising approaches to the study of art using examples from traditional, fine, folk, and popular arts.

Conclusion

Kluckholn and Murray (1948) summarized categories of personality determinants by concluding that every person is like all other people, like some other people, like no other people (p. 35). Likewise we might conclude, art from any culture is like all art, like some art, like no art. I recall an old Bantu proverb I once heard during my Peace Corps days. Roughly translated it implied that "a person becomes a person when his or her ideas are shared in the spirit of community with other persons." Perhaps art becomes art when it is shared in the spirit of a world community.

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A Study of a Black Art Teacher's Perspectives on Teaching Urban Preadolescents

Mary Stokrocki

This participant observation study describes the beliefs, conceptions, and practices of an effective Black art teacher of urban preadolescent sixth graders. She motivated student learning by using a highly structured approach, review of class rules and art concepts / skills, constant perceptual guidance, special considerations for student [illegible] and learning preferences, abundant learning resources, and continuous individual attention and informal appraisal. Evidence suggests that the personal / social characteristics of her teaching contributed largely to her success.

Little has been done to study minority art teaching in urban contexts. Art educators have developed experimental programs for the disadvantaged (Corwin, 1975-76; Silverman, Hoepfner & Hendricks, 1969) and have described their work with different inner-city populations (Churchill, 1971; Silverman, 1984). However, these studies did not focus on the viewpoint of art teachers, notably, the minority ones. Smith (1985) found that the National Art Education Association failed to "recognize and identify the talents, skills, and aspirations of Afro-American art educators" (p. 46).

A survey of the art education literature revealed only two descriptive articles focusing on minority (Afro-American) art teachers, written from a personal viewpoint. As early as 1954, Grigsby described his experiences teaching at Carver High School in Phoenix, Arizona, and Young (1982) described his community-based art program for low income black children in Lexington, Kentucky. Grigsby found that his minority students lacked interest in art, lacked self-confidence and had many academic deficiencies and behavior problems. But he discovered that he could help them with their personality adjustment while advancing their technical mastery through motivation, cooperative problem-solving, and evaluation. Grigsby taught adolescents and Young taught elementary students in a nonacademic setting.

The purpose of this study was to describe, analyze and interpret one black female art teacher's (Mrs. N) framework for understanding her students, the aim and content of her teaching, and her style of teaching urban preadolescents in relation to their environmental conditions (Schmid, 1980; Stokrocki, 1986). Insights on art teaching at this level and in this setting may be compared with other similar situations in generating theory, not generalizing about it (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Methodology

This study utilizes ethnographic methods. In this case, participant observation was used as a primary means to search for conceptual categories.[1] The intent was to identify characteristics of one instructor's effective teaching of preadolescents. The on-site descriptive study relies on data collection via notes, documents, questionnaires, and informal interviews. Content analysis of the data followed in order to find behavior themes and their meaning. Comparative analysis was used to interrelate themes in forming insights on art teaching (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Descriptions of specific events and participant responses to those events provide vivid detail, encouraging the reader to understand the participants' point of view, which should be valued for their own sake (Knapp, 1979). For example, some of the sixth graders acted as key informants, and their responses were an important part of the study. At various phases, the instructor clarified her behaviors and beliefs orally and in writing.

I also utilized time sampling, a systematic method of counting and categorizing behavior with the use of a timer, and notes to discover the kinds and frequency of instructional interactions (Barker, 1968). Managerial, substantive, and appraisal instruction behaviors were mainly measured and explained (Schmid, 1979, p. 117) (see Table 2).

Table One

Urban Preadolescents' Reactions to Teacher, Art, and Content

Characteristics of Instruction:

		Number	Total	Percentage
1.	Is Mrs. N. a good teacher?			
	She is:			
	pleasant	8	26	30
	helpful	6	26	23
	informative	6	26	23
	encouraging	3	26	15
	no answer	3	26	15
2.	Do you like art class?			
	Yes	21	26	80
	No	5	26	19
3.	Conceptions of Art: What is art?			
	Drawing	13	26	50
	Painting	9	26	34
	Other	4	26	15
4.	Content of Art: Your favorite projects?			
	Drawing	9	26	34
	Painting	9	26	34
	Sculptural Methods	4	26	15
5.	What are your least favorite art projects?			
	Drawing	8	26	30
	Don't Know	8	26	30
	Painting	4	26	15
	Looking and writing	3	26	12

Table 2
A Time Sampling of Mrs. N's Instruction of Preadolescents

Class Session	Managerial Min.	%	Substantive Min.	%	Appraisal Min.	%	Nonfunct. Min.	%	Total Min.	%
Oct. 10	15	25%	20	33%	15	25%	10	16%	60	100%
Dec. 5	5	8%	20	33%	30	50%	5	8%	60	100%
Feb. 6	10	16%	30	50%	20	33%	0	0%	60	100%
Average	10	16%	23	38%	22	36%	5	8%	60	100%

Participants

Mrs. N, a veteran art teacher of 20 years, has a Master's Degree in Education specializing in the problems of the emerging adolescent. She has been teaching preadolescents for four years in a predominantly black, lower-middle income community, which is part of a midwestern city. I observed one of her 60 minute classes once a week for a school year. Mrs. N felt that recognition and encouragement from her parents and teachers contributed to her accomplishments as a teacher. Mrs. N's supervisor, principal, students, and student teachers recognized her teaching effectiveness and dedication. One student teacher wrote, "She is pleasant, a good disciplinarian, resourceful, clear and thorough, and she has a wonderful rapport with students and parents." Her own students on an open-ended questionnaire responded that she was a good teacher, because she was pleasant (30%), helpful (23%), informative (23%), and encouraging (15%) (see Table 1). I occasionally noticed a girl with her arm around Mrs. N's neck, calling her mom.

Of her 26 students in the observed sixth grade class, 19 were black and 7 were white; 15 students were girls, and 14 were boys. These students had had only two years of art instruction because the school system didn't provide art training at lower levels. Results on the same questionnaire indicated (see Table 1) that most of the students liked their art class (80%) and primarily regarded and preferred art as drawing (50% /34%) and painting (34%/34%). Several students also mentioned such sculptural methods as mask making, wood carving, and model building. On the other hand, 30% of the students disliked drawing because they were not confident with it.

Findings: Mrs. N's Framework for Understanding

Several findings about Mrs. N's framework for understanding the aim and content of art teaching, preadolescent learning, and her own teaching style emerged as characteristics of her effective teaching and as contextual considerations. Due to limited space, each characteristic is presented separately with its descriptive evidence.

Mrs. N's philosophy was consistent with the school system's goals of "looking at and making art, and competency-based learning." In her curriculum she wrote:

> Art for the preadolescent consists of art appreciation and studio art experiences. Children learn that art is for everyone, and it is an intricate part of their lives. Students cannot be truly whole unless they develop their talents, learn to respect those of others, and develop basic competencies such as reading and writing.

She hoped to motivate students, to guide their perceptions, to give them individual attention, to present alternative solutions, and to promote art appreciation, reading comprehension, and some grammar competencies.

These substantive behaviors dominated class time (38%) (see Table 2). Because of students' lack of self confidence, motivating them was Mrs. N's major instructional task. For example, her first unit involved explorations in color. After formal lessons on the color wheel and color value she allowed her students to choose assignments wherein they imitated a certain painting style or color scheme.

Promoting correct perception, such as the awareness of direction and proportion, was a second component of her substantive instruction. For example, when some students were drawing a plant she directed their attention to the curve of the stem and pot. When the same problem occurred during a shoe drawing lesson, she pulled out a ruler to show the difference between the curve of the shoe sole and the straight edge. During one class she spent 55 minutes pointing out perceptual problems when viewing a shoe, and the following class was dedicated to individually helping all students (3-5 min. ea.) correct their mistakes. Thus, individual attention was a third facet of her substantive instruction.

Providing alternative solutions was a fourth part of her substantive instruction. For instance, when students had difficulty attaching balsa wood scraps in their sculptural pieces, she suggested that they use masonite bases with holes to hold the main posts, then she offered straight pins to temporarily connect the balsa scraps as the glue dried.

Although her students were able to read about famous art works during art appreciation (33%), they were not always able to comprehend what they read. When one child had difficulty responding, she prodded him to tell her how he felt about the work, and then she helped him spell his words by breaking them into syllables. This directive approach helped build the students' confidence. She also used small oral reading groups and class discussions.

Mrs. N considered herself a benevolent director: that is, one who is highly organized, clear, knowledgeable, communicative, dedicated, empathetic, and nurturing. She stated: "My strength lies in my established rapport. I like my students to think of art as a place where they can be themselves." Organization was also extremely important to her: "Order allows me to teach and my students to learn. Students should clearly know what is expected of them. Requirements are written in their art booklets and on the board."

Mrs. N believed that a competent art teacher should have a solid knowledge of subject matter, and should be able to understand students, communicate effectively, treat students with concern and fairness, and love what one is doing.

Since her own background was similar to her students', she was empathetic towards her students' needs, and she preferred teaching at this level. Positive student rapport was extremely important to Mrs. N. "I empathize with my students' problems. They need attention and encouragement to work harder. I'm firm with them and loving." With one boy who was having constant problems, she was highly directive: "Choose three neighboring colors on the color wheel." Later she informed me that this student was recently put under the care of foster parents, and he missed his mother who was an alcoholic. Because the child wanted desperately to help his mother, he couldn't concentrate and spent time daydreaming. Mrs. N felt that this child needed highly structured instructions. Occasionally she slipped her arm around his shoulder or neck. Touching seemed to relax him and reaffirm the direct relationship between them.

A frequency decrease in Mrs. N's managerial behavior is evidence of her ability to manage her class and direct student behavior (see Table 2). Mrs. N's instruction began with managerial behavior (25%) which consisted of entrance rituals and distribution rites. In order to obtain student attention, she yelled, "I am waiting. If you insist on talking I will lower your grade." In this context she felt that raising her voice was effective because of students' experience with high noise levels. She then reviewed the previous lesson, presented new directions, and authorized her captains to pass out supplies and art work. During the studio segment of the class Mrs. N utilized assertive discipline tactics, such as a firm comment: "You are talking too loud." Then she referred to the posted class rules: "Be considerate of others" and "speak in a whisper." At the same time she surveyed tools and materials; her roving eye watched for potential accidents. She reviewed other class rules, such as follow directions and clean up your area. At the end of class, five minutes were spent on cleanup and collection activities.

Mrs. N viewed preadolescent learning as self development —giving it your best, following directions, completing assignments, being neat, helping others, and accepting oneself and one's art. Mrs. N listed these points as additional class rules on the chalkboard and constantly referred to them during class. The students' typical excuse was, "I can't." Her major response to them was, "Do your best." She referred to a group of their paintings from previous years which she displayed and labelled "I can" as proof of their ability. Then she questioned students about their interests and helped them find references from which to draw. Her constant surveillance and individual attention redirected their lack of confidence. She praised those who showed improvement saying, "Good, you worked hard on that!"

Mrs. N catered to students' learning and art preferences . She did this in spite of her large classes and because of her school system's emphasis on individual learning. According to Mrs. N, the visual learner did well in art. She allowed the kinesthetic learner movement, such as permission to lie on the floor when painting, and provided tapes for those with auditory needs. For those who preferred to be alone, they could choose where to sit. She gave slow learners extra time to finish their work during lunch period.

During the year she coaxed students to develop their art preferences, feelings, and knowledge. Even her studio lessons incorporated a famous art style which students read about, discussed, and imitated. During their first art appreciation experience, she assessed student preferences and encouraged her students to support their preferences with appropriate reasons. She directed students to write about one artwork that they enjoyed and one that they didn't. More specifically, she gave them alternative clues, such as the warm/cool colors and the balanced/unbalanced designs. In so doing, she discovered their preferences for realistic subjects and based her beginning art appreciation units on Photo-Realism and Pop Art.

Mrs. N considered her display areas instructional as well as decorative. The high ceiling allowed for reproductions of art masterpieces to border the room. At the beginning of the year her bulletin boards introduced the sixth graders to art styles, themes, concepts, media, and painting procedures. In order to ensure that students developed the habit of looking at and reading her bulletin boards as a source of learning, she played art trivia games with them. As the year progressed the children's art work replaced some of the instructional materials.

Mrs. N found that grades were extremely important to students and her informal appraisal increased (see Table 2). The school system pressured students to perform by grade threats. Since students had little intrinsic motivation or encouragement from parents, Mrs. N sent notes to the home whether a child performed well or not. Flash appraisals, in-process feedback, and student self-appraisal were the informal means by which Mrs. N appraised her students beyond the school's required letter grade. Flash appraisals are instantaneous judgments of a group's or an individual's understanding of instructional objectives (Sevigny, 1978, p. 212). As an example, she praised one student, "This drawing is really nice. Please do a good job with the painting. You know how sloppy you can get."

Mrs. N also utilized in-process feedback and student role-playing. In-process feedback is the guiding and modifying of art skills or concepts (Sevigny, p. 212). On one occasion, she chose a student to act like a museum visitor, told him to select the most interesting student sculpture from a small group, and then asked him why he liked it. The boy responded, "Because it is the most colorful. It looks like a city." Mrs. N agreed, but reminded the class that the assignment was to use only one color harmony and repeat the colors.

Ungraded quizzes were another form of her in-process feedback. She informed her students that the purpose of the quiz was for them to discover what they still don't know about a concept such as color, and to show her what they do know. Occasionally she allowed them to grade themselves through a self-evaluation questionnaire. In this way she discovered if the students understood the lesson's criteria, and if they could make recommendations for self improvement, even if they didn't finish.

Mrs. N felt that cooperation in school and community life was a key to her success. In order to obtain the principal's support, she accepted extra duties, such as designing assembly covers and Christmas decorations. Her rapport with him was one of mutual respect. He sought her advice on educational matters, constantly lauded her achievements, and granted favors, such as time to attend a conference. If Mrs. N wanted extra class time for a field trip, she exchanged materials, class time, or art advice with other teachers. This system of barter is common in inner-city schools (Metz, 1978). Furthermore, her emphasis on such values as persistence, effort, respect, and cooperation was harmonious with the community's desire to promote a positive work ethic and community relations. She further advocated this image by lecturing on the value of art for children in the community, often displaying their results. Westby-Gibson (1968) indicated, "Teachers act as community instructors who relate school to home and home to school" (p.23).

Contextual Considerations

Mrs. N's art instruction was congruous with her school system's policies of assertive discipline, competency-based instruction, and promotion of "looking at and making art." On the other hand, disagreement arose over flexible and directorial approaches. Her assertive discipline consisted of the establishment and review of class rules, especially during distribution and cleanup rituals. By raising her voice level with a firmness of tone, she further asserted her expectations. Through her constant surveillance of students with tools and materials, she helped prevent disorder. She also scheduled her sixth grade art class early in the morning when student energy was subdued.

On the other hand, she was not always successful in establishing order. In spite of her routines and surveillance, student physical awkwardness or lack of concentration led to occasional accidents, like paint spills. Certain students were also persistent problems due to their emotional difficulties triggered by family turmoil, so she counseled them individually. There was no evidence to suggest that Mrs. N treated black students differently from white ones. She tried to relate to all her students daily. During one session I discovered that she interacted with different students at three to five minute intervals.

Mrs. N's school system's emphasis on reading and writing competencies seemed to be in conflict with her students' preference for oral learning.

Since the system upheld such competencies, Mrs. N tried to help her students achieve them through a simple, limited approach. In promoting art appreciation, she started by assessing her students' preferences for art work, which helped boost their confidence. She then guided student attention with questions and alternative clues. Finally, she asked students to write only three sentences, a task which was less threatening. As Gagne has pointed out, "Discussions cannot be successful unless the members of the group have previously acquired at least a certain minimum of perquisite knowledge" (1965, p. 290). Since students seemed to learn best when talking about and imitating artistic styles, Mrs. N scheduled group oral reading and discussion, followed by a studio project which reinforced the concept. In another study, Bolton (1973) found that oral language production was an aid to aesthetic learning in her study of deprived children.

Although Mrs. N was highly organized and directive, she was not entirely successful. For example, only half of her class finished their paintings, and only half of the students intelligibly completed their painting questionnaires (see Table 3). Half of the students correctly remembered the color scheme used in their paintings and 30% only named their colors. On the one hand, Mrs. N pointed out that students' lack of art experience, concentration, comprehension, emotional stress, and general intellectual slowness contributed to this problem. One third of the students indicated on their self-evaluation questionnaires that they would improve their work by being more careful (30%), taking their time (30%), and having more practice (30%). On the other hand, Mrs. N's directions were not specific enough. Mrs. N reflected, "I was so involved with my students' drawing plans that I failed to direct them to paint the large areas first."

Table 3

Student's Self Evaluation of Their Paintings

		Number	Total	Percentage
1.	What color scheme did you use?			
	Remembered the correct one	13	26	50
	Just named colors	9	26	34
	No answer	4	26	15
2.	How would you improve your work?			
	Be more careful	8	26	30
	Take my time	8	26	30
	Need more practice	8	26	30
3.	Did you like this project?			
	Yes (I used my own ideas)	20	26	76
	No; I didn't like my choice	3	26	15
	No; it didn't look right	3	26	15

Mrs. N was usually sensitive to her students' preferences for drawing and painting projects. Her open-ended painting unit seemed to fulfill most of her students' expressive needs (76%). Some students, however, objected to her color and subject limitations (15%), and some students didn't like their results (15%). When she asked one student what happened to his work, he answered that someone had stepped on it. She replied, "Well, you'll just have to start again. That was the same excuse you gave me last week." When the need for directions is coupled with the demand for autonomy, teaching becomes a game of wits. Mrs. N felt that limitations were needed and so pushed her students to work harder. Periodically she would extend deadlines and provide extra help and counseling. Not a panacea by any means, Mrs. N's instruction did help to improve her students' self-concepts, which may help in the long run. Barclay (1969) found this to be a major goal for educators of the economically disadvantaged.

Conclusions

The information derived from the perceptual organization of a black art teacher and her preadolescent students contributes to the understanding of art teaching in an urban context. Evidence suggests that problems persist in midwestern inner-city schools: student lack of art experience and confidence, low comprehension and achievement abilities, poor concentration, physical awkwardness, emotional problems, and general intellectual slowness.

Because these inner-city preadolescents had had only two years of art training, a benevolent directorial style seemed warranted, with such goals as the promotion of students' self development, competency skills, and abilities to appreciate and make art through a simple, limited approach. Needed in the beginning are a highly directive program, review of class rules and art skills/concepts, constant perceptual guidance, special considerations for student learning and art preferences, especially oral learning, an abundance of learning resources, including instructional displays, continuous motivation and individual attention, and various forms of informal and student self-appraisal. At times, lack of direction and a flexible approach frustrates those students who are used to autocratic instruction.

Evidence suggests that the personal/social characteristics of teaching may be equally important in this context, and teachers who are more empathetic to student needs may be more successful. More research is needed, however, about such cooperative practices as verbal stroking, bartering, touching, the game of wits, and forms of community rapport.

The art teacher's and students' perceptions should continue to provide valuable information about instructional practices in multi-cultural settings. Only through comparison with other such cases can the insights gathered here be generalized or refuted.

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Footnote

1. For a resource useful when selecting and describing on-site descriptive research see Ettinger, L. (1987). Styles of on-site descriptive research: A taxonomy for art educators. *Studies in Art Education, 28* (2), 79-95.

A Cross-cultural Study of Visual Art Preferences as Related to Field-Dependence-Independence

Pauline J. Ahmad

Agriculturally oriented, non-migratory populations tend to possess a cognitive style that does not favor autonomy with surroundings, and are likely to prefer art works with familiar subject matter. This study attempted to determine the effect of geographic location as it relates to field-dependence-independence and visual art preferences in populations of two different countries, the United States and Maylaysia. In two tests, populations demonstrated similarities of cognitive style and visual art preferences. These results may indicate a transcultural consistency of aesthetic preferences.

Introduction

Research indicates that pastoral, non-migratory populations tend to possess a cognitive style that does not favor autonomy with surroundings (Witkin & Berry, 1975; Barry, Child & Bacon, 1959). Research also indicates that these individuals also prefer art works that have a subject matter that is familiar to them (Schwarz, 1953). However, cross-cultural research identifying relationships between cognitive style and visual art preferences, of populations in different geographic locations, is limited. This study attempted to determine the effect of geographic location as it relates to visual art preferences and the cognitive style of field-dependence-independence.

Two different groups in different agriculturally oriented geographic areas were selected for this study because of similarities between them. These similarities were observed by this researcher while living within each group for 10 years. Specifically, the white population of the rural Midwest of the United States and the Malays of Peninsula Malaysia were the subjects. Each of these races is the dominant ethnic group of its society but only one of the ethnic groups that comprise the total population.

The Malay Peninsula is a small area of land a little larger than the state of Indiana (Bacheller, 1983). Historically the major occupation and livelihood of the Malays is agricultural (Purcell,1965). Similarly, the major occupation of the white Midwesterner of America is primarily agricultural or pastoral. This agricultural orientation is frequently displayed through the arts and crafts of each culture (Indiana Artist-Craftsman Inc., 1984; Sheppard, 1972). In both the American Midwest and the Malay Peninsula farmers and their families traditionally have participated in the making of arts and crafts when not occupied with their farming necessities. Such arts and crafts will include quiltmaking, weaving, and stitchery for the women and potting, carving, or kite making for the men (Indiana Artist-Craftsman Inc., 1984; Sheppard, 1972). The arts and crafts of both cultures revolve around pastoral themes and floral motifs and art generally practical and decorative. The human figure is not often represented by either culture, but when it is, it tends to be a simple or primitive representation. Both populations, although of different religious orientations, are similar in their faithful attitudes towards their religions and this fervency is frequently reflected in their crafts, art, and familial responsibilities.

Review of Literature

Visual art preference studies have been conducted to discover the influence of socio-economic status (Silverman, 1966, 1972), environment or geographic locations (Child, 1968; Schwarz, 1953), and age (Lark-Horowitz, 1937, 1938; Machotka, 1966) on a person's preferences for visual art works. Studies indicate that people are most influenced by the subject matter of art works (Coffey, 1969; Cranston, 1952; Lark-Horowitz, 1937, 1938; Machotka, 1966). These studies, though, do not indicate why two apparently similar people in age, sex, socio-economic status, and geographic location prefer art works with different subject matter. In fact, Irvin Child in his cross-cultural studies (1968) found greater art preference resemblances between groups of different cultures than within groups of one particular culture. This suggests that there is trans-cultural constancy in aesthetic preference.

Perception studies have been conducted for more than 25 years by H.A. Witkin and his colleagues (1954/1972; 1962/1974). Their early studies were concerned with relative use of external and internal referents in judging the upright and, because of this, the construct was termed field-dependence-independence. It was found that individuals differed markedly in the extent to which they used their bodies and external information when making judgments/perceptions of the upright. Also, in a variety of situations and tests, all of the individuals tested tended to be self-consistent in their judgments/perceptions. Witkin expanded his research in the area of individual differences and found that there were clear differences between the field-dependent person and the field-independent person. Briefly, field-dependent individuals appear to think and behave in ways which suggest a commitment to the maintenance of autonomy from others. They prefer to use their own judgments and interpretations rather than depend on someone else's. They conform less to societal standards and view others in a more analytical (and thus more distant) manner maintaining, as a consequence, a more physical distance between themselves and others (Crutchfield, Woodworth & Albrecht, 1958; Gates, 1971; Nevill, 1974; Vernon, 1972; Wong, 1973). Relatively field-dependent individuals are more interested in working with and around people. They conform more to societal standards and are more willing to solicit information and to be guided by other people. Thus, the maintenance of autonomy, so important to the field-independent individual, appears considerably less important to the field-dependent individual. Evidence from cross-cultural studies shows that because of the expected women's role in different societies, the difference between field-dependence-independence of the sexes will vary from society to society. There would be less field-dependence-independence between sexes in the mobile hunting societies than with sedentary agricultural societies (Witkin and Berry, 1975). Socialization practices of the migratory nomadic hunting societies emphasize self-reliance (field-independence) while the pastoral agriculturalists emphasize a social structure needing obedience and sense of responsibility (field-dependence) (Barry, Child & Bacon, 1959; Berry, 1971; Witkin & Berry, 1975).

This research led to the following questions for this study:

1. Are there similarities of field-dependence-independence between the white Midwest American student in elementary education and the Malay elementary education student of Peninsula Malaysia?
2. Is there a relationship between field-dependent and field-independent elementary education students from both cultures (Midwest American and Peninsula Malaysia) with regard to their subject matter and artistic style preferences in selected two-dimensional art works?

Design of the Study

One hundred and twenty students in elementary education at a Midwest American university and 30 students in elementary education at a teachers training college in Malaysia were used as subjects in this study. All subjects were female and came from middle class socioeconomic backgrounds residing in rural communities. Students in elementary education were selected for this study for two reasons. First, for ease of accessibility, and second, with current worldwide educational budget crises, the art specialists are frequently being eliminated and classroom teachers are expected to teach visual arts. The elementary teacher therefore is more often responsible for selecting art works for use in the classroom. Since careful selection of art works can contribute to greater success when teaching art (Broudy, 1974; Feldman, 1971; Mittler, 1976) it is important for future teachers to be aware of their own and their students' visual art preferences and possible reasons for those preferences. In this way they can knowledgeably select preferred art works for discussion and so maximize learning in their art class.

Data were obtained from two tests administered by the researcher, during art classes at each institution. The two tests were:

1. Witkin's Group Embedded Figures Test, GEFT (Oltman, Raskin & Witkin, 1971), was used to determine each students' field-dependency-independency. The students' field dependency was decided by their scores in the GEFT, which could range from 0-18. Those who scored between 0-6 were considered field-dependent, those who scored between 12-18 were considered field-independent, and those who scored between 7-11 were termed mid-range-dependent.
2. Ahmad's Subject Matter Artistic Style Preference Test, SMASPT (1982) was used to determine each student's preference for art work subject matter and artistic style in a forced choice paired comparison test, utilizing 15 different art slides in 105 different paired combinations.

The 15 slides of art works, used for the SMASPT, utilized three Western art styles and five subject matter categories and were selected by a panel of experts (Ahmad, 1982). Three of Feldman's art styles (1971) were used in this study, thereby avoiding the profusion of technical art-historical designations identified in most art history texts. (Feldman's fourth artistic style, The Style of Fantasy, was not selected because art works conforming to this descriptive label can also contain properties that place them in one or other of the other three categories.) The three selected artistic styles emphasized the interpersonal, perceptual, and concept attainment abilities of the field-dependent-independent individual and are described and substantiated in more detail in Figure 1.

Attributes			Substantiating Research
	Field-dependent	Field-independent	
Perceptual Tasks	Gestalt (Inuitive wholeness)	Possess restructuring ability	Witkin et al., 1962, 1974 Witkin et al., 1954, 1962
	Difficulty in overcoming the embedding concept		Witkin et al., 1971 Witkin, 1950 Gottschaldt, 1926
Concept Attainment	Use intuitive approach in problem solving	Use hypothesis testing in problem solving	Kirschenbaum, 1968 Bruner, Goodnow, Austin, 1956
	Discontinuity of use of salient clues in problem solving	Discrete cues and salient cues are important in problem solving	Nebelkopf, Dreyer, 1973 Kirschenbaum, 1968
Interpersonal Behavior Characteristics	Social orientation Socially outgoing Affected by other people's opinions Visually oriented More socially oriented during conversation Children learn effectively from social cues Children receive more help from their parents in problem solving situations	Impersonal autonomous functioning Cool and distant in social situations Less sensitive to social undercurrents Verbally oriented Autonomous from social conversation Children learn better from abstract reinforcement	Crutchfield et al., 1958 Wong, 1973 Vernon, 1972 Joshi, 1968 Iscoe and Carden, 1961 Linton, 1955 Sherif, 1935 Oltman et al., 1975 Albrech, 1958 Nevill, 1974 Goldberger and Benedict, 1972 Gates, 1971 Justice, 1969 Steinfeld, 1973 Ruble, Nakamura, 1972 Paclisnau, 1970 Johnston, 1974 Shotz, 1973
	Mother plays important role in childrearing	Father plays important role in childrearing	Dyke, Witkin, 1965 Witkin et al., 1962, 1974

Figure 1: Attributes of the field-dependent / independent cognitive style. (Ahmad, 1982, p. 25)

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Feldman describes the three selected artistic styles as:

1. The Style of Objective Accuracy: A faithful reproduction in art of what is seen, usually intended as an illusion of reality. It would appear that this style conforms to field-dependent individuals' lack of restructuring abilities and their need for the familiar.
2. The Style of the Formal Order: An effective composition in art created through compositional structure and order. It would appear that this style conforms to the restructuring abilities of field-independent individuals.
3. The Style of Emotion: Art reproducing moods and feelings. It would appear that this style conforms to the social sensitivity of field-dependent individuals as well as to the restructuring abilities of field-independent individuals.

The range of subject matter found in two-dimensional art works is almost limitless so the characteristics and abilities, as defined in Figure 1, determined these subject matter categories (Ahmad, 1982). More specifically, these subject matter categories are:

Personal Social Content: An art work in which the viewer becomes emotionally involved. It exemplifies the social orientation of field-dependent individuals.

Impersonal Social Content: An art work in which the viewer does not become emotionally involved. It exemplifies the impersonal, autonomous functioning of field-independency, where an individual who is relatively field-independent will remain uninvolved and distant in social situations.

Landscape: An art work consisting of trees, hills, and other recognizable objects, in which space and solitude dominate. People are not a part of such art works. The preference of field-independent persons for isolation and autonomy from social situations is exemplified here.

Townscape: An art work in which the viewer is conscious of the hustle and bustle of city street life. It is a social situation that is preferred by field-dependent individuals.

Still Life: An art work consisting of an assortment of familiar objects (i.e., flowers, vases, fruit). These objects are compatible with both the field-dependent who would prefer familiar objects and the field-independent individual who would prefer abstract, impersonal, inanimate objects.

The five subject matter categories and three artistic styles were interconnected to form a matrix, and one art work was selected for each matrix cell (Figure 2).

		Styles of Art		
	Preferences	Objective	Formal Order	Emotion
Subject	Personal Social Content	1	2	3
	Impersonal Social Content	4	5	6
	Landscape	7	8	9
	Townscape	10	11	12
	Still Life	13	14	15

Figure 2: Matrix of preferences. Subject and styles of art, showing slide numbers in correct position (Ahmad, 1982, p.47)

The 15 selected art works were:

1. *Sunlight in a Cafeteria* by Edward Hopper (1958)
2. *The Breakfast Table* by Stuart Davis (1917)
3. *Invocation* by Max Weber (1919)
4. *Thanksgiving* by Doris Lee (1935)
5. *Grand Central Terminal* by Max Weber (1915)
6. *Easter Monday* by Willem de Kooning (1955-6)
7. *Autumn on the Hudson* by Thomas Whittredge (1865)
8. *Sun, Rocks, Trees No. 2* by Charles Sheeler (1959)
9. *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone* by Thomas Moran (1872)
10. *Grand Prix Day* by Childe Hassam (1887)
11. *Canyons* by Charles Sheeler (1951)
12. *Lower Manhattan* by John Marin (1922)
13. *Still Life No. 1* by Preston Dickinson (1922)
14. *Lilacs by Karl Knaths* (1955)
15. *Flowers* by William H. K. Yarrow (1920)

Results

The investigation sought to determine the relationship between the field-dependence-independence of students, in two different geographic locations, and their preference responses to 15 selected two-dimensional artworks.

To simplify explanation of these results, the white Midwestern American students were termed Group 1, and the Malay students of Peninsula Malaysia were termed Group 2.

Distribution of scores on the GEFT was similar for both groups. A higher percentage of students were field-independent than mid-range-dependent or field-dependent. (see Table 1). Many field-dependence-independence studies have been conducted comparing male individuals and /or female individuals (Johnston, 1974; Shotz, 1973; Witkin et al., 1962, 1974) and results have generally shown that females tend to be slightly more field-dependent than males. According to Witkin, et al. (1962, 1974) the male sex role would seem to involve more autonomous functioning than the female sex role. Other studies concluded that it was the presence of the father that contributed to the outcome of the child's field-dependence or field-independence (Witkin et al., 1962, 1974; Dyk and Witkin, 1965; Seder, 1957). The research of Johnston (1974) and Shotz (1973) indicated that it was the nurturing protective tendencies of the mother that encouraged field-dependency. It follows, then, that as one-parent families increase in America, with the mother often left with the sole responsibility of child rearing, all children in that family would tend to be more field-dependent. In opposition to this premise, it could also be concluded that with single parent families, each child is expected to undertake more responsibilities within the family unit and thus encourage field-independence in the individual. This development of responsibility for all family members is similar to the traditional expectations of the Malay family. This familial responsibility may account for the similarity of score distribution and the greater number of field-independent scores, for the two groups, on the field-dependence-independence continuum. An additional factor that could contribute to the similarity of GEFT scores in both groups is the similarity of educational systems, both of which encourage field-independence. Each group is educated with the goal that they will be better educated than their parents and will become university/college graduates. The teachers in both systems are also western-educated with many of the Malaysian teachers even being educated in America.

Individual art work preferences for combined groups 1 and 2 were rank ordered (see Figure 3) with the most preferred art work being No. 9, *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, by Thomas Moran. It was preferred a total of 10.3 times, out of a possible 14 times, in the forced choice paired comparison test. In contrast, art work No. 6, *Easter Monday* by Willem de Kooning, was preferred only 2.9 times, out of a possible 14 times, in the forced choice paired comparison test.

		Styles of Art		
	Preferences	Objective	Formal Order	Emotion
Subject	Personal Social Content	8.0	6.0	5.9
	Impersonal Social Content	8.5	5.7	2.9
	Landscape	9.7	7.5	10.3
	Townscape	7.9	7.4	4.6
	Still Life	7.3	5.4	8.1

Figure 3: Artwork preferences showing number of times each artwork was preferred.

Slide numbers 7 and 9 were of the subject matter of landscape represented in the artistic styes of objective accuracy and emotion and all students preferred these two art works over and above all others. These results exemplify the field-dependent-independent attributes that suggest field-independent individuals prefer the solitude and autonomy from social situations epitomized in a landscape. They also support the research by McWhinnie (1967) Rump and Southgate (1967), and Schwarz (1953), and Silverman (1966) who stated that individuals tend to prefer subject matter that is familiar to them. Both populations in this study are from rural, agriculturally oriented societies and this, along with their field-independent characteristics, could explain their preference for the subject matter of landscape. The artistic style preferences (objective accuracy and emotion) would concur with the research by Gardner and Gardner (1973), Machotka (1966), and Rump and Southgate (1967) who have shown that realism in art works is a deciding factor in preference decision making. Both slides 7 and 9 had subject matter represented in realistic styles. Field-dependent-independent social behavior characteristics would indicate that field-independent students (as measured by the GEFT) would exhibit a greater preference for the subject matter of impersonal social content. However, the least preferred art work was slide No. 6, the subject matter of impersonal social content represented in the artistic style of emotion. This lack of preference, or dislike, for this particular art work, could be because although the majority of students tested field-independent, they possess the field dependent attribute of family orientation inherent in both groups.

Analysis of variance determined that overall there were no significant differences of art work preferences between groups 1 and 2. Consequently, there was no significant difference between the field-dependent individuals and field-independent individuals and their art work preferences. As noted earlier, the similarity of education (of each group) could be an influencing factor on both groups demonstrating similar preferences. Minor differences in art work preferences between groups 1 and 2 that were not significant could be found with art work/slides 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, and 13 (see Figure 4 and Table 2).

Group 1 had a greater preference for art work /slides 5, 10, and 13 than did Group 2. Art work No. 5 was the subject matter of impersonal social content represented in the artistic style of formal order and slides 10 and 13 were in the artistic style of objective accuracy with the subject matter of townscape and still life respectively. Group 2 had a greater preference for art works 1, 4, and 7, than Group 1. Each of these art works was in the artistic style of objective accuracy with the subject matter of personal social content, impersonal social content and landscape respectively. The differences in preference could be explained by possible familiarity of each group with the different subject matter and artistic styles presented. It is more likely that the students from Midwest America have been more frequently exposed to art works with

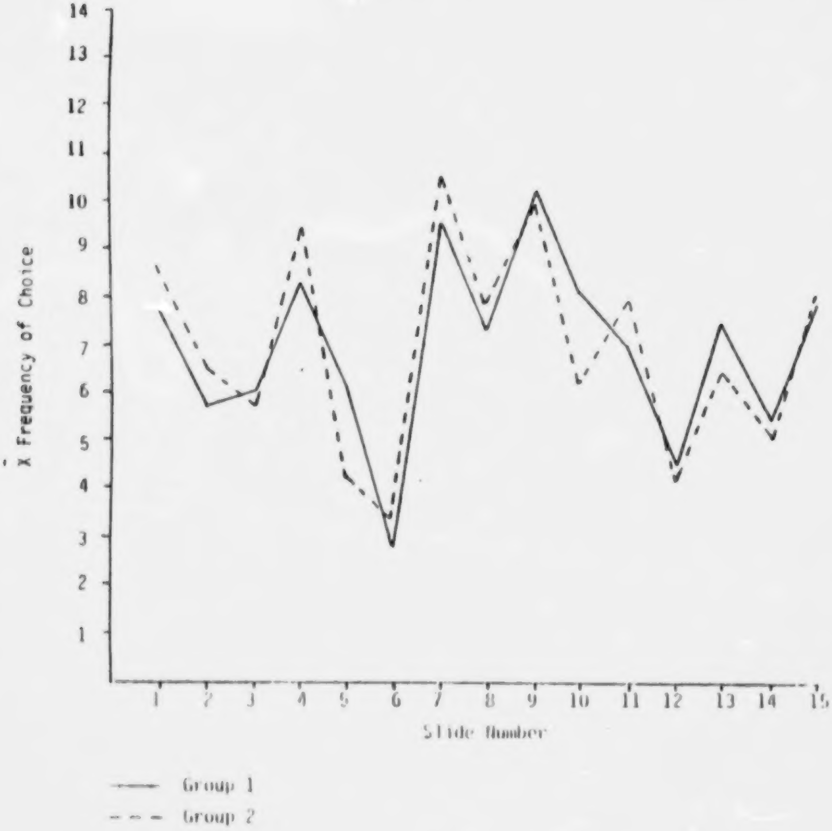

Figure 4: Artwork preference means for groups 1 and 2 (ANOVA).

the subject matter to townscape and still life and the artistic style of formal order than the Malay students from Peninsula Malaysia, hence allowing familiarity to occur. This would again support the research by McWinnie (1967), Rump and Southgate (1967), Schwarz (1953), and Silverman (1966).

Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, differences of field-dependence-independence, both within groups 1 and 2 and between groups 1 and 2, were not significant and results could substantiate the main premise of this research. Similarities of field-dependence-independence between the two groups utilized in this study (white American Midwestern students and Malaysian students) are present and indicate that there is a relationship, or similarity, of art work preferences between field-dependent and field-independent students from both groups. In other words it could be said that there is trans-cultural consistency in aesthetic preferences.

These results contradict previous cross-cultural research related to field-dependence-independence and visual art preferences. This could be due to the cultural bias of both tests and the growing similarity of education of both groups. Witkin, Oltaman, Raskin, and Karp (1971) note that the GEFT is "still considered a research instrument;" (1971, p. 29) it has been widely accepted and used in research studies. In contrast, the SMASPT is a newly developed test that has not been widely used and therefore has been insufficiently tested for reliability. It should also be noted that the SMASPT used only western art works and preferences could vary considerably from those recorded in this study if both western and Malaysian art works were to be used. The size (particularly of the Malay group) and composition (all female students in elementary education) of the population were also limitations. Consequently, it must be recognized that these results are not sufficient to conclude that the white Midwestern American is the same as the Malay of Peninsula Malaysia in visual art preferences. It is intended that research in this area will continue and be repeated so that results can be more conclusive. In that way, generalizations between groups and across cultures can be made, and research can be developed.

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Table 1
Cross tabulation of GEFT scores for groups 1 and 2.

		field-dependent	mid-range dependent	field-independent	Total
Group 1	Student Count	14	25	81	120
	Row Percentage	11.7	20.8	67.5	80
	Column Percentage	70.0	75.8	83.5	
Group 2	Student Count	6	8	16	30
	Row Percentage	20.0	26.7	53.3	20
	Column Percentage	30.0	24.2	16.5	
	Column Count	20	33	97	150
	Total Percentage	13.3	22.0	64.7	100

Table 2
ANOVA combined observed means for artwork preferences of groups 1 and 2.

Slide Number	Group 1	Group 2
1	7.78333	8.76667
2	5.79167	6.40000
3	5.92500	5.73333
4.	8.27500	9.40000
5	6.10833	4.23333
6	2.76667	3.30000
7	9.55833	10.66667
8	7.34167	8.10000
9	10.30000	10.10000
10	8.22500	6.40000
11	7.20000	8.16667
12	4.64167	4.10000
13	7.53333	6.16667
14	5.51667	5.16667
15	8.09167	8.16667

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A Critical Analysis of Cultural Maintenance in a Changing Society

Ronald W. Neperud and Patricia L. Stuhr

While awareness and valuing of cultural diversity have increased within art education, technological and social forces have tended to homogenize distinct cultural values for a melting-pot view of cultural change as opposed to a preservation of cultural maintenance and identity. How are Wisconsin Indians maintaining their tribal traditions through art? Are they being assimilated into the dominant Anglo society or are they able to maintain their distinct cultural values? The art of Wisconsin Indians may be classified generally as traditional, derivative, and modern. While the modern artists appear to be in the process of assimilating Anglo values and forms of education, traditional and derivative artists are maintaining distinct art forms, values, and methods of education. This study indicates that scholars and teachers must be more subtle and sophisticated in interpreting art as a vehicle for cultural maintenance and take into account the context in which art is created, used, and supported.

Introduction

Most individuals identify to some degree with a particular ethnic or cultural heritage even though that set of values and lifestyles may not represent the major orientation in their lives. Several art educators (Chalmers,1973; McFee, 1980; McFee & Degge, 1977) have argued that cultural backgrounds form an important dimension of how individuals perceive, value, and identify with their environment. These writings demonstrate the critical importance of valuing our cultural and ethnic roots within a larger culture that risks becoming increasingly devoid of specific ethnic and cultural manifestations. In effect, the authors value cultural pluralism rather than a melting-pot view of cultural homogenization and diversity.

Realistically, we recognize the rapidity and pervasiveness of change in technology, forms of communication, and accompanying social changes. Satellites, antenna dishes, video cassette recorders, multinational corporations, and other international developments have become a common part of our world. The homogenization of products and values tends to eliminate or round off the edges of objects, ideas, or processes that might be closely identified with particular cultural identities. As we value cultural diversity and changes that affect cultural values and processes, we have to ask whether specific forms of cultural or ethnic identity can be maintained without becoming totally accommodated to a homogenized melting-pot view of culture.

There are strong suggestions that specific cultural identity cannot be maintained and that ethnic symbols are empty. Anthropologists Schneider and Smith (1973) have suggested that ethnicity is of rapidly decreasing significance, that "while consciousness of ethnic identity persists at all levels of society it is rapidly decreasing in significance as a factor affecting behavior of those who are middle class" (p. 36). For the lower class, which to Schneider and Smith includes American Indians, " 'ethnicity,' or a particularistic identification of some kind, seems to be an intrinsic part of the structuring of group or intergroup relations" (p. 36). Gans (1979) goes further; he has stated that "there has been no (ethnic) revival, and that enculturation and assimilation continue to take place"(p. 193). Gans contends moreover that "symbolic ethnicity" persists but is devoid of social and cultural content. In America, he says, "However strongly affirmative these ethnic identifications are, the ethnic status is conspicuously devoid of 'social content'. . . . The marks of identity are in a very important sense 'empty symbols'" (p. 193). We are left with doubts that cut to the very heart of some views we hold dear to notions of cultural pluralism. Against this background of skepticism, what exactly is meant by cultural and ethnic identity? Ethnicity may be applied to membership in Indian groups according to the definition provided by Greeley (1972, pp. 7-9). He defines ethnicity as ". . . a wide variety of social phenomena which are exhibited be people who share (or believe they share) a common cultural-historical background. Ibarra and Strickon (1983, p. 174) suggest that ethnic groups "contrast themselves with other people of the same sociopolitical order. . . . These manifestations may include one or more of the following: (a) an expressed self-identification by some or all of the individuals; (b) the cultural content not shared with surrounding populations such as artifacts, symbols, values, and institutions which represent (or are believed to represent) the persistence of a shared cultural heritage; and (c) formal organization arrangements such as political and/or economic interest groups." Also, according to Lurie (1968), Indians want to remain special, whereas other groups such as blacks wish to share in the general culture.

The Problem

In the context of these views of ethnicity, what are some of the problems that groups such as Native Americans in Wisconsin face in maintaining ethnic identity? Specifically, how are some Native American tribes in Wisconsin and the Midwest dealing with this problem? The diversity of art forms and the valuing of them in the context of changing social conditions suggest that these groups of Indians represent cultures in conflict. Traditional and modern styles of art created by Wisconsin native Americans are examined in this study as they function as agents of cultural maintenance. A four-function paradigm of the social functions of art served as a tool to examine the relationships of Wisconsin Indians and their art.

Art and Cultural Maintenance

According to Parsons (1977), there are certain characteristics of living systems, including human actions, that result from interactions with environment. Within systems, including social systems, there are two types of interchanges: External and internal relationships represent one of the two principal axes along which a four-function paradigm is built. The second axis is based on the belief that a social system maintains it distinctive organization over time. This axis involves establishment of goal states and movement toward them over time, a means-ends relationship among actions within a system. This also involves adaptation over time. Thus, Parsons postulates two axes that characterize a social system's interactions with environment. The intersection of these axes creates a four-function paradigm.

Art as an example of symbolic activity in a particular cultural or social environment functions along two axes characterized by an individual to group dimension ranging from expressive-creative to normative behavior and a time dimension ranging from cultural (past) to instrumental (present)(see Figure 1). This view of art as symbolic activity, existing along two axes, produces a four-function paradigm such as that posited by Parsons. Symbolic structures, including art, function on an individual level in that artistic forms are created by artists as expressive vehicles.

To the extent that the values of particular art forms serve in a normative sense they are also expressive of group values. On another dimension, art forms may serve particular functions such as economic, social, political, or religious ends in an instrumental sense. Art forms, as symbolic structures, serve instrumental functions over time from which are created traditions constituting culture.

When the context and functions of symbolic activity, such as art, are overlaid on Parson's four-function paradigm of social functions, art forms serve social functions in defining the social system and in accommodating environmental

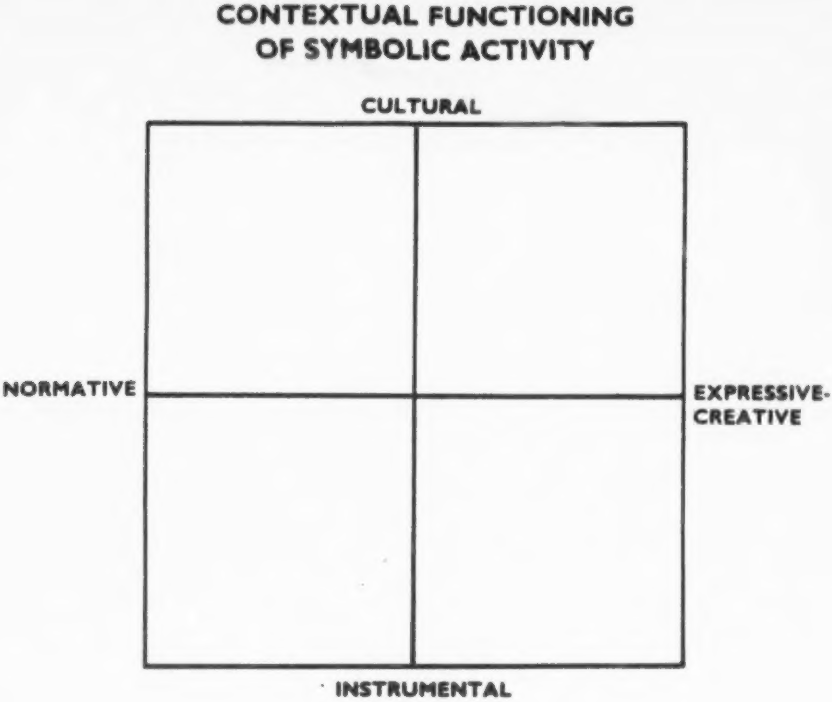

CONTEXTUAL FUNCTIONING
OF SYMBOLIC ACTIVITY
CULTURAL
NORMATIVE
EXPRESSIVE-CREATIVE
INSTRUMENTAL

Figure I

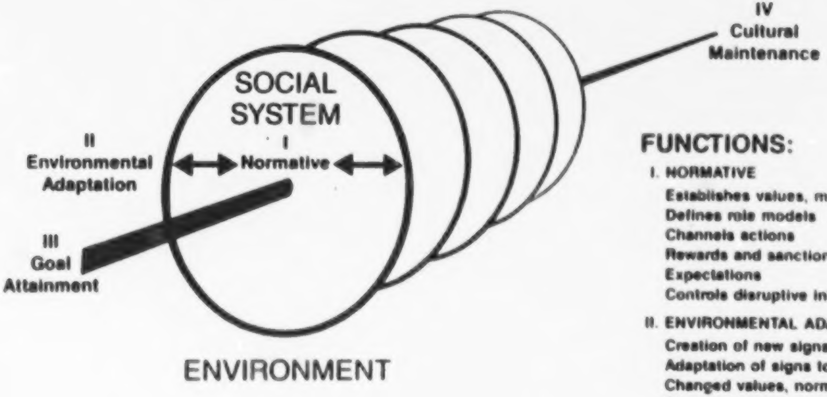
changes (Figure 2), (Neperud, 1981). The social functions of art will serve as a tool in examining how Wisconsin Indians' art is maintaining or extending Indian culture.

Wisconsin Indians' Art

What is happening in Wisconsin with respect to tribal traditions and the arts? The art of the Wisconsin Indians indicates that their cultural group identity has remained intact since before the advent of white traders, trappers, and settlers. This view is also supported by the investigations of Spindler and Spindler (1962,1971,1973) and Lurie (1968, 1971). Among the Menominee, the Spindlers have noted that the following elements of their culture still exist: sex roles,

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ART:

THE FOUR-FUNCTION PARADIGM


IV
Cultural
Maintenance
SOCIAL
SYSTEM
II
Environmental
Adaptation
I
Normative
III
Goal
Attainment
ENVIRONMENT

FUNCTIONS:

I. NORMATIVE
- Establishes values, meanings
- Defines role models
- Channels actions
- Rewards and sanctions
- Expectations
- Controls disruptive influences

II. ENVIRONMENTAL ADAPTATION
- Creation of new signs
- Adaptation of signs to change
- Changed values, norms, expectations
- Change in meanings

III. GOAL ATTAINMENT
- Aesthetic
- Economic
- Moral
- Social

IV. CULTURAL MAINTENANCE
- System of symbols and meanings
- Constitution of roles, relationships
- Provides unifying features

Figure 2

1986 Neperud

naming ceremonies, the sweat house, menstrual taboos, elaborate rites for the dead, the importance of dreaming and prophecy, sorcery and witchcraft, reverence for the very young and the aged, Medicine Lodge, Dream Dance, and pow-wow. The Ritzenthalers (1983) also give detailed accounts of the continuance of Indian ceremonies, social events, games, and activities based on time spent with the Chippewa, Potowatomi, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Menominee, and Oneida.

In reality, many Wisconsin Indians have not been assimilated into the dominant culture, but have maintained their traditional ways as they have lived on northern Wisconsin reservations. Erdman (1966) indicates that the Indians cling to their sense of identity through the perpetuation of legends and myths handed down to their children, teaching of dances, chants, and songs, and respect for hereditary chiefs. Thus, ethnic tradition and identity are maintained through a number of persisting cultural activities, including certain art forms.

Wisconsin Indian artists' work can be classified as traditional, derivative, and modern (Stuhr, 1987). It should be remembered that art among these Indians, as is so common among other indigenous peoples, represents but one form of symbolic activity. This activity is closely interwoven with other symbolic activities perpetrating culture such as myth, legends, dance, stories, and games.

Traditional Art

Traditionalists create art and craft forms based on original types of art work and materials employed by Wisconsin Indians before the arrival of the Anglo (Ritzenthaler & Ritzenthaler, 1983). Original art forms were generally utilitarian (sometimes with great spiritual powers) and fashioned in the "old way." Tools used to fashion these art/craft forms have changed although processes used in their construction generally have not. Traditional art is usually made be individuals living on the reservations or in the Indian communities. The art forms embody the values of the traditional ethnic Indian community.

According to Suhr (1983), a sociologist, these values can be classified as spiritual, cultural, and social. Spiritual values include the importance of religion or spirituality in everyday life, the significance of Indian ceremonies and healing processes, and the emphasis on unity with nature. Cultural values include the focus on sharing, the importance of "noninterference," the use of humor, and the emphasis on a cyclical time concept. Social values include the importance of the extended family, the child, and the aged, and the Indian view that the purpose of their leaders, who are chosen on the basis of personal wisdom, is to serve the people. Wax (1971), an anthropologist, includes the importance of close peer group relationships and the rejection of competition at an individual level while accepting it at a group level. The goal of most traditionalist artists in producing their art forms is to ensure the continuance of these values and the Indian ethnic community where their other cultural institutions are maintained. Traditionalist art/craft forms currently being produced by the Wisconsin Indians include baskets (sweetgrass, birch bark, split ash), leatherwork (moccasins, costumes), pottery, snowshoes, lacrosse sticks, cradleboards, spearfishing decoys, canoes, flutes, and pipes (Stuhr, 1987).

Derivative Art

Derivative artists/craftspersons are defined as producing art/craft forms done by the Woodland Indians before the arrival of the Europeans. These forms have been modified from their prehistoric prototypes; they employ, either totally or partially, essential materials in their production or forms that reflect the material culture introduced to them by European immigrants. These art/craft forms generally, but not always, embody the values of traditional Wisconsin Indians. The art/craft forms usually are made by and for Indian individuals living on or returning to visit the reservations or Indian community settlements. Derivative art/craft forms which are still being produced are beadwork, costumes, dance batons, featherwork, dream drums, finger weavings, jewelry, woven rugs, and yarn bags (Stuhr, 1987).

A far more complex situation exists among the much more broadly diffused Indian culture within the Anglo society, but not in the more closely knit Indian communities, at least not in a traditional sense. Perhaps, they serve in a transitional sense in paving the way for the eventual assimilation of traditional Indian ways into the broader mass society of which we are all a part. In that sense, the modernists among Indian artists would probably serve as a reminder of ethnic heritage, not unlike ethnic symbols that serve the Polish, the Norwegian, or Italian.

Modern Art

Modern Native American artists use art forms and materials based largely on or influenced by the 20th century Anglo culture. These forms vary widely, but generally have lost their utilitarian purpose, focusing principally on aesthetic values and at times social commentary. Modernist art exhibits certain cultural manifestations, but is not used in accordance with more traditional Indian values. The values embodied in the works are usually those of the Anglo culture. More modernist Indian artists than traditionalist or derivative artists live off the reservations and Indian communities. They often reside in urban Anglo communities where employment is thought to be available. Their art forms are not always well accepted or appreciated by Indians residing in the Indian communities or on the reservations. Because of the individual competitive nature of the modernist artist, they are often conceived of as persons no longer integrated in the Indian community and to have "lost" their heritage. Examples of modern art/craft forms being produced by the Wisconsin Indians are drawing/illustration, painting, jewelry, pottery, print-making, sculpture and stained glass.

Summary and Conclusions

A four-function paradigm of the social functions of art served as a tool for examining the relationships of Wisconsin Indians to their art. Essentially, the social functions of maintaining normative behavior, environmental adaptation, goal attainment, and cultural maintenance are served as an ethnic group strives to maintain itself through time and in the context of a changing environment.

Traditional artists create art/craft forms based on original forms and materials employed by Wisconsin Indians before the arrival of the Anglo. Derivative artists create forms modified from historic prototypes employing materials in their production that reflect the material culture introduced to them by Anglo culture. Modern artists create art forms and use materials provided by contemporary culture; these forms vary widely, but they generally emphasize aesthetic values over other functions and values. From the three types of art created by Wisconsin Indian artists it can be concluded that each functions in a distinct way to maintain cultural values and to deal with a changing environment.

Traditional artists create a variety of forms in the "old ways" ranging from fish lures to pottery that function at Point IV, Cultural Maintenance along the time dimension of the Four-Function paradigm (Figure 2). Such traditional forms may be, but are not always, associated with any one tribe but may be found among the Chippewa, Menominee, Winnebago and Oneida tribes. Usually, the traditional artists tend to live in Indian communities or reservations where there is a minimum of interaction with the Anglo culture. The traditional art forms tend to be closely allied to or integrated with traditional ways of life or with other symbolic activity such as legends, dance, and ceremonies. As such, traditional art among Wisconsin Indians functions to maintain characteristics of these tribes as distinct ethnic groups in ways that extend back in time to their beginning.

Derivative artists also create art forms of some traditional distinction; usually, however, the forms have been modified in some ways, such as the use of beads in place of porcupine quills in the production of moccasins. Also, ceremonial costumes may be created out of shopping mall materials rather than from deerhides or animal skins, and the costumes are adapted to serve contemporary Indian functions. Derivative artists are, in effect, creating forms that reflect their greater interaction and diffusion among the Anglo society. The function of the derivative artists is not as clear cut and distinct as that of the traditional artists. While some derivative art forms function along the Cultural Maintenance portion of the time axis (see Figure 2), others function more at Point II, Environmental Adaptation, reflecting the Native Americans' interaction with the Anglo society. The role of the derivative artists and the functions of their art are at times transitional and contradictory in cultural maintenance.

Modern Wisconsin Indian artists create forms within the context of modern contemporary values. The predominant emphasis is upon individualism, expression, and the aesthetic function of paintings, sculpture, prints, and other mainstream forms. Just as among mainstream blacks, ethnic subject matter may be used along with some social commentary. The modern Wisconsin Indian artist not only tends to create art with few if any connections to Indian traditions, but also usually lives within urban Anglo environments. It appears that the modern Wisconsin Indian artist operates at Point II, Environmental Adaptation (see Figure 2), creating new symbols, values, and meanings. To the extent that art forms created by the modern Indian artist contain Indian subject matter and social commentary, the Indian community as a social system is adapting to a changing environment. If such modern and contemporary forms extend the meaning of the Indian social system and are accepted as part of a particular Indian community, the forms function in extending the community as a social system. In this way, the few modern Wisconsin Indian artists that deal directly with Indian values and content in their work are serving to extend the meaning of Indian social systems. Most modern Wisconsin Indian artists, however, tend to operate almost exclusively within dominant western mainstream aesthetics, having eschewed most traditional Indian values.

From the functioning of Wisconsin Indians' art within the context of the Four-Function Paradigm of Social Functions it can be concluded that traditional art serves to maintain symbols, meanings, and the unifying features of existing Indian social systems, as well as to function in a normative sense (Point I, Normative, Figure 2). Derivative Indian art functions to a lesser degree in maintaining the existing culture, usually doing so within a more recent time frame than traditional art. Modern Indian art functions more exclusively in changing rather than maintaining cultural values. What, then, do these conclusions have to do with art education and multi-cultural education?

Implications for Multi-cultural Education

These views of cultural maintenance among Wisconsin Indians suggest that we must be more subtle and sophisticated in interpreting art as a vehicle for cultural maintenance, taking into account the context in which it is created, used, and supported. In terms of multi-cultural education this means that we must be careful in what we designate as spiritual, cultural, and social, whether referring to intangibles such as values or to tangible observables such as ceremonies and art/craft forms.

When teachers and educators seek to extend students' views of a particular culture, as for example Wisconsin's Native Americans, stereotypic art forms must be avoided as symbolic of that ethnic/cultural group. One must go beyond accepting the feathered headdress, beaded moccasins, and tepees as typifying Indian art. Furthermore, an understanding of how cultural groups are changing and how art serves to maintain and extend cultural meanings is needed. How can authentic views be established? A tremendous variety of cultural resources exist in or near most communities in the form of artists and others knowledgeable in the particulars of ethnic /cultural ways. Instead of relying on book information, which often is not authentic, why not seek out community persons who are knowledgeable in ethnic values, traditions, and art? In these ways we can begin to understand and value how and why art functions to maintain and extend cultural diversity in the face of changing environments.

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Context in Art: Meaning Recovered and Discovered

Marilyn Zurmeuhlen

Excerpts from personal cultural histories, written by art teachers who are graduate students in art education, reveal the contexts for their art as potter, arranger of objects, storyteller, and keeper of a visual diary. Their accounts are evidence for the imperative of individual historicality in this hermeneutic teaching method that was developed as a remedy for the alienation Gadamer located in aesthetic and historical consciousness.

Recovering a Personal Cultural History

An art teacher who is also a graduate student in art education at The University of Iowa traced to her childhood a theme in her art work that she recognized as "the exploration of common objects." She noted that her understanding of it "is just now beginning to surface." Here is part of the history she recovered in a written assignment.

> My mom has always been a saver, a pack-rat, a keeper of everything "just in case." Her "just in case" phrase relates back first to when she was a child in the Depression. During that time money was almost non-existent, bartering with objects and commodities was a way of life, and new school clothes were made by remaking old ones with scraps of material. Every small possession had great personal value or purpose during this time when the economic future seemed bleak. Then later on, at the time when she was considering marriage and a family, rationing of many

> basic commodities was taking place due to World War II. These two periods in her life, along with the family's basically poor farm background, had a great influence, I'm sure, on Mom's saving "just in case." As I was growing up our economic conditions were only slightly improved, especially with six children to provide for. However, my own view of the "things" which Mom kept in her boxes and piles ranged from disgust at the clutter to fascination with the collections of items and their possible future uses. Actually, I spent a lot of time as a child curiously finding new uses for the items, even though they, of course, were never the most probable or ordinary ones. My uses usually were of a creative rather than practical nature. Maybe I didn't want to think about the possibility that we would ever have to resort to such scrounging for the basics; so, instead, I'd dream up more extravagant utilization for the items. Even though Mom and Dad did not always understand my art making episodes, nor the resultant products (cloth collage books, popsicle stick sculptures, furniture made out of small, or not so small, boxes) they always encouraged me to keep creating.

She added, "I think it was these experiences with collections of common objects and materials that have influenced my work to a great degree and helped enhance my exploration-of-objects theme." Then she recalled a significant interruption: "Except for a period of about six years I have always been interested in the forms, surfaces, and possibilities of common objects in art. During those six years, the last two years of high school and four years of college, I attempted to turn away from these roots and produce 'fine art' with traditional 'fine art' materials."

Her history realizes several of my intentions in asking graduate students to write personal cultural histories. Narrative gives coherence and form to otherwise fragmented experiences and impressions. Because autobiographical narrative focuses on concrete particulars it encourages writing in a personal voice rather than in a language of abstract analysis, and the writer recovers a context for her art work that is larger and more existentially meaningful than mere reference to the establishment art world. That existential context is family, as it is for most members of the human community, but always the grounding is in a specific family, whose accumulation of everyday habits are understood only later in life by those children who lived them to embody aspects of both the unique and universal. Through her family she is linked to an expanded historical context that is economic and social. Implicit in her personal history, also, is the concept of an improvisational self, an individual established as distinct from the family cultural traditions that simultaneously grounded and contrasted with her own unique, emerging future.

Alienation of Aesthetic and Historical Consciousness

Accounts of personal cultural histories are hermeneutic since they are interpretations of meaning. Gadamer's (1976) reflections on two experiences of alienation that we encounter in our lives contributed to the development of my thinking about these histories as a hermeneutic teaching mode.

The first form of alienation that Gadamer elucidated is the aesthetic consciousness we experience when we withdraw into aesthetic judgment, no longer open to the immediacy of a particular work. "The aesthetic sovereignty that claims its rights in the experience of art represents an alienation when compared to the authentic experience that confronts us in the form of art itself" (1976, p. 5), he claimed. Works of art that constitute our aesthetic tradition were not created as objects of aesthetic judgment, to be accepted or rejected. So, he explained, "When we judge a work of art on the basis of its aesthetic quality, something that is really much more intimately familiar to us is alienated (p. 5). The primary life of any art is in its presentation, the possibilities for interpretation that reside in and flow from it. Canonical applications divert and inhibit authentic aesthetic experience. Gadamer argued, "A genuine artistic creation stands within a particular community, and such a community is always distinguishable from the cultural society that is informed and terrorized by art criticism" (p. 5).

The sculptor, Anne Truitt, also recognized an alienation from community: "The public, themselves deprived of the feeling of community that grants due proportion to everyone's self-expression, yearn over the artist in some special way because he or she seems to have the magic to wrench color and meaning from their bleached lives" (1982, p. 115).

By alienation of historical consciousness Gadamer meant that we attempt to hold ourselves at a critical distance in understanding voices or objects from our past, a lapse into historical objectivism. Such an approach is alienating because it conceals our actual encounter with historical tradition in an abstraction that is methodological. "The whole reality of historical experience does not find expression in the mastery of historical method" (1976, p. 6), he argued. Like art, the past is not merely a passive object of investigation but exists as a multitude of possibilities for meaning, to be transformed again and again.

When art critic Harold Rosenberg described the happiness he observed among viewers at the Whitney Museum's exhibition of folk art, he seemed to incorporate Gadamer's notions of alienation from aesthetic and historical consciousness in his attempt to account for viewers' responses. "In the environment of time peacocks, cigar-store Indians, wedding quilts, mustachioed whirligigs, and Edward Hicks' Biblical utopias members of today's frenetic art world find themselves reassured about the ultimate worth of art objects, independent of their aesthetico-historical rationale" (1974, p. 128). "All worlds of folk art exist simultaneously in the peaceable kingdom of individual imaginings and skill" he wrote, "and, for such folk art, 'modern' loses its temporal meaning of 'belonging to the present' and stands for the absence of any date, a kind of permanent 'now' or eternity" (p. 129). Here, he echoed Gadamer's image of "the splendid magic of immediately mirroring the present in the past and past in the present" (1976, p. 131).

Recovering and Discovering Meaning in Personal Cultural Histories

I ask graduate students to begin work in interpretation by writing their personal cultural histories in order to discover what Gadamer referred to as "the traditions within which we stand" (1981, p. 166). Gadamer thought we recover from historical alienation by understanding that traditions "offer less an objective field for the scientific mastery of a subject matter or for the extension of our domination by knowledge of the unknown than a mediation of ourselves with our real possibilities engulfing us — with what can be and what is capable of happening to and becoming of us" (pp. 166 - 167). As one graduate student wrote, "In order to present a personal cultural history of myself today, I need to define my present cultural life and look for the strand that connects my present to that often forgotten and disregarded past." Her insight is evidence for Gadamer's contention that "Historical knowledge of the past sets us before the totality of our human possibilities and therewith mediates us along with our future" (p. 166).

The imperative of individual historicality acknowledges the vital role of personal culture in our understanding of the world, including the teaching of art. Gary Griffin, Dean of Education at the University of Illinois-Chicago, described the loss of teacher empowerment that makes identity and dignity crucial issues. "The current rage of 'packages' for teachers to learn the five principles that justify ten behaviors that result in four outcomes is symptomatic of a deep and enduring problem" (1986, p. 14). He recognized, "Teachers must regain some of the autonomy that has been lost in the last decade's move toward behavioral accountability, accountability rooted in going by the numbers. Schools must be places where teachers can be decision makers and where teachers' decision making is central to how schools go about their business" (pp. 17 - 18). Sources of alienation for teachers may be curricula and teaching methods that are devised and imposed by experts, so-called "peer reviews," and generic administrative evaluations — all manifestations of the kind of abstraction that Gadamer criticized in aesthetic consciousness and historical consciousness. Under these conditions faith is posited in methodologies, while involvement with aesthetic tradition and historical tradition always is existential, a particular person relating these traditions to an individual present and future. In the latter world view theories of living and being are a necessary grounding and must precede any theories of knowledge.

When graduate students who are artists and teachers write their personal cultural histories they select, narrate, and interpret events from the vantage of the present. These accounts are significant not because of what we may analyze about their pasts, but because the choices these writers make form a context for their self-understanding, they establish a link between their own aesthetic traditions, their present art work, and their future directions. In the following samples from five cultural histories this link is evident.

A Potter's Identity

> Very early in my childhood I absorbed the reverence for "nice objects" that many middle class families pass on as cardinal cultural attitudes. My mother's and grandmother's china and sterling silver were acquisitions through which they defined themselves. The choice of pattern was a personal expression of aesthetics, and the care and use of these objects became a ritual which expressed their values, as well. Many hours of my childhood were spent polishing silver, which possibly contributed to my indifference to this form of cultural expression. But the high regard for

> objects as an expression of human values, both in the form of those objects and in their use, undoubtedly underlies my interest in creating functional stoneware. The pink roses on my mother's fine china once repulsed me, but my handmade stoneware coffee pot pleases me every morning. And as the years go by, my attitude toward the china and silver melts little by little as I see my mother and grandmother, and even myself, in those objects.

This potter's existential context is family, as it was for the writer of the narrative that introduced this article. They recalled experiences with objects and their association with particular family members but, for both, histories are mediated through their present concerns: The potter remembers china, and the woman who as a little girl assembled and reconstructed things her mother saved now photographs and re-presents fragments of rubber tires in her art work.

An Arranger of Objects

> I remember working in my father's shoe store, not so much in the front sorting boxes by size and style but in the back room. It was always dim down there. The room was full of shoes that needed repair. They were stacked on shelves, tied together in accidental arrangements or still lifes. As I worked on a pair of shoes from those shelves, there were certain tools that I needed. Knowing where to reach and what I would find was instinctive. Tools for each phase of a job were together, like small still lifes. When removing heels, reaching for the pincers brought my attention to the new heel in the box, which lay beside the nails near the glue can. All of these things bore a relationship because of their function but also in the simple, direct way they were designed. Looking over the workbench's surface many more still lifes could be encountered: shoelaces, shoe soles, tools, thread and others. Working in a shoe store is kind of a humbling

> experience. Fixing and polishing someone else's shoes is an ordinary occupation. People walk, work, and sweat in their shoes and when they're done leave them in the corner. Working in this capacity made me appreciate what many take for granted — those everyday undeniably ordinary objects. The objects have changed in my thoughts and observations to materials I use every day, but the idea is the same. I choose to show these things in arrangements which seem planned and at times unplanned, as if someone has left them or maybe just started to use them.

This man who arranges everyday objects for the still lifes he paints now also linked his present art work to memories of objects in the existential context of family. Perhaps because the recollection is from his high school years, family context is expanded into the world of business and his imaginative reflections encompass other users of the shoes he repaired: their wearers whose relationships with them he recognized as different from his own.

Two Storytellers

Another man located his history in places and the actions he took, or more often, imagined in them.

> I'd walk up the stairs, the bravest person, pronouncing each step with an overly animated gesture. Then I'd step up onto the patio, pause, and walk to the edge. "Swing me the rope," I'd yell to my brother. Rope in hand, clutching the envy of the other kids and their attempted feats of daring, I smiled confidently and then grinned as my brother warned, "Mom'll kill you if you get hurt." Curling my toes around the edge of brick, trying to hold the moment between ordinary and extraordinary, I pushed off. Gritting my teeth to absorb the jerk, I sailed across the sidewalk, dodging the tree the rope was attached to, and then slammed into the ground. I picked myself up and walked away, looking at the rope and the branch it was tied to,

> thinking, "What if the rope were tied to the branch above? Would I make it all the way to the street?" This story contains a quality present in all the art I have made so far. The narrative element in this writing is where my art is right now. In the story I tell I find a quality that is present in everything I do — simply I wish to always feel the moment between the rope and pushing off. You see, I think in terms of when I'm an old man. This way of working is a way I can endow the present with meaning so in the future I will have a substantial past. I want to be the old man who never forgot, who went ahead and climbed the tree, who sat down and started off his conversation with, "SO ANYWAY, THERE I WAS."

Family stories were a significant ingredient in what one woman called her ethnic heritage. Her mother told her abut family history, but a visit with her Swedish grandmother is the only concrete experience of this heritage that she recalled.

> Grandma completed my ethnic education by taking my sister and me to a small, pastoral cemetery next to an abandoned Lutheran church in Welch, Minnesota. Grandma translated while we pulled weeds from around the tiny markers. Beneath them lay our Swedish/American ancestors. But, all of that was far removed from my everyday life. Though I invented stories for myself about Grandma and her family, my contact with my heritage was, and is, just that — stories.

However, she, too, remembered a place and found the situation mirrored in the context she established for the drawings she does now. The setting was her parents' house.

> I remember those family naps on the creamy white living room carpet as the sun was going down. My mother, after some prodding, would play the piano while the four of us read the paper or wrestled around on the floor. If Mother tried to stop we begged her for

> more. She took us on a journey of, among others, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Debussy, and Bach. One by one, we fell asleep in the dark. The only light in the house then was the tiny lamp above the sheet music creating a glow around my mom and reflecting off the white keys. I loved the movement of her hands as they darted back and forth, scanning the entire keyboard. She seemed to be playing now for herself. As I drifted off I could feel her music penetrating my subconsciousness.

She related this memory to an account of how she draws now in her own home:

> I wait to draw until the entire building is silent. I turn on the lamp and then the music and I begin to draw. Drawing becomes a very physical activity. My arms dart across the paper, the eraser in one hand and the graphite in the other. I draw compulsively. At times I am not even aware of the marks that I am making, only the movement of my arms, the pounding of the eraser and the music. Eventually, I force myself to stop, step back and reflect on what I have put on the paper. Then I make the conscious decisions that I have been taught to make.

Storytelling is both context and content for the first graduate student's sculpture and books; memories of childhood places, journals from more recent bike trips, all are sources for the stories he tells in his art. His involvement with narrative imaginatively projected him into a future where he looked back on what is now present as well as on a future that will be past. The second storyteller remembered a family context embedded in a place. In both their accounts places are reservoirs of physical and kinesthetic memories; swinging on a rope, being lulled by music, crashing into the ground, sleeping on a carpet. The woman who now draws luminous landscapes is linked in her history to the girl who noticed light reflected on hands and keyboard, united by music echoing through the years that separate these experiences in her life.

Keeper of a Visual Diary

One art teacher noted that he did not have art instruction during elementary school. However, he found a way to nourish his notion of being an artist.

> A sketchbook purchased as a gift in sixth grade provided me with a means to realize my desire and attract interest in my pursuit as a budding artist. The sketchbook became my visual diary. It allowed me to record my childhood experiences. Walking home from school in the spring of the year, one felt especially free. The leaves green, activity was once again underway and I was particularly aware of my surroundings. Recording my reactions to those experiences and perceptions and forthcoming change in my life — my entry into high school — seemed my immediate concern. My art became words and images to record my emerging and changing world.

The existential context he recalled is not family, but what he knew of a larger context, the world of artists. Apparently, he associated keeping a sketchbook with being an artist. However, this notion was embedded in his life. It became a visual diary as he recorded his responses to feelings, sights, and experiences. An activity that possibly began from an instrumentalist approach — an impulse to do what an artist does, became immediate and authentic as he did what artists do — collected visual responses to his world.

A Grounding for Interpretation

Writing personal cultural histories can be a remedy for the alienation Gadamer suggested is encountered in the experiences of aesthetic consciousness and historical consciousness. Graduate students recover aesthetic traditions and historical traditions that are a personal context, unique to each of them as artists and teachers, because of the power of narrative to establish coherence and meaning. "Finding oneself means, among other things, finding the story or narrative in terms of which one's life makes sense," Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton reminded us in their widely acclaimed study of individualism and commitment in American life (1985, p. 81). They asserted that "cultures are dramatic conversations about things that matter to their participants" (p. 27). As graduate students tell their stories and listen to the stories others tell, personal cultural histories coalesce into a community of memory that embodies such a notion of culture. Conversation is an apt metaphor for culture and for our interpretations of culture because it suggests their continually evolving quality. Gadamer cautioned, "The very idea of a definitive interpretation seems to be intrinsically contradictory. Interpretation is always on the way" (1981, p. 105).

Recovered personal cultural histories, discovered culture in a community of art education graduate students, and narrative method form the basis for graduate students' future work in interpretation. I have detailed (Zurmuehlen, in press) how these narrative assignments evolve into individual research projects. However, the context established by personal cultural histories is fundamental to understanding others' cultural contexts, a necessity for any authentic work in interpretation, because as Gadamer's (1981) translator, Lawrence, pointed out: "The whole enterprise of making sense out of the way people have made sense of their lives has a circular and self-correcting character. Understanding authors, texts, and the realities intended by their words is therefore always a function of self-understanding" (pp. xviii - xix).

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A System for Analyzing and Evaluating Thai Art Curriculum Content

Malichat S. Ua-Anant

The purpose of this study was to construct an evaluation system to analyze current art curriculum content for elementary and lower secondary levels in the schools of Thailand. Included in this study were an analysis of conceptions of general curriculum, explication of the definition of curriculum and its terms, and description and analysis of three art curriculum models and three evaluation models from the United States. General curriculum, three art curricula, and three evaluation models formed bases for analyzing and critiquing Thai art curriculum.

There has been continuous controversy about curriculum development and art education in Thailand. Criticisms and suggestions by Thai educators (Nathalong, 1970) have noted weaknesses of the modern Thai education system, including art education. Sutthi (1982), a Thai, described conflicts between old and new cultures and how this affects conceptions about art. He claimed that this conflict had led to a lack of philosophy of education and lack of cultural knowledge that results in loss of cultural identity. He also noted that there is a lack of agreed upon theory about how to incorporate elements of old and new cultures into Thai art education programs. This problem has led to undirected, non-systematic art learning in the schools of Thailand.

This study probes issues similar to Sutthi's, but at a different level: Sutthi analyzed problems of Thai art education at a theoretical level; this study analyzes the problems at an applied level. For this study, I constructed an evaluation system to analyze current art curriculum content for elementary and lower secondary levels in the schools of my country, Thailand, as a basis to effect change in Thailand's art education programs. Analysis of internal adequacy[1] of the structure of Thai art curriculum content was undertaken for both elementary and lower secondary levels. The content component of the Thai art curriculum was examined to determine internal adequacy of its structure. Only the goals and content components of curriculum documents were analyzed. Observation of this educational program in action was not part of this study, due to logistical constraints. External adequacy of content of the Thai art curriculum also was evaluated.

Questions for this study were: (1) What are essential characteristics of the structure of curricula in general? (2) What are the most adequate art content and evaluation models in the United States? (3) What applicable criteria from these models apply to judging adequacy of the Thai art curriculum? (4) What are essential elements of structure and content in the Thai art curriculum at both elementary and lower secondary levels? (5) What are major strengths and weaknesses within structure and content of the current Thai art curriculum?

I began by translating Thailand's national art curriculum, at both elementary and lower secondary levels, into English and wrote a descriptive analysis of the curriculum.[2] Contemporary criticisms and suggestions of prominent Thai art educators and scholars about problems and needs for improvement in the Thai art curriculum were studied (Busari, 1970; Chongkol, 1970; Pramoj, 1970; Sanhachawee, 1970; Sutthi, 1982).

Pramoj, for instance, criticized Thailand's national curriculum for neglecting knowledge about its cultural past: "It is true that Thai culture has continually been neglected, be it in the form of art, literature, custom, tradition, or human relationships. The pernicious effect of this neglect can be seen in the continuous absence of serious study of Thai culture"

(1970, pp. 43-44). Pramoj attributes this problem, partly, to lack of knowledge about Thai arts and to a preponderance of foreign-trained teachers who emphasize arts from other countries, rather than local arts.

I studied several conceptions of curriculum as a background for this study. Three art curriculum models (Chapman, 1978; Efland, 1970; SWRL, 1976) were compared and contrasted. Chapman's was chosen as a basis for analyzing and critiquing content of the Thai art curriculum. Evaluation systems by Clark and Zimmerman (1983), Stake (1975), and Eisner (1977, 1979) were studied, compared and contrasted. An adequate set of criteria was selected from each of these three evaluation systems to evaluate the Thai art curriculum (Ua-Anant, 1984).

Rationales for Choosing the Models for this Study

Zais' (1976) curriculum principles were selected as a standard for analyzing the form (curriculum structure) of Thai art curriculum content because, as functionally defined principles, they can serve as a theoretical model for analyzing any country's art curriculum. Accordingly, Zais' curriculum model is precise, consistent, and reasonable. This model also was selected because it takes a moderate position about controversy pertaining to differing curriculum conceptions. It encompasses essential components and elements that have been identified by theorists of many disciplines.

Chapman's (1978) curriculum framework was chosen as a reference for analyzing content of the Thai art curriculum because it was the most complete and thorough of the three curriculum models that were considered for this study. A balance between social, cultural, and individual development is clearly presented in Chapman's model. Developmental levels for content in relation to student development are stressed as well as popular culture and applied arts. Chapman also developed direct applications for her curriculum and thus her model was the most practical as applied to school settings.

Clark and Zimmerman's evaluation model (1983) was used because it concentrates on justifying adequacy of curriculum content before it is implemented. It also provides both systematic criteria and operational guidelines for an evaluator to follow while justifying educational content from curriculum documents rather than observing an educational program in action. It requires a highly qualified critic, therefore, but does not require observation of a program in action as part of an evaluation. Criteria from Stake's (1975) Responsive Evaluation model and Eisner's (1977, 1979) Educational Criticism model also were used because they were more sensitive than the Clark and Zimmerman model to differing values of program participants and allowed wider participation in making judgments.

Criteria Selected From Zais' Model

In Curriculum Principles and Foundations (1976), Zais defined the term curriculum as "aspects of learning processes" (p. 12). In an effort to distill Zais' ideas, the following explication of the structure of Zais' model was developed. Terms defined by Zais are as follows:

Zais' Definition of Curriculum

1. Curriculum = aspects of learning processes (p. 12).

1.1. Aspects of learning processes = aspects of four components that include purposes, content, learning activities, and evaluation (pp. 295-297).

1.1.1. Purposes = direction and focus for the entire educational program that includes three levels: curriculum aims, curriculum goals, and curriculum objectives (pp. 297-306).

1.1.1.1. Curriculum aims = statements that describe expected "life" outcomes that proclaim to a world value schema, either consciously or unconsciously borrowed from philosophy, that some group holds for an educational program (p. 306).

1.1.1.2. Curriculum goals = statements of intent that describe long range outcomes specified at the individual school level (p. 306).

1.1.1.3. Curriculum objectives = the most immediate and specific statements of what students are to be able to do after having instructional experiences in a curriculum or part of a curriculum (p. 306).

1.1.2.1. Knowledge = increased and deepened meaning that accrues to an individual as a consequence of his or her transaction with content (p. 235).

1.1.2.2. Processes = diverse operations associated with the handling and creating of knowledge (p. 327).

1.1.2.3. Values = beliefs about matters concerned with good and bad,right and wrong, beautiful and ugly, etc. (p. 324).

1.1.3. Learning activities = intended activities, specified in conjunction with content, in which students are to engage (pp. 350-353).

1.1.4. Evaluation = value judgments regarding the degree to which learners have achieved curriculum objectives (p. 370).

Curriculum goals and/or objectives are related coherently to broader aims of the total curriculum (p. 308). Content is related to curriculum aims because the "curriculum planner . . . will want to select content that is most effective and efficient in bringing about realization of the curriculum aims" (p. 342). Learning activities are related coherently to content in which students are to engage (pp.350-353). Evaluation is related coherently to curriculum objectives because evaluation is a value judgment regarding the degree to which students have achieved curriculum objectives (p. 370). The last components — learning activities and evaluation — were not used in this analysis because this study was concerned only with art curricula content and structure.

Criteria Selected from Chapman's Model

Chapman's (1978) curriculum framework consists of six components: purposes, goals, approaches to study, content possibilities, suggested activities, and desired outcomes or evaluation. Chapman described three basic functions of general education: facilitation of personal fulfillment, transmission of cultural heritage, and development of social consciousness; she restated these purposes specifically for art education as goals of personal expression, awareness of art heritage, and awareness of art in society. She identified expression and aesthetic response as essential considerations in planning for and meeting these three goals. Approaches to study are presented in Chapman's model as different ways of understanding and experiencing art that must be considered in art curriculum planning. These approaches to study reflect different conceptions within Western culture as well as cross-cultural concepts. Two modes of experience — expression in art and response to visual forms — are presented in relation to approaches to study.

Content possibilities, for Chapman, are open-ended and "not a rigid body of facts and skills" (p. 367). Suggested activities in art curriculum are planned in consideration of students' developmental capacities and maturity levels. Desired outcomes should reflect values of the school and its art program. Chapman gave specific criteria for evaluating adequacy for a program's goals, proposed means for achieving goals, determining whether relationships between goals and means are appropriate, and evaluating available resources, teachers, and student learning.

The structure of Chapman's (1978) curriculum framework has paralleled with Zais' (1975) general curriculum model to compare Chapman's curriculum components with components Zais identified in his model. It was found that the structure of Chapman's model contained all essential components and relationships between components. In addition, functional relationships between components of a curriculum are set forth in Chapman's framework. Three orientations, "society-centered, child-centered, and subject-matter-centered," identified in Clark and Zimmerman's (1983) model, also were emphasized in Chapman's curriculum framework. Therefore, some components of Chapman's model and Clark and Zimmerman's model were found to be parallel.

Criteria Selected From Clark and Zimmerman's Model

To evaluate a curriculum prior to its implementation, Clark and Zimmerman believe that criteria for evaluating a curriculum meed to be set forth. They proposed coherence, completeness, and appropriateness as three criteria to judge the adequacy of a curriculum prior to its implementation. Coherence and completeness are used to judge internal adequacy of a curriculum; appropriateness is used to judge external adequacy. Clark and Zimmerman define coherence as a clear and logically consistent expression of concepts without contradictions among the concepts, completeness as the inclusion of all necessary concepts, and appropriateness as correspondence of a curriculum's content to the rest of the world of knowledge in terms of concepts and experiences (Clark and Zimmerman, p. 78).

Clark and Zimmerman believe that aspects of content, student, teacher, and setting are major components of an adequate art curriculum and should be interrelated with three orientations to schooling: society-centered, child-centered, and subject-matter-centered.

For this study, criteria of coherence, completeness, and appropriateness were used, in part, with emphasis upon orientations and the content component. According to Clark and Zimmerman (1983), adequacy of any curriculum can be evaluated by analyzing content of a curriculum guide. Examining the philosophy, or statement of purpose, will determine the orientation of a curriculum. Examining content of specific activities described within a curriculum, using criteria of coherence and completeness, will determine whether a curriculum attends to all components and whether components match the curriculum orientation. Examining content also can determine appropriateness of an art education curriculum in terms of whether its goals and outcomes are directed towards well-defined learning experiences in art, appropriate to the discipline of art and appropriate to the society for which it was designed.

Selected Criteria From Stake's and Eisner's Models

Stake's (1975) Responsive Evaluation model places emphasis on description and judgment from a variety of sources, including outside experts, as well as teachers, students, and field staff. Stake believed that sensitivity to perceived needs of those concerned with evaluation is essential. Like Stake, Eisner (1977) also valued the opinions of people involved in a setting. Observation of an educational setting and interviewing teachers and students are considered important parts of educational criticism. According to Stake and Eisner, reactions of program participants in accepting judgments from all parties are valuable and were considered in this study when analyzing external appropriateness of the Thai art curriculum.

Procedures in Analysis of the Thai Art Curriculum

The first step in this analysis was to determine internal adequacy of structure of the Thai art curriculum content for both elementary and lower secondary levels using Zais' (1976) general curriculum model and Clark and Zimmerman's (1983) criteria of coherence and completeness. To determine whether structure of the Thai art curriculum was internally adequate, in terms of coherence, it was necessary to analyze whether its terms or concepts were clear and logically consistent. Because many terms and concepts in the Thai art curriculum were adopted from the West, they had to be well defined and translated as accurately as possible to their original meaning or usage. In order to be internally adequate, terms and concepts had to be logical and true to meanings understood in the Thai culture and accepted universally among Thai educators in general and art education. Another test of coherence is that terms or concepts within a content component should be exclusive; there should be no redundancy and each term or concept should be exclusive of all others.

To determine whether structure of content of the Thai art curriculum was internally adequate according to the criterion of completeness, it was analyzed using Zais' definitions to see whether all necessary concepts within the curriculum content were included. Connections between elements within the content component are explained by their relationships. An adequate content component can be defined in terms of relations between content elements of knowledge, processes, and value. The Thai art curriculum was to be judged as internally adequate if it included necessary content elements of knowledge, processes, and value.

In the second step in this system of analysis, internal adequacy of Thai art curriculum content was analyzed according to Chapman's (1978) curriculum framework and Clark and Zimmerman's (1983) curriculum orientations of society-centered, child-centered, and subject-matter centered content. Criteria of coherence and completeness were used to analyze internal adequacy of content in the Thai art curriculum according to coherence and completeness of content in Chapman's curriculum framework. Internal adequacy in regard to coherence was analyzed according to the order of content relationships in Chapman's curriculum framework. Internal adequacy in regard to completeness was analyzed as to inclusion of elements within the content found in Chapman's and Clark and Zimmerman's models.

Last, external adequacy of art curriculum content was analyzed to determine whether it was externally adequate according to Clark and Zimmerman's (1983) criterion of external appropriateness. Criteria from Stake's (1975) responsive evaluation model and Eisner's (1977, 1979) educational criticism model that relate reactions of people such as outside experts and field staff to an educational program also were used to determine external appropriateness. Opinions and criticisms of Thai educators and scholars also were used in this context.

External adequacy of the Thai art curriculum was analyzed to determine whether goals and outcomes are directed toward well defined learning experiences in art, appropriate to the discipline of art, and appropriate to the society for which it was designed. Appropriateness, in this context, was analyzed by external standards; that is, it was analyzed according to needs of contemporary Thai education in general and art education specifically. Opinions of Thai educators and other scholars were taken into consideration in this analysis.

The Thai National Art Curriculum

Current Thai art curriculum for elementary schools (grades 1 through 6) consists of six components: specific goals, learning objectives, concepts-philosophy, content, plans for teaching, and evaluation. Specific goals include (a) development of creativity, (b) encouragement of personal expression and interests, (c) development of sensitivity to both intrinsic values and the worthiness of art, nature, and environment, (d) encouragement of pleasure in working with others, and (e) development of potentiality in applying art to develop good taste and useful purposes. Learning objectives in the Thai art curriculum are divided into three clusters for grades 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5 and 6. Among these clusters, some objectives are the same and others are different. An objective shared in all three clusters is "To express with confidence"; an objective found only in the first and second cluster is "To enjoy expressing freely." Some objectives are specific only to one cluster, such as, in the third cluster, " To be able to coordinate balance in drawing and painting."

Concepts-philosophy, like learning objectives, are divided into the same three clusters. Some statements overlap clusters; others are specific to certain clusters. One statement found in all three clusters is "Everyone is capable of learning art." A concept stated in the second and third clusters is "Learning in art is fun and enjoyable." Content is also divided into the three clusters and defined as media-based experiences. The three clusters share content as drawing and painting, forming, printing, and creative design. "Weaving" is added in the second and third cluster; "Awareness of values and relationships among the arts" is added at the third cluster. Content explanations are stated differently in each cluster.

Plans for Teaching Art are published as separate booklets and composed of procedures for teaching art, ways to create pleasant learning environments, and suggested art activities generated from art processes described in the content component. Each art activity is described by concepts, objectives, dominant focus, context, activities, media, and evaluation. Criteria for evaluation are based upon: observations of student behaviors throughout an activity and records of each student's art development. These criteria are suggested in the plans for teaching.

The current Thai art curriculum for lower secondary levels (grades 7, 8, 9) consists of goals, objectives, course descriptions, a manual for teaching art, and evaluation. Goals are stated as (a) development of personal artistic habits,(b) determining art proficiencies and interests, (c) providing knowledge of the value of art in daily life, (d) developing neatness and good taste to benefit individuals and society, (e) promoting expression through individual and group activities, (f) developing appreciation of Thai art and culture, (g) providing art knowledge for personal and vocational uses, and (h) using art as an emotional tranquilizer. Secondary offerings include required and elective courses; required courses are general visual art courses for grades 7 and 8. Elective courses include specific media, folk art, general design, commercial or decorative art, art in dress, and Thai art. Each course description includes a set of specific course objectives. Components of the manual for teaching art are similar to those found in the elementary Plans For Teaching Art. There are no separate evaluation plans for teaching art at the lower secondary level, although suggested evaluation instruments include pre- and post-testing and an observation or rating scale.

Internal and External Analysis of the Thai Art Curriculum

Structure of the Thai art curriculum at both elementary and lower secondary levels, in relation to structure presented in Zais' model of general curriculum, did not meet Clark and Zimmerman's criteria of coherence and completeness in regard to internal adequacy, although a number of separate parts were found to be coherent and complete. Content of the Thai art curriculum, in regard to internal adequacy in relation to content presented in Chapman's curriculum framework and Clark and Zimmerman's curriculum orientations, also did not meet the criteria of coherence and completeness. The Thai curriculum contains a strong child-centered emphasis and does include some subject-matter emphasis. Thai elementary and lower secondary art curriculum content has been criticized by Thai general and art educators. Thus it did not meet Stake's or Eisner's requirements of acceptance by Thai educators and scholars and did not meet, therefore, Clark and Zimmerman's criterion of appropriateness in regard to external adequacy. Some Thai art educators have noted the need to account for individual student development and the needs of Thai society (Busari, 1970). Pramoj (1970) and Sutthi (1982) called for greater emphasis throughout the curriculum to understanding Thailand's identity and cultural heritage. Sanhachawee (1970) asked for greater attention to practical, local concerns, such as using art resources in each school's environment and community. Sutthi (1982) also expressed concern that Thai awareness and appreciation of art, based upon different foundations than those emphasized in the West, should be reawakened and taught in the art curriculum.

I have suggested that curriculum improvement be based upon formulating clear definitions of terms, eliminating redundant terms; including essential elements of knowledge, process, and value in the content component; constructing the curriculum in one document; attending to critical, aesthetic, and historical processes as well as to art production processes; creating opportunities to learn Thailand's artistic and cultural heritage; and developing social awareness and understanding of values in the Thai culture. While questioning its appropriateness to the Thai society and its artistic heritage, I also concluded that Chapman's curriculum framework could be used. According to the standards of Zais, Clark and Zimmerman, and the content of Chapman's model theoretically and practically is appropriate for consideration as a major reference in designing both structure and content for a new Thai art curriculum.

Conclusion

A new curriculum evaluation procedure has been established that should not be too complicated for other evaluators to follow. These procedures can be used not only to justify art curriculum in Thailand but also to evaluate art curricula in many other cultural contexts. They also can be used to determine adequacy of an extant curriculum as well as to evaluate such a curriculum prior to its implementation. These procedures also can be used as a guide for development of new curricula, appropriate to other cultural contexts.

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Footnotes

1. Clark and Zimmerman define adequacy in terms of the components of art content, student, teacher, and setting.
2. The semantics of my translation were verified by a Thai student studying at Indiana University; his background is in philosophy and linguistic analysis.

Correction

In Fall 1986, Volume 4, Number 1 of this journal Karen A. Hamblen was incorrectly listed as Assistant Professor on page 76. This should read Associate Professor.

The Arts Education Review of Books

Books recently reviewed:

Discover Art by Laura Chapman
The Sense of Sight by John Berger
Thinking About Art by Edmund Feldman
Questions in Aesthetic Education by H.R. Redfern
Art as Culture by Evelyn Payne Hatcher
Varieties of Realism by Margaret Hagan
The New Harvard Dictionary of Music
Pina Bausch Wuppertal Dance Theatre
by Norbert Servos
A World History of Photography by Naomi Rosenblum
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*The Ofamfa is an Adinkera symbol meaning
a measure of critical examination, taken
from the Ashanti culture*

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Dedication to Dr. Nancy R. Johnson

Karen A. Hamblen

I wish to thank the editors for dedicating this issue to the memory of Dr. Nancy R. Johnson and for asking me to write this dedication. It is appropriate that this journal be the forum for the dedication, as Dr. Nancy Johnson's career was devoted to many of the concerns discussed in this and previous issues.

Dr. Nancy R. Johnson, Professor of Art Education at Louisiana State University, died in Baton Rouge on September 6, 1988. Dr. Johnson received her bachelor's degree at the University of Florida, her master's degree at Illinois Institute of Technology, and her Ph.D. in art education at the University of Oregon. In addition to teaching at elementary and high school levels, Dr. Johnson taught at the University of New York at New Paltz, Marshall University, and Ball State University.

These are the major facts of her professional life that give outline to her vita, but it is from the ongoing events of her relationships with colleagues, her teaching style, her innovative research, and her dedication to the field that the true loss from her death begins to emerge. Often, it is only after a death occurs that the living articulate their admiration. I, together with the faculty and students at LSU, appreciated Nancy's professional work and her friendship, and she knew this. It was a joy and privilege for me to work with Nancy this last year. I knew how fortunate I was to have a colleague with whom I could discuss so many aspects of art education. Nancy had an excellent grasp of issues, phenomenal recall, and stinging insights into the inanities one endures in academia.

Nancy had many plans for the future. She had overcome a previous bout with cancer, so she knew the discomforts of treatment that would develop, but she was facing that with an optimistic stoicism. After Nancy's death,so many people who had known her wrote to me or told me of how surprised they were to learn that she had been seriously ill. Many mentioned that she was always upbeat and smiling. I came to know her smile and her laugh as part of her optimistic spirit and of her insight into events that sustained her throughout her career and her illnesses. Two days before her death, she and I began to work on a grant proposal and to outline course work for the next semester. Nancy had begun work on the editing of an anthology on art and culture as these relate to modes of interpretation and communication in our social institutions. At LSU, she had developed course work on the art and cultures of

Louisiana and was working on the development of computer programs that could be used for elementary education methods classes. Nancy's interests and research had been focused on sociocultural and art relationships since her doctoral work at the University of Oregon. C. A. Bowers' theory of socialization through language use and educational practices strongly influenced her work at the University of Oregon and her dissertation on the transmission of cultural values and meanings by docents in their art museum tours. In using ethnographic techniques for the collection of her dissertation data, she was one of the first in art education to see the potential for this form of qualitative research.

Nancy published extensively on the role of art in society and on the communication of art meanings and values in elementary, middle, and high school settings. She was instrumental in the formation of the Caucus on Social Theory and Art Education and served as its coordinator for several years. She was an active member in numerous art education organizations and gave presentations throughout her career at state, national, and international conferences. For a number of years, she served as an evaluator for the Arts and Learning Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association, and she was currently on the editorial board of *Studies in Art Education*.

After Nancy's death, I helped her mother sort and pack Nancy's papers, books, household items, etc. I came to know a mother who was fiercely proud of her daughter's accomplishments, who cared for Nancy through the previous bout with cancer, and who was shocked by the quickness of the final events of Nancy's passing. I will always be grateful that Nancy's mother and aunt included me in their family circle so that I could be with Nancy until the end and that I could share many aspects of her life. I learned that Nancy was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church, that she helped beginning artists by always trying to buy at least one art object at exhibitions she attended, and that she donated objects from her travels to various art museums. In a folder, I found Nancy's high school diploma,university records, and photographs taken throughout the years. Nancy, from first grade onward, had the same smile. Certainly Nancy's research will endure beyond individual memory, but to me it is the image and memory of Nancy's smile and laugh that give recognition of her triumph over life's ironies.

Prologue

The Getty Center for Education in the Arts is having a significant influence on art education theory and practice in the United States, Canada, and tangentially among art educators in Western Europe and other parts of the world who subscribe to American art education models. The Getty Center has accomplished this through its philosophic, programmatic, and financial support of a theoretical structure for art education commonly known to most art educators as Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE). Articles on DBAE are plentiful in art education journals; professional conferences and sections of conferences routinely explore this approach; and research funds are being granted to universities and school districts willing and able to research and implement discipline-based approaches to the study of art. A spirited debate on the merits and demerits of DBAE is also becoming apparent. Witness the March 1988 issue of *Art Education* and its focus on the pros and cons of DBAE, (Lewis, 1988) and Eisner's reply to this focus in the November 1988 issue of the same journal (Eisner, 1988). We also ask you to note *Beyond DBAE: The Case for Multiple Visions of Art Education* (Burton, Lederman, & London, 1988). The contributors to this anthology argue for a view of art education which does not solely rely on a narrowly defined vision of art education.

This ongoing debate illuminates a lack of consensus and clarity within the art education profession on the specifics of DBAE. Arguments range from "DBAE" as it is interpreted and promoted in Getty Center for Education in the Arts publications (Eisner, n.d.; Eisner & Dobbs, 1986; The Getty Center for Education in the Arts, 1985, 1987a, 1987b) to "dbae" as it has been variously and imaginatively interpreted, conceptualized, and implied in formal and informal art education forms for several decades (L. H. Chapman, personal communication, May, 1988; Hamblen, 1987; and K. Marantz, personal communication, May 8, 1988). What is generally agreed upon, however, is that DBAE in all of its manifestations is art education based on the four content disciplines defined by scholastically recognized professional artists, art historians, art critics, and aestheticians.[1] Some art educators also argue that a fifth discipline associated with the work of sociologists and anthropologists should also be included (Chalmers, 1987; McFee, 1988, p. 26). However, Eisner's (1987) approach incorporating anthropological perspectives purportedly expanded the discipline of art history to "art history and culture." Clark, Day, and Greer (1987) incorporated the study of cultural contexts into the study of aesthetics, and Hausman (1987) asks for an expansion of the "parent disciplines."

We are pleased to have the opportunity to guest edit, with Paul Bolin, this issue of the *Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education*. Our purpose for this issue is an exploration and expansion of those concerns that are currently being voiced by scholars on the relationship between DBAE and multi-cultural and cross-cultural concerns in art education theory and practice. Some scholars (Chalmers, 1987; Hamblen, 1988; Lanier, 1987; McFee, 1988), including several authors represented in this publication, are concerned that a discipline-based approach to art education will exclude the study of art which has not been adequately sanctioned by scholars as so-called "masterpieces." Indeed, the folk arts and the popular arts continue to be widely ignored in art education curricula. There is also a marked absence of art by women, Third and Fourth World artists,[2] and by people of color. Other scholars (Hausman, 1988) argue that art education should focus on the "passion and play that comes [from] making and responding to art" rather than on "the force-feeding of information about 'masterpieces' that can be tested" (p. 41). We believe, however, that these problems are symptomatic of a larger concern.

Our basic concern in editing this journal is to question the starting point at which one begins to develop a theoretical structure (like DBAE) for an educational purpose. It appears many scholars feel that DBAE, as it is defined to cover four basic areas of study (studio production, art history, art criticism, and aesthetics), can adequately incorporate pluralistic ideas of art and culture within each of its focal points (Eisner, 1988). However, others state that the four basic areas of study reflect an Anglo-American (even patriarchal) point of view, and that the inclusion of the study of art by artists of color or females from any culture within the designated discipline-based structure may be condescending, limiting, and even oppressive.

Integral to the understanding of each of the disciplines associated with DBAE and important to our discussion of multi-cultural and cross-cultural concerns is an acknowledgement that each of these areas of study is largely defined by events or traditions originating not more than 400 years ago in the United States or Western Europe. For example, art history as an academic discipline began in 1813 in Gottingham with the appointment of a university professor of art history, according to Chalmers (1978). It was not until 1734 that Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten created the term "aesthetics" to describe sensory cognition in his philosophical treatise, *Mediationes Philosophicae de Nonnullis ad Poema Pertinentibus* (Beardsley, 1972). Contemporary scholastic models of criticism have been traced to seventeenth century revolutionaries' response to absolutist monarchial politics in Europe (Eagleton, 1983). Rosenberg (1973) has argued that the current conception of the studio discipline is a result of the absorption of studio preparation into American universities following World War II. Clifford (1988) argues that anthropology and ethnography now practiced and defined is the result of the fragmentation of Western Europe and United States colonialism after 1950.

These opinions on the roots of these present-day disciplines are, of course, debated and debatable. What is less debatable is that these disciplines are the product and persuasion of the Western scholastic imagination. For this reason, questions arise in our minds regarding the range of influence that representatives of these disciplines enjoy in terms of what they perceive as art, as well as the exclusive employment of their research methods and language in the study of art. We must recognize that proponents of the disciplines upon which DBAE is founded represent a minority population worldwide. It is also important to recognize that even within the United States, where such a world view dominates and where DBAE is most widely accepted, there are growing enclaves of Fourth, Third, and Second World peoples who do not necessarily hold to the values inherent in the Western scholastic tradition in which discipline-based study in the arts is based. The majority of present-day immigrants to the United States are not from Europe (United States Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, 1988).

The research of anthropologist and historian James Clifford can help us determine the influence that the disciplines associated with DBAE enjoy and what the ramifications of that influence are on the study of art. Clifford (1988) proposes the existence of an international art culture system largely defined, shaped, and perpetuated by representatives of the disciplines associated with DBAE. This art culture system defines art and culture from a Western scholastic point of view and will determine definitions and understandings of all art, irrespective of its cultural origin, that comes in contact with the system. These definitions and understandings are articulated as art objects, curated in museums, sold in the art culture marketplace, written about in scholarly journals, and archived in assorted depositories (Clifford, 1988). Clifford has traced the beginnings of this art culture system, and its method for dealing with non-Western art objects, to the year 1900 and the influx of non-Western objects coming to the attention of artists and scholars from colonized peoples. Clifford theorizes that the art culture system has evolved into four semantic zones.

Singular and original works of art are the domain of zone one. Art historians, critics, and aestheticians are responsible for this authentication. Assumed in this zone are those works produced by members of the studio discipline, as well as those other objects from Western and non-Western people that are perceived by the experts as being art-like. Examples of such objects would include the type of work that is indigenous to New Zealand and which is now on display in the Rockefeller wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

Zone two is the domain of traditional and collective material culture. Experts in anthropology and related areas of study such as folklore authenticate objects for this zone. Examples of objects which usually fall into this zone include Amish quilts, Swedish lace, American fishing paraphernalia, and Ojibwa baskets.

Zone three falls outside of a cultural context and includes new and uncommon fakes, inventions, and anti-art. These are objects that anthropologists would dismiss as not being representative of an ongoing tradition or representative of a collective consciousness. Examples might include faked flint spear points, fine art reproductions, and ready-mades. However, objects in this zone sometimes are later recognized as art (zone one) as in the case of Marcel Duchamp and his ready-mades.

Zone four is the domain of non-art, those reproduced and commercialized commodities and curios that art historians, aestheticians, and critics have dismissed as kitsch.

It is important to acknowledge that Clifford recognizes that the art culture system is not static but fluid in that objects will move between zones as the discourse by art historians, critics, aestheticians, and artists shape the collective thinking about a particular object. For example, once aestheticians, critics, art historians, and artists accepted Duchamp's ready-mades as art, they moved from zone three to zone one. Current discourse is such that many objects, for example, hand-crafted fishing tackle, vibrate between zones one and two (Blandy & Congdon, 1988). Such objects may eventually make their way into zone one as "folk art." The fluidity of the art culture system ultimately reinforces its purpose as a system which classifies objects, assigns and establishes the economic, historical, and aesthetic value of objects and recognizes an appropriate semantic context for any given object.

It can be argued that fine art is purposively produced to fall within the discursive parameters of zone one. Therefore, its fit within the system is less problematic than those objects that are not deliberate to the system and which are brought into the system by an international network of professional art historians, anthropologists, folklorists, critics, and aestheticians working from Western scholastic models. These objects are brought in as a result of conquest, colonization, political alliances, chance encounters, marketplace strategies, immigration, and appropriation. Clifford, recognizing the art culture system's capacity for absorption, also cautions us that the system is prone to exclusiveness and marginalization. In establishing appropriate contexts, it will often strip an object of its original and potent context. As an example, he argues that the secular nature of the system will reduce the sacredness of religious objects to meaninglessness. Objects will retain their original purpose and power only insofar as a discipline may share in that original meaning or can use that meaning to support arguments for the objects placed within the system.

This tendency to secularize and marginalize is not being unnoticed by those who see their traditions manipulated by the system. For example, the Thai Fine Arts Department attempts to control the exportation of antiquities from Thailand. There is particular concern for Buddha images and other temple artifacts. Most recently, the Thai government was successful in having a stolen temple Khmer lintel returned from the Art Institute of Chicago (Warren, 1988). In the United States, a Confederacy of Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Onondagas recently lobbied for the return of 11 wampum belts from the Heye Foundation/Museum of the American Indian. Their effort was also successful (Williams, 1987). Native American groups are also anticipating that Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii will reintroduce the Native American Museum Claims Commission Art or "Bones Bill" to Congress in 1989. This bill, if passed, will mandate that Native American remains, grave goods, and religious artifacts will be returned to their tribe of origin if so requested (Preston, 1989). The effects of this bill on American museums and anthropology will be unimaginably complex. The question to address now is, what is the relationship between the art culture system described by Clifford and art education that is discipline-based? In our view, the art educator using a discipline-based approach to art education is one who has accepted the authority of the various disciplines associated with the art culture system and who seeks to initiate others into the system through teaching of the collective knowledge generated by the system. Approaches to this knowledge will, it is hoped, have a critical orientation but will not necessarily be so.

Clifford warns us that through our association with this art-culture system, we will tend to study culture as something which is lifted from history. Culture lives and dies, rather than changes and develops (1988, p. 235). He further points out that art scholars tend to "relegate non-Western peoples and objects to the pasts of an increasingly homogeneous humanity" (p. 246). By so doing, we neglect to tell histories other than those which can be molded into the perspectives we learn about in academia and have come to mistakenly call "universal" (Chalmers, 1987). We will also ignore the fact that there is a First World in every Third World and a Third World in every First World, and that quality artistic expression may come from any group or individual.

We agree with Clifford that art and anthropological museums and the scholastic disciplines which support them reflect the "restless desire and power of the modern West to collect the world" (p. 196). We believe that there are serious moral and ethical consequences to collecting and studying art made by people who do not share the attitudes and values embodied in the disciplines which support the art culture system. For example, Coe (1986) has specifically argued that the collection and study of Native American art has functioned both positively and negatively for the cultural continuance of these people. In his exhibit of Native American work from 1965 to 1985, he chose not to include any Iroquois masks out of respect for the Iroquois belief that masks do not belong in the domain of scholars. Coe accepts their belief that if he did otherwise, the fate of humankind would be in jeopardy (p. 38).

We must heed the advice of Coe, Clifford, and others so that we as teachers of art consumers, appreciators, facilitators, practitioners, educators, and collectors do not engage in oppressive activities or encourage oppression. Acknowledging that DBAE is based upon scholastic traditions far removed from the everyday experience of most children and youth, we must as a profession ask if this approach to the study of art will in some way contribute to the alienation of students from their cultures and society. For example, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1988) recently reported that thousands of unrecognized students move from class to class in "a disturbing climate of impersonality, . . . [promoting] a feeling among students of being unknown, unwanted, and unconnected to the world" (p. 21). We must consider if art educators can respond to such alienation through an approach to the study of art in which authority rests not with the student, but with scholars and scholastic methods unfamiliar to the student. Hamblen (1988), Hausman (1988), Blandy and Congdon (1987), and several other contributors to this issue caution us about the consequences of removing the study of art and art from a student's daily experience and choice. Furthermore, we must address and guard against the consequences of what DBAE communicates to teachers "about their professional roles and their avenues of choice" (Hamblen, p. 24). We also refer the reader to Emeji's article in this journal which details his research on the negative effects of British colonialist educational influences on the traditional arts and indigenous people of Nigeria. Have we forgotten that teachers are those who know their students best (as opposed to administrators, university educators, and other art scholars)? Do we no longer attempt to develop curriculum around the needs, readiness, and cultural and individual experiences of our students? Will we continue to ignore the cultural systems, artistic functions, and expressed appreciation styles of all of those people who fall outside of the art culture system, but whose artistic expressions will be evaluated, categorized, and communicated by it?

This journal issue is intended to evoke dialogue, to critique, to begin to problem-solve, and to make our profession stronger and more effective for all our students. We hope that the reader will see the issues raised here as an initiative to make art education theory and practice responsible to all of those constituencies who are served by the profession in democratic societies.

In closing, we wish to thank all of those scholars who submitted their manuscripts for consideration for this issue of the journal. We also acknowledge the efforts of the Editorial Review Board in evaluating and recommending manuscripts for publication in a timely manner. Rogena Degge's support of our initial proposal to USSEA to guest edit the journal and her ready counsel during the editing process is greatly appreciated. Sara Snowden is an invaluable associate editor. We could not have met our many deadlines without her care and consideration. Lisa DeLeon acted as our word processing specialist, and Carol Roth assisted us in formatting the manuscripts for the printer.

Doug Blandy and Kristin G. Congdon
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Footnotes

[1] The editors will use DBAE to refer to art education theory and practice which is discipline-based in all of its many conceptualizations, including that of the Getty Center for Education in the Arts.

[2] The Fourth World consists of those aboriginal or native peoples who live under bureaucratic systems of First, Second, or Third World nations (Graburn, 1976). We wish to state that these geo-economic conceptions suggest a hierarchical structure which with people labeled in such a way may not be comfortable. We are using these terms very cautiously.

Introduction

For the Record:
A Responsibility to Ourselves and to the Future

Over the years, art education has had numerous historical "movement" labels thrust upon it. Various designations have been used to identify ideas and directions of the field: the Industrial Drawing Movement, the Progressive Education Movement, the Child-Study Movement, the Picture-Study Movement, the Aesthetic or Cultural Movement, the Art for Art's Sake Movement, the Industrial Arts Movement, and the Creative Expression Movement. The list goes on.

I am not certain who forges the decision to canonize any particular circumstance from the past, turning it into a recognized historical movement. Unlike individuals who achieve sainthood, ideological directions may receive their enshrined titles as "Movements" while they are still full of life. The label may be affixed by those currently associated with the idea or direction, in attempt to further their cause and confer prominence upon their beliefs. The more uniform and prevalent a movement can be made to appear, the greater its perceive impact may become. Often, however, movements are identified and named after they pass on. Thus, the labeling of movements may be the act of later historians or academics who provide these titles as a convenience for the present and future. Titles of historical movements are constructs placed on ideas and events, in an attempt to give illumination or credence to the pervasion of a particular occurrence.

Labels are often tacked on historical movements during or after the fact, in an effort to make it expedient for individuals to differentiate the conditions and parameters of these specific happenings. This is a form of historical periodization. Concerning periods in history, E. H. Carr (1961) wrote: "The division of history into periods is not a fact, but a necessary hypothesis or tool of thought, valid in so far as it is illuminating, and dependent for its validity upon interpretation" (p. 76). Periods in history exist because individuals choose to construct and label them as such. Periodization can assist us in making generalizations about the past when it is recognized that historical periods and labels are imposed structures. We become handicapped by the division of history and labeling of historical periods when they are accepted as certain, without interpretive investigation and analysis.

We are presently in the midst of another period or movement in art education, that is, the Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) Movement. I have yet to see it referred to under this title (other than in personal correspondence), but its revelation in print is probably inevitable. I believe DBAE already possesses two primary characteristics necessary for it to receive the honored designation, "Movement." First, to be recognized as a historical movement, it is necessary that a uniform label be selected as its descriptor. DBAE has achieved this. In addition, DBAE is not a label that will be manufactured and initially applied by historians or art educators of a later era. It has its own broadly recognized title, in use at this time.

The second characteristic is that there exists a large and growing body of literature on DBAE. Unlike present historians who are often limited to sparse records of past occurrences in art education, future generations will have for their examination numerous documents on this topic. DBAE is a primary feature in current conference proceedings, monographs, convention programs, journal articles, curriculum guides, and curriculum materials. The art education professional literature of the 1980s is jammed with references to DBAE. This says nothing about the fundamental nature of these publications and how future historians will analyze and interpret DBAE of the 1980s, but the abundant writings on the subject may reify its perceived prevalence as an important movement in art education.

The label and considerable documentation will go far in establishing DBAE as a movement within the field. But should these two characteristics warrant DBAE to be titled a movement? If so, how will the DBAE Movement of the 1980s be interpreted by future art educators? Will it be seen primarily as a theoretical movement, or one that has influenced art education practice, or both? These are important questions, and responses to them will help guide future art educators who build their field on the foundation of our efforts.

As guest editors, we proposed for this issue of the *Journal* the topic of "Cultural Pluralism and Discipline-Based Art Education." Through conversations and reading, we anticipated the controversial nature of this endeavor, not only in what would be written, but also in providing an opportunity and a forum for such a dialogue. Our expectations were met on both counts. From the beginning, some members of the Editorial Review Board said "enough already;" the field has encountered more than it cares to hear about DBAE. We appreciated the sincere stance of these individuals, and in turn we listened and responded to their comments. Subsequently, the decision was made to proceed with our original proposal.

This determination was made based on the belief that a variety of voices on the subject have not yet been heard, and critical issues need further clarification We believe this publication of the *Journal* has given resonance to important ideas and provided insights on issues related to cultural pluralism and DBAE. This issue contains the perspectives of some who have had little opportunity to express their views, as well as words from those whose voices are well-known.

This issue of the *Journal* is also important for its potential impact on others who have not yet spoken on the subject of DBAE. These individuals perhaps have not voiced their views on any issue, and may yet be unborn. They are the art educators who will follow us—art educators of future years, the next decade, the next century, and beyond. We must recognize our responsibility to them, as well as to ourselves. Providing opportunity to address the many facets of DBAE is valuable to our field today, but it will be vitally important to future historians of art education as they look back at the 1980s and attempt to interpret art education in that decade. Moreover, it will provide useful information on how art education in the 1980s influenced the art education encountered by those of the 1990s and the twenty-first century. Our history depends on their interpretation of our documentation.

Art educators of the future will help determine the occurrence and prevalence of the DBAE Movement. Their interpretation of it will be based on the legacy and record left to them by us. We owe them a broad view of the issues. As a means of demonstrating to future art educators the numerous current questions and issues related to DBAE, we must provide opportunities for the topic to be examined and documented from various perspectives. In doing so, we not only help clarify issues important for the present, but also aid future art educators in carrying out a more detailed analysis of the field in the 1980s and its current struggles with DBAE.

Paul E. Bolin
Guest Editor

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DBAE in Cultural Relationships

Nancy R. Johnson

Editor's Note: Our colleague and friend, Nancy R. Johnson, died shortly after she submitted this article. Because she was not able to make any revisions, we have respectfully printed her article as it came to us with only minor editorial changes.

The number of minority students is increasing, and many educators are advocating that schools engage in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural education. Cultural pluralism requires a sensitivity to cultural relationships wherein each culture is equivalent to others. Discipline-Based Art Education is examined in light of cultural relationships. Issues arise concerning the changing conceptualization of art in European culture, the use of the aesthetic domain as a conceptual framework for understanding art, and the structure of the four art disciplines. It is recommended that art education be recognized as a discipline with concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry. In art education, a wide variety of sources, interdisciplinary and from other cultures, could be used to develop theory and knowledge about art.

By the year 2000, two out of every three students in the United States will be a minority (Cole, 1988). The general policy toward minority cultures has been to assimilate them. Many Americans have spoken of the "melting pot" wherein each culture contributes to the formation of a new one that encompasses all citizens. American quarters reflect this idea. Upon each one, the Latin phrase, "E Pluribus Unum" (From Many, One) appears. Yet, the question remains: In a democracy, how can different ethnic and cultural groups be represented and respected in the affairs of a nation? In response to an assimilation or melting pot approach, many educators advocate education that is multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, call for the study of ethnic socialization, and support cultural pluralism in the curriculum (Appleton, 1983; Banks, 1988; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Several questions arise in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural approach to education. Should children learn only about their respective native cultures? Should they have many cultural repertoires? If so, which ones? In determining answers to these questions, what levels of authority should have responsibility? Should there be national or state and local decentralized policies? Historically, policy-making has resided at the local level of the state and community. In this way, specific community needs and values could be addressed and reflected in the schooling of children belonging to various ethnic and cultural groups.

Recently, "a contemporary orientation to art education that presents a broad view of art and emphasizes art in the general education of all students from kindergarten through high school" has been proposed by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts (Clark, Day, & Greer, 1987, p. 130). This orientation, called DBAE (Discipline-Based Art Education), "integrates content from four art disciplines, namely, aesthetics, art criticism, art history, and art production through a focus on works of art" (Clark, Day, & Greer, p. 130). Some states (e.g., Pennsylvania) and local school districts (e.g., Sarasota County, Florida), as well as the NAEA, have already adopted DBAE as a policy for developing art programs. Many states and school districts have diverse ethnic and multi-cultural populations. Can a DBAE program facilitate education in the visual arts for diverse populations? Clark, Day, and Greer state that the content for study in a DBAE program will be "derived from a broad range of the visual arts, including folk, applied, and fine arts from Western and non-Western cultures and from ancient to contemporary times" (p. 163). Students will "learn how these works relate to the societies, religions, and technologies making up the contexts in which they were produced" (p. 163). According to Clark, Day, and Greer, analyzing a wide selection of art works opens the way to many fundamental concepts for understanding art. Composition, color, and center of interest might be learned from the study of Japanese rock gardens and the principles of Oriental landscape design. Crafts from many cultures could be used to instruct students in the concepts of composition. For example, African art can be appreciated more fully through the description of the stylized antelope in Bambara headdresses. Clark, Day, and Greer state that students could also study stained-glass windows and learn that the patterns of color and light reflect medieval society. Students could appreciate how flying buttresses allowed walls to be opened for light. They could learn that windows functioned to tell religious stories to illiterate people, and that this art was a source of community pride. Students could learn "the meaning and significance of these powerful and moving works of art" (p. 163).

This paper will focus on several issues for DBAE in cultural relationships. These concern culture and art, the aesthetic domain, and the four-disciplines structure.

Culture and Art

McFee (1986) has previously described some of the features of culture and art. For the purposes of this paper, culture describes the socially derived patterns of thinking, meaning, and acting in the world used as a guide by groups of individuals in their daily living. Individuals participate in the ongoing maintenance and construction of a culture through social interaction. Every culture is a specific manifestation of human thought and action and is equivalent to every other one. According to Wagner (1981), "the understanding of another culture involves the relationship between two varieties of the human phenomenon; it aims at the creation of an intellectual relation between them, an understanding that includes both of them" (p. 3). Culture is not visible until it is objectified in some way, such as through speaking, writing, gesturing, or making objects. Wagner notes that objectifying another culture to achieve a relationship with one's own culture is a delicate task. This requires skills in using the patterns of both cultures and being able to describe and explain another culture in the terms of one's own culture. An important point to consider in objectifying culture is that it is not an absolute, objective "thing" with fixed rules that always work in a certain way. Wagner states that cultures are not played like games, but actively re-enacted and re-created by members of social groups.

One aspect of culture is that it provides a community of memory about the group to which an individual belongs. Stories about past members of the group, the importance of the group and its members, and the group's successes and failures in various endeavors serve to ground an individual's actions meaningfully in a community way of life. Thus, there are traditions of various kinds to draw upon for explaining and conceptualizing human experience in the world (Beals, 1967; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Shils, 1981).

A second aspect of culture is that it is abstract and symbolic. Culture provides an individual with public conceptual tools and repertoires for categorizing phenomena and experience, for fixing boundaries to concepts, and for expressing forms of thought. Central to the symbolic nature of culture is the use of metaphors, derived from bodily experience, in the development of schematic structures for encoding meaning and knowledge (Brown & Mussell, 1984; Douglas, 1971, 1973; Geertz, 1973; Hersey, 1988; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The schematic structures are marked with domains, frames, and symbolic boundaries that organize experience and define situations. Domains, frames, and symbolic boundaries provide order to human experience in the world and allow distinctions to be made in the relationship of things. These may be tightly organized and logically consistent and systematized, or not. There is also some amount of arbitrariness in bestowing distinctions on things or acts (Barrett, 1984; Bateson, 1972, Cone, 1968; Goffman, 1974; Spradley & McCurdy, 1972; Wuthnow, 1987).

A third aspect of culture is that patterns of thought, meaning, and action are reflected in the making and use of objects. In other words, there is a material culture. Objects may be thought of as having a surface structure of empirical features and a deep structure of underlying principles and/or symbolic meanings (Bronner, 1986; Deetz, 1977, Gould & Schiffer, 1981; Jones, 1987; Schlereth, 1982).

Within material culture is a domain that in European American culture is termed art. Art has many frames focusing on different features, and varied symbolic boundaries, including fine art, the fine arts, crafts, folk art, and art forms. These frames are not the only and definitive ones. They vary as to what they include over time, how they may overlay one another, and how they sometimes include other objects considered only as material culture (Congdon, 1987).

According to Kristeller (1980), Art spelled with a capital A is an 18th-century European invention. The term is rooted in Greek and Latin thought and was applied to what we would call sciences or crafts (p. 166). Science is derived from the Latin word for knowing or knowledge. Kristeller notes that the Greeks variously defined art as human activity, an intellectual virtue based on knowledge and a system of cognitions. Armenini (1977-1586), a Renaissance painter, spoke of artists as depicting the "Beautiful Idea" which would account for the French Beaux Arts or the Italian Belle Arti translated into English as the Fine Arts. Kristeller states that the Greek word and Latin equivalent, *pulchrum*, which can be translated as beauty, did not mean physical, sensuous beauty or aesthetic. Beauty connoted the moral good such as beautiful habits of the soul and beautiful cognitions.

Kristeller remarks that for several centuries, the visual arts or fine arts were not singled out as remarkable or special parts of human experience. In the 17th century, the natural sciences emerged as a major form of knowledge, thus setting the stage for a separation of the arts and sciences. Fields such as natural science that depended on accumulating knowledge through mathematical calculation led to noticeable progress, whereas fields that depended on individual talent and criticism did not. Kristeller states that the fine arts as a clear-cut domain did not appear until 1746 in the treatise of Abbe Charles Batteaux (p. 199). The treatise stated that the fine arts of music, poetry, painting, sculpture, and the dance have pleasure for their end and share a common principle with all the arts: the imitation of beautiful nature. According to Kristeller, this formulation was further refined by other writers; and in the 1750s, the Germans added aesthetics as a theory of sensuous knowledge. The Germans developed the idea of fine art and aesthetics into a theory of beauty and the arts by the beginning of the 19th century (p. 223). The concept of beauty or good art as that which organizes aesthetic properties of elements and principles of design into statements of personal and creative expression to communicate and arouse emotion developed throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Thus, looking at art made in the past with a contemporary reference point poses some serious questions about understanding it. Caution is also in order when looking at and interpreting material culture in non-European societies and groups. What counts, as in the history of art, is how objects are understood by their makers and users (Jones, 1987; McFee, 1988; Sturtevant, 1986; Vlach & Bronner, 1983). Otherwise, students may see only the abstraction of Bakota figures and Bambara headdresses and miss the significance of the objects in their respective cultures. Without knowing that significance, the students may interpret the figures and headdresses as "bush Picassos" (Geertz, 1983, p. 119). If we use only a European-based conception of art as a way to understand it, we may unthinkingly perpetuate a "West and the rest" (Sahlins, cited in Wagner, 1981, p. xiii) model of cultural imperialism that touts formalist aesthetics as modern and progressive thought and denies importance to non-European concepts in a cultural tradition.

The Aesthetic Domain

According to Clark, Day, and Greer, formal instruction in the visual arts will help students develop the patterns of thought, understanding, and expression that form an aesthetic lens for construing meaning (p. 138). An aesthetic lens denotes the aesthetic domain. This domain is distinct from other areas of learning such as mathematics, philosophy, ethics, and history. Aesthetic, in this context, refers to a particular kind of experience that focuses on vivid, intense, private feelings and profound meanings—visual metaphors that are verbally ineffable—uniquely provided in art objects created by artists. This kind of experience, which is uncluttered by daily concerns, is common to most persons and can be shared as knowledge. The greatest works of art wherein form and content are integrated and related to larger cultural contexts have properties that evoke the purest aesthetic experience (Clark, Day, & Greer, 1987, p. 140). Art experts like artists, critics, historians, and aestheticians understand subtle distinctions in a work of art, have highly developed discrimination, and make distinctions that determine standards of excellence. Clark, Day, and Greer state that learners are to acquire this developed understanding and sensibility, develop a store of images, and interpret ideals as they study representations of the highest human achievements (p. 144).

In the study of European American art in a broad range, the use of DBAE's aesthetic lens is limiting. What is to be done with the category of objects in European American culture that may qualify as art made before the appearance of aesthetic theory? In Spanish Louisiana, for example, the Cabildo in New Orleans was rebuilt in 1788-89 in a style that might be described as Colonial Baroque (Davis, 1975). Did the architect or designer create it in the hope that viewers would have an intense, vivid experience? How will vernacular Creole and plantation houses be studied (Edwards, 1988)? Do they have aesthetic properties? Is vernacular architecture a visual or fine art? What standards of excellence exist for these objects?

If other ethnic and cultural groups are included for study in the visual arts, the problems become more complex. Shotgun houses and strip quilts reflect strategies of patterning grounded in African cultures (Jordan, deCaro, Roach-Lankford, & Spitzer, 1985; Thompson, 1983; Vlach, 1983). What ideals or profound meanings can be revealed in these works by means of only an aesthetic experience? Which art experts in the four disciplines of art will be able to help us understand the visual metaphors of the double-woven baskets of the Louisiana Chitimacha tribe (Kniffen, Gregory, & Stokes, 1987)? For example, is the pattern on one basket called k'o'spi-sun (the muscadine rind) ineffable (Bacot, 1972)? If students are to learn how these works relate to the context in which they were produced, then a more appropriate domain than the aesthetic is needed (Hamblen, 1987). As Goodman (1968) noted, there is an awkwardness and absurdity in the notion that the meaning of a work of art is insular and generated from its mechanics (p. 260).

The Four-Disciplines Structure

Clark, Day, and Greer state that DBAE will draw upon the fields of study practiced by communities of scholars or professional practitioners in the visual arts. Each discipline has concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry that define the activities of the community and serve as models for learners. The professionals in the community exercise control over the members' discourse by editing journals, authoring books, or judging shows. Clark, Day, and Greer note that new concepts lead to change and improvement of discipline. Redefinition is thus reflective of an open-ended discipline (p. 149, 150).

From the DBAE description of disciplines, they seem to be like what Lynes called a "band of zealots who have constituted themselves a sort of Salvation Army of our sensibilities" (cited in Vlach & Bronner, 1983, p. 3). Missionary zeal aside, there is an assumption in the DBAE view that art knowledge is a product to be managed by professional experts in art, which may then be distributed through delivery systems. This framing of knowledge and the metaphor of a top-down hierarchical model of management has some serious problems for a multi-cultural approach to education.

There are other communities in American society that generate art knowledge. Art knowledge can be found in non-art disciplines that have their own concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry. For example, anthropologists, sociologists, folklorists, cultural and archeological historians, and cognitive psychologists deal with objects and conceptual structures about art and material culture. Furthermore, naive artists, folk artists, and many Native American artists all work with concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry outside the art disciplines. Are these communities to be ignored? How will their art knowledge be recognized? Must a professional in the art disciplines introduce it? Will those not in a discipline be expected to enter one? What credentials will be needed to qualify as a professional practitioner? Will only those persons with credentials achieved through professional education in European-derived universities and schools be recognized?

Some individuals in minority groups have acquired credentials through universities and view themselves as professional artists and not as representatives of an ethnic or cultural group. They generally do not draw upon their ethnic or cultural traditions to inform their work. Even so, they have yet to achieve full acceptance in the art disciplines and as a consequence have not been able to participate in exercising control over the concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry. If they become assimilated while entering the discipline, their ethnic and cultural groups have no representation. With the structure offered by DBAE, how can a diversity of art knowledge rising out of the on-going social interaction of many ethnic and cultural groups be brought about?

If art knowledge is the sole province of art disciplines, to whom are the disciplines accountable outside their communities? For whom does their knowledge exist? Are there commitments to serving the public good or only the improvement of the discipline? If the knowledge in the discipline is to be publicly disseminated through school districts, how will local school boards in a wide variety of cultural settings participate in working out their communities' needs and values with those of the professionals in the disciplines?

Recommendations

Because the thrust of this paper has been to raise questions and point to anomalies, it is in order to offer some ideas and directions for answers.

Culture and Art

As McFee (1986) points out, cultures are emergent. Thus, what is known about art changes over time. With this in mind, the following are suggested:

1. Reclaim the older European frames for conceptualizing art in order to understand the art of the past.
2. Develop research such as case studies and ethnographies that document how individuals and groups create, use, and understand material culture. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), for example, offer an approach that focuses on the objects people value in their environment and why they value them.
3. Draw upon the work of cultural geographers and historians, ethnoarcheologists, historical archeologists, folklorists, sociologists, and anthropologists to gain contextual insights about ways of framing varieties of material culture.
4. Study what Becker (1982) calls Art Worlds and what might be called artways. McFee's (1988) questions regarding art and society might serve as a framework for initiating this form of study.

The Aesthetic Domain

A more appropriate domain and theory for art and material culture might be derived from the following:

1. Develop Jones' (1987) idea of the aesthete as one who perceives form (p. 172). Rather than limiting aesthetics to the study of emotion, it might be possible to let the term refer to the study of form in all its aspects.
2. Develop Gowans' (1981) four social functions of art history: substitution of imagery that preserves things or ideas; illustration wherein stories are told and events are recorded; beautification wherein artifacts and environments are humanized; and persuasion/conviction in which artifacts transmit values and belief systems (pp. 17-18).
3. Develop Fleming's (1982) proposed model for artifact study, which places artifacts in a context involving evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation.

The Four-disciplines Structure

Possible considerations are:

1. Invest art education with the status of a discipline that has concepts, modes of discourse, and methods of inquiry about art and material culture of its own. These would be drawn from a variety of disciplines and cultural groups.

2. Develop commitments and responsibility to American society through professional outreach programs: (a) Create models like Grigsby's (1986) Phoenix Experience; (b) expand Anderson-Millard's (1986) use of culturally relevant instructional groups, along with appropriate frames for understanding the imagery; and (c) involve local communities in planning and negotiating curriculum content for their schools.

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A Comparison of the Social Role and Art Educational Experience of the Traditional and the "Contemporary" Nigerian Artist

Michael Josiah Emeji

This article focuses on the social role and art educational experience of two distinctive artist types in Nigeria, the traditional and contemporary. Different approaches to the training of the traditional and contemporary Nigerian artist are analyzed. While the traditional artist receives art instruction through the apprenticeship system and responds favorably to the socio-cultural needs of the Nigerian community, the contemporary artist receives art instruction through formal study introduced by Western Europeans or Americans. This new approach to study tends to isolate the contemporary artist from most Nigerians, because style, technique, and application of media are intelligible only to a small group of literate, similarly educated people.

This article recommends that Third World approaches to traditional art instruction, language, and other means of Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) should be explored so students will not be impotent in their own homeland after acquiring modern artistic knowledge that is tied to the social, economic, scientific, technological, and cultural lifestyle of the industrialized world.

Introduction

Slave traders, first Portuguese and then British, brought contact between Nigeria and the outside world. The influence of the British throughout Nigeria was not obvious until 1861, when the island of Lagos, now capital of Nigeria, was annexed. Dark (1973) contends that contact between Nigeria and the Portuguese began in the city of Benin (now capital of Bendel, State of Nigeria). The Portuguese held the Oba (king) and his court artists in high esteem. Dark also asserts that the British punitive expedition to Benin in 1897 gave England its first glance at Nigerian traditional art.

As a colonial power, the British justified the annexation of Lagos on the grounds that Nigeria was a virgin territory with rich minerals and raw materials considered indispensable to European industry. Wangboje (1977) believes that even though the overriding objective of the Western Europeans was to find a new market for their manufactured goods, they were equally involved in spreading Christianity among native Nigerians as a means of terminating slave trade. As he puts it, "their presence in Nigeria was felt in two separate but complementary fronts—as traders and missionaries (commerce and evangelism)" (p. 100). In this process, those indigenous arts related to ancestral worship (ancestors served as intermediaries between God and the living) were considered idolatrous and an obstacle to conversion to Christianity.

Beier's (1960) analysis of Western Europeans' general attitude toward Nigerian art and culture explains how destructive their influence was. Missionaries were guilty of misunderstanding and misinterpreting Nigerian culture, unintelligently denouncing and brutally destroying Nigerian art. To the missionary, stylized Nigerian art appeared as the failure of crude craftspeople to represent objects faithfully.

Herskovits (1965) found that Nigerian arts were described as "child-like" and "savage." He went on the state that "it was impressed on the Nigerians that their art was crude and their talents naive" (p. 429). Kimble (1960) explained that to more prudish Europeans, some of the arts carried more than a suggestion of evil, for they were "wrought in the dark places of the earth" (p. 392).

The main issue here was a conflict between the indigenous culture and the imported colonial culture. As a result, a dichotomy between the Nigerian traditional artist and the contemporary artist now exists. This article intends to analyze the social role as well as art education experience of two distinctive artists (traditional and contemporary). Specifically, I will compare the process of training, use of art forms and media, and the artist's role in community and family for these two types of Nigerian artists. Conflicts and differences between the two types of Nigerian artists will be discussed in relationship to Nigerian history and the ramifications of art and aesthetics in Nigeria.

The Indigenous Nigerian Artist

Formal educational institutions or schools were virtually nonexistent prior to the advent of the British. In pre-colonial Nigeria, the apprenticeship system was an indigenous process of training those who had exhibited artistic talent or had shown interest through observation of their parents at work. Art instruction was informal and what can be regarded as artistic concepts and curriculum were primarily determined by the nature of art objects commissioned either by a king, a priest, a club, or a community. The art objects included architectural murals, ancestral figures to be placed in shrines, door and veranda posts, iron and bronze castings, stone and wood carvings, and talking drums.

The apprenticeship system was a training process involving observation and participation of the apprentice. Neperud's (1965) study of indigenous art instruction revealed that demonstration-observation prevailed over formal lecture-observation. One who displayed talent as a carver served as an apprentice with a well-known sculptor. The rigorous training produced a relatively consistent level of high achievement (p 21).

Traditionally, a child of a woodcarver would start to practice the father's craft at about age six. The father encouraged his child by introducing the different kinds of wood, tools, and techniques he usually employed. At the age of sixteen, the apprentice had acquired the knowledge and self-confidence to execute good work on his own without further assistance. The training also initiated him into the social, religious, cultural, and functional utility of different art motifs.

Neperud (1965) also described the indigenous art training process as primarily imitative of both the procedure and product. The so-called imitative action associated with the work of the apprentice was a requirement which acculturation or societal norms had imposed on the apprentice. Conversely, the ability of the apprentice-trainee to produce what conformed with the ritual dictates of the artistic patron, the same way his master would have done, by no means rendered his obligation and creativity to an "imitative action."

Describing Nigerian artistic forms and media presents a complex problem, because each art object reflects the cultural lifestyle of the area in which it is produced. In other words, there is an absence of uniformity as far as the traditional artistic forms and media are involved. All traditional artists practiced their art in relationship to the culture and traditions where they lived.

Due to these cultural complexities, this article will emphasize the arts of the Benin, Yoruba, and Ibo in southeastern and southwestern Nigerian.

A typical Ikenga sculpture from Iboland consists of a man seated on a stool, carrying a knife in the right hand and a skull in the left. It represents the right arm which a man used for wielding the hoe, machete, hatchet, axe, and gun and so symbolizes the genius of his strength. Udechukwu (1971) concluded that the Ikenga stood for fortune. The owner made offerings to it when he succeeded in some venture, had good crops, became rich, or was about to set out on a journey. When he escaped from danger, he made a sacrifice to Ikenga. It was believed that the spirit or god portrayed transformed it. It was no longer a piece of wood but the spirit itself (p. 90).

Starkweather (1966) seems to provide the most elaborate and meaningful analysis of Ikenga art form, explaining that *I-ke* means strength or power in the Ibo language, and *N-ga* means place of strength. An Ibo man with a strong right arm can achieve success and self-reliance. The Ikenga statue is dedicated to a man's ability to make his way in the world. The spirit of Ikenga could be considered the manifestation of Ibos' high need to achieve (p. 78).

The Owerri people of Iboland are famous for their mud sculpture popularly known as "Mbari house," believed to be commissioned by the earth goddess through strange signs that she sends. A swarm of bees settling on the juju priest's house or a python curling up on the shrine indicate that the community might face immediate danger or crisis. The priest must then seek confirmation from the diviner, and if he interprets the sign the same way, arrangement for the construction of Mbari house starts immediately (Beier, 1963).

A Mbari house is usually filled with life-sized unbaked clay statues. The figures reflect the life and culture of Owerri people. The figures of the earth goddess "Ala" and the god of thunder "Amadioha" are most prevalent.

The Kalabari people in the Rivers State of southeastern Nigeria created sculpture based upon what may be called "spirit regarding art" (Trowell, 1970, p. 23). Sculptures of older men were carved not to glorify the king, but to represent dead ancestors who had to be fed during seasonal ritual sacrifice to neutralize their power so they would not appear as ghosts to the family and cause sudden death of family members (Horton, 1963a, p. 9).

In his analysis of Yoruba art from southwestern Nigeria, Lawal (1977) observed that the belief that sculpture could represent the "living dead" becomes obvious in twin statuettes known as "Ereibeji." In pre-colonial Nigeria, twins were regarded as spiritually one. If one twin should die, a statuette was produced to house its half soul, or else the other half in the living twin might die or join its twin in the spirit world (p. 50).

Another aspect of Yoruba art is that of the ritual of "Segidi," where clay could be molded as a figure with an intent to injure an enemy. Ideally, the physical resemblance of the figure to that of the enemy is meant to attract the spirit of the enemy. The destruction of the clay sculpture is believed to cause a neurophysical blight in the body of the enemy, which eventually may lead to the enemy's death.

These examples illustrate how the meaning of art varies in Nigerian communities. For some, sculpture has been a means of controlling the spirit of the dead; for others, it has been a means for greater achievement, creativity, or appeasement of gods. To still others, art has been used as a remote control which causes the death of the enemy with mysterious circumstances. This writer believes that religion or glorification of kings, as was the case of court artists in Benin, has not been a major stimulus for traditional artistic creation in Nigeria, but an aspect of the total stimuli.

The indigenous artist has depended on the local blacksmith for the production of art tools. In some cases, he improvises the material in order to achieve the desired end. Some of the popular tools and materials have been knives, hammers, woods, stone, bronzes, iron, mud, clay, calabashes, and leather. Colors for mural decoration come from local earth and vegetable sources. White and yellow colors, collected from chalk deposits at nearby streams, are ground with water and palm oil. Black is obtained by mixing ground charcoal with the ashes of burnt vegetable materials from dry yam climbers.

The Traditional Artist's Role

In many Nigerian communities, art is practiced as a family vocation, as it seemed to be a special gift from God to individual families. Interestingly, in each community or village, a gifted artist must be found. This gift is passed on from parent to child, one generation to another. The role played by art and artist in a Nigerian community perhaps has been the underlying factor in the proliferation of artists in various communities. Furthermore, traditional artists in Nigeria worked within strict parameters. The concept of "art for art's sake," that aesthetic satisfaction is possible independent or devoid of function, has had no place in the vocabulary of the traditional artist (Crowder, 1978, p. 133).

Neperud (1965) similarly observed that the indigenous artist was in a class of specialists, a professional whose particular speciality fulfilled the artistic need of his society. "The artist's role and expected behavior was then a relatively unchanging one, derived from a tradition dedicated to a refinement of artistic forms in meeting stable needs" (p. 21).

This important role played by traditional artists in Nigerian society gave something reciprocal to their high level of achievement. For example, indigenous artists were consulted by the traditional kings and chiefs before any decision was reached on the type of art or design for each specific event or festivity. This role brought indigenous artists closer to the social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of Nigerian community life. Artists were well integrated in all the affairs of the community in which they lived. Although this role of indigenous artists gradually is being eroded due to the penetration of Western civilization, it is still very much alive in various rural Nigerian communities.

Nigerian Contemporary Artists

Contemporary Nigerian artists can best be described as people whose modern artistic style of expression and application of media are quite inconsistent with their historical and cultural background. These artists are highly educated in the Western sense; they either received their training in art schools in Europe or America.

Western Training

Contemporary Nigerian artists are a product of Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE). As this writer understands it, DBAE as it is applied in Nigerian art education settings is a program of study which states specific objectives or performance objectives in clear terms which the trainee will accomplish (all things being equal) at the completion of each artistic discipline or course of study. The disciplines may range from painting, sculpture, graphic design, to textile, advertising design, ceramics, craft design, etc. Nigerian contemporary artists have passed through one or all of these disciplines either in Nigeria, Europe, or America.

The question to which Discipline-Based Art Education has not addressed itself is: Do the educational philosophy, economic, social, and cultural needs which are usually tied to the business and cultural climate of the Western industrialized democracies also reflect the prevailing economic, social, and cultural realities of the underdeveloped nations like Nigeria? Discipline-Based Art Education is highly technical and capital intensive, taking into consideration the required materials and the method of application of media which in essence do not reflect the visual art needs of emerging Nigeria.

What actually concerns this writer here is how exposure to Western techniques of modern painting and design have benefited Nigerian artists and Nigerian society. There is no gainsaying the fact that the importance of an artist by Western standards largely depends upon the quality of the creative, expressive ability which the artist possesses as evidence of ingenuity.

It is serious enough to raise doubts as to the relevance of West European-oriented training of Nigerian artists which tends to isolate them or creates a gap between artists and the majority of the Nigerian audience. Fasuyi (1973) has observed this gap existing between contemporary artists and the Nigerian audience, few of whom understand or appreciate the artists' modern outlook. Their work, similar to what is produced in Europe, does not find a ready market. Unfortunately, many artists lack conviction in using their newly acquired techniques and remain undecided about the proper line of development (p. 50).

The adverse economic consequences of Nigerian contemporary artists' training are highly noticeable in their inability to survive or make a living with what is produced. This is largely because the target audience is by majority ignorant of the intent and purposes contemporary artists are trying to convey. Inevitably, the so-called modern paintings and design are abandoned, and the search for an alternative source of livelihood begins. In most cases, contemporary artists branch either into teaching art in the classroom (as is the case of this writer) or choosing a new profession altogether to ward off hunger and poverty. Some who may not be so fortunate tend to lean back on so-called crude indigenous style and techniques and make so-called replicas of ancient Nigerian art for enthusiastic visitors to buy. Influenced by Western notions of proportion and perspective, these artists produce forms that have lost the "child-like, romantic...and subjective reaction of the traditional artist to the unknown and rather frightening outer world" (Trowell, 1970, p. 31). Instead, there is a carefully calculated and studied type, which suggests an intellectual approach entirely un-Nigerian in its look, Trowell goes on to say.

Regarding the dilemma of Nigerian artists' struggling to develop a traditional artistic flavor, Horton (1963a) found they still worked with "one eye cocked on a largely European public," thus leading to deep conflicts in their work and obscuring their true potential (p. 17).

Recent research conducted by Poggenpohl (1987) deals with problems facing Third World artists, especially those who had European and American art education. A Nigerian graphic designer reported that graphic design is consumed by the literate segment of the society who comprise less than 20 percent of the population. This suggests that more than 80 percent cannot reasonably decode information content in modern graphic design, even where pictograms characterize design. Modern design collides with tradition, presenting a veritable communication barrier.

Social Roles

Crowder's (1978) study of the issues separating indigenous artists (who are and still can be regarded as the artists of the people) and contemporary artists identified these differences:

1. Where indigenous artists were always clear who their audience would be and on what basis their work would be judged or criticized, contemporary artists have no guaranteed audience.
2. Where indigenous artists' concern was to create art acceptable to society, contemporary artists have the whole world as a

potential audience and aim at universal appeal beyond their ethnic, regional, and national frontiers.

3. Whereas indigenous artists produced their work for the community, contemporary artists produce art for that small, educated elite who can appreciate what they are trying to communicate. Traditional art was, in a very real sense, a popular art.

4. Where the traditional artist had a clearly defined role and function within the structure of his society, the contemporary artist enjoys, at best, ambivalent status (pp. 34-36). The real dichotomy between indigenous artists and Nigerian contemporary artists obviously stems from the fact that the modern orientation has little or no sympathy with the indigenous Nigerian background. The Nigerian artistic heritage has been ignored in favor of the so-called modern art.

Foreign Missions as Outlets:
Elitist Market

Because contemporary artists do not enjoy sufficient patronage from indigenous people to sustain them on a professional scale, then major outlets are expatriate cultural institutes which serve as avenues for modern art exhibition. These include the United States Information Service (USIS), the Goethe (German) Institute, the British Council, and the Italian Cultural Institute. Although Nigeria has a National Arts Theatre, it has not proved itself to be a beehive of visual art activity. Contemporary artists prefer the foreign institutes to the National Art Theatre because of the anticipated market potential for the exhibits, which in the real sense communicate their intentions to these expatriates.

The dilemma which Nigerian contemporary artists face is frustrating and sometimes makes nonsense of their academic achievements in the field of art education. Knowledge of Western European art concepts, their execution and presentation, reflect the business practicalities and the cultural lifestyle of the Western world. In no small measure, they are outweighed by native experience. Invariably, contemporary artists cannot reconcile either of the two main influences (native and foreign) when attempts are made to reach the large majority of the non-reading audience through the highly developed and specialized alien-saturated media. Contemporary artists tend to fight a dual battle: first, against an indigenous culture with which they obviously are not in touch or in which they have lost confidence because they think something new is expected of them as "reformers" and nothing is to be gained from the past; second, against the majority of Nigerians who can go through life without noticing or having heard of contemporary artists. In contrast, traditional artists play important social and cultural roles in the community.

One of the major disastrous effects of British colonialism in Nigeria was the disruption of the cultural and artistic life of Nigerians. Obviously, the structural features of Nigerian art objects, which were very much influenced by social, political, religious, and cultural rituals and events were unintelligible to the colonizing masters, especially the missionaries. They possibly thought that the best means of converting Nigerians to Christianity was to destroy the traditional artistic culture of the people, forgetting that cultural and artistic process had evolved many centuries prior to the advent of the colonial power.

Through the apprenticeship system, traditional artists were introduced to art instruction very early in life, as art also served as a family trade. Traditional artists' method of instruction centered on observation and participation. Admission into the instructor's workshop as an apprentice was granted on the basis of expressed interest, abilities, or through inheritance. Traditional artists were versed in the traditional artistic cultures of the communities where they lived. In reciprocity, traditional artists were intimately involved in all social, cultural, economic, and political affairs of the community. The forms they created represented exactly what the community dictated and appreciated.

Contemporary artists usually differ greatly from traditional artists in their emphasis on abstraction, modernism, and impressionism to satisfy their creative inspiration. Discipline-Based Art Education, designed to match the rapid economic, scientific, and technological growth of the Western world, was not sympathetic to their cultural background. Art educators have ignored or been unfamiliar with Nigerian culture, needs, and aspirations. As Wangboje (1977) saw it, Nigeria's lack of a native teaching staff resulted in an art education system modeled after the British and run by people from another culture who did not care about exploring the use of local material, method, and talent.

While we cannot totally dismiss the economic, political, and social gains resulting from the British presence in Nigeria before and after independence in 1960, it is still relevant to state without any equivocation that their lack of knowledge about Nigerian cultural heritage is responsible for the inability of the Nigerian contemporary artist to reach the non-reading majority of Nigerians.

Analysis of traditional art forms also reveals their utilitarian functions. Some with an obvious relationship to traditional religion were destroyed. Cultural barriers between Nigerians and Western Europeans who believed in an ethnocentric approach to aesthetic criticism were perhaps responsible for such radical behavior by the Western Europeans. Hepworth-Nicholson (1961) observed that just because Western Europeans have developed language about aesthetics does not mean indigenous people are not sensitive toward visual art. For instance, the aesthetic appreciation of a typical Benin mask that is highly respected and frequently used in religious and ritual ceremonies (and characteristically common to Nigerian people) by traditional standards rests on the ability of the critic to take into account the frame of reference within which it was conceptualized and executed, including its functional utility.

It was the same problem of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of traditional form, even in this century, that is evident in Horton's (1963a) analysis of the Kalabari sculpture in the Rivers State, southeastern Nigeria. Horton could not reconcile the difference between the conceptual framework of the sculpture and execution. According to him, "the most striking thing one notices is the general apathy about sculpture as a visual art.... When I asked which was the best of these pieces, people clearly found the question an odd one. 'They are all the same.... They are all good,' said one man" (pp. 12, 23).

Balogun (1975) has observed two basic errors in this type of analysis that doubts whether aesthetic pleasure was ever an aim of an indigenous artist or carver. One is the assumption that aesthetic criteria are similar all over the world and concern beauty in the art object. He asks if aesthetic evaluation or appreciation cannot also rest on the spiritual dimension communicated by the art object. Second, he points out the error of assuming that the lack of an aesthetic approach similar to Western European art critics signifies indifference to either stated or unstated aesthetic modes of formal perfection (p. 155).

Eyo (1975) argues that the Kalabari's distinction between a good and bad carver means they have certain criteria for aesthetic appreciation. "If masks are not made to look beautiful, it is because of what they represent: the spirits" (p. 155). What has been made clear in the preceding analysis is that Nigerian art objects cannot be discussed literally from the perspective of Western European notions of aesthetic criticism. Foreign interpretation that is not founded on native experience or oral history negates the deep aesthetic values inherent in Nigerian masks and carvings.

What this article is trying to make clear is that modern art education that does not take into consideration the pluralism of various world cultures will not succeed in bringing about effective, creative, visual arts mobilization that is desirable and relevant to the large audience of emerging Third World countries like Nigeria.

Recommendations

Discipline-Based Art Education in a culturally pluralistic culture like Nigeria ought to take into consideration, first and foremost, the background of art students so they do not become strangers in their own country after artistic training.

Foreign students of art must be told in clear terms that the English language is not the only means of expressing artistic knowledge; they should explore what particular language best expresses their native art for themselves and their society. Methods of artistic creation or design should not be based only on those experimented with by Western European "master" artists. Masterpieces of Third World artists such as carvings, mural painting, architectural graphics, and other crafts should form an essential part of art education.

It will be appropriate to incorporate the apprenticeship system of art education into Euro-American systems of art education where demonstration, observation, and participation thrive. This new approach would bring the art student closer to the teacher as learning of a particular discipline becomes a collective responsibility. Sharing of experiences will be the key element of this apprenticeship system.

Aesthetic appreciation or criticism should not be a set of theories, postulated by one dominant culture, but rather should include methods or criteria adopted in various cultures of the world. The process of art education cannot be comfortably forced into a strait jacket. People are born and reared in different cultures; therefore, artistic problem-solving cannot be uniform. Cultural manifestations have all-pervading influence on human behavior. It is because of this culture mold within which a person is reared that identification as a member of a given ethnic community occurs.

Finally, modern art educators should be encouraged to study Third World language, culture, and social life (just as anthropologists do) so that their visual art instruction will be more meaningful to foreign students when they find themselves back in their home countries.

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Art Education in Context

Beverly J. Jones

Philosophical positions that have existed historically and those that inform contemporary research in areas related to current art education theory are presented. The realist position, as it appears to influence the work of some proponents of disciplined-based art education, is examined in light of its appeal. Problems with realism, especially the objectivist version of realism, are examined citing contemporary positions in fields related to art education, including general education, general philosophy, philosophy of science, cognitive science, and social science. Contemporary theory and practice in art, including examples from art production, art criticism, art history, and aesthetics which are also at variance with this philosophical stance are presented. A position that rejects both objectivism and extreme relativism and is congruent with contemporary research is briefly presented.

Introduction

Philosophical views developed over the centuries enter our culture and affect us in thousands of ways. Folk wisdom, world views, and educational assumptions are often based upon traditional philosophical beliefs. The very existence of academic disciplines as we know them is dependent upon conceptual frameworks deeply rooted in philosophical and historical origins. Both the determination of content for the disciplines and the assumption that they represent areas of study result from a particular set of conceptual frameworks. Foucault (1972, 1973, 1980) has drawn our attention to the historical and philosophical origins of these conceptual frameworks. He has demonstrated how they enable us to conceive of academic disciplines as separate areas of study. Among the consequences of this separation are the fragmentation and decontextualization of knowledge. Foucault also discusses the social and political ramifications resulting from the separation.

A contemporary cognitive psychologist, Lakoff (1987), has discussed current research in the cognitive sciences, especially anthropology, linguistics, and psychology. He postulates that this research is in conflict with the philosophical position required in an objectivist version of realism. He suggests a modified version of realism, which he terms experiential realism, rather than questioning the foundations of realism as Foucault does. A contemporary social scientist, McHoul (1982), also insists that objective expression is impossible, citing evidence from science and ethnomethodology.

The objectivist interpretation of the realist position of philosophy is deeply rooted in the existence of separate disciplines. Its educational application stresses the essential uniqueness of disciplines as separate areas of study. The consequent need for subject matter experts to determine curricular content is a logical result of this position.

Within the history of education, theorists have engaged in controversies based upon philosophical differences. The philosophical positions of objectivism, relativism, and intermediate positions between them have evoked controversy for some time. In the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, theorists influenced by neo-Herbartian realism and Thorndike's behaviorism strove to make education a science, with pedagogy its technology. Other theorists influenced by pragmatism or experientialism opposed the assumptions of the realists. Among these was William James, who wrote *Talks to Teachers* in 1899. He opposed an education that disregarded the individual student and the context in which he was learning and was intent upon bending the will of the child to meet the needs of pre-existing correspondence theories of knowledge, reality, and morality. James asserted that education should be holistic and enable humans to cope with previously unknown circumstances. He stressed that knowledge is transactional, being created as students and teachers interact. This view of knowledge as dynamic was in direct conflict with the tenets of both neo-Herbartian realism and Hegelian idealism, which formed the philosophical basis for much of the educational theory in the United States at that time. His holistic view of education as providing means of intelligent interaction with experience was especially hostile to neo-Herbartian realism, which assumed a fixed external world to be analyzed by learning a series of logically structured facts. Dewey extended the experiential pragmatism of James to include a political stance. Bowen (1981) describes Dewey's interpretation of pragmatism as being a democratic philosophy that challenged traditional authoritarian theories of truth by defining truth as verified and affirmed by the collective experience of society. Dewey, in *The School and Society* (1900), and later in *Democracy and Education* (1916), presented educational designs embodying these views.

Educational advocates of realism reacted to the popular acceptance of pragmatism and by mid-century countered with an insistence upon a return to emphasis on subject matter. Crosser (1955) labeled Dewey a nihilist and accused the pragmatists of choosing curriculum for sentimental and humanitarian rather than noetic reasons. Broudy (1954) observed that not only did the pragmatists suggest relativism, but they also rejected a strong subject-matter curriculum that when given systematic, logical organization, is a sure guarantee of intellectual structure. Theorists, including Taba (1962) and Tyler (1969), attempted to bridge these opposing views by creating a curricular structure that attempted a balance of subject matter, individual student and social context.

Attempting a similar balance in art education, Thomas Munro (1956) describes a rigorous approach to subject matter with concern for the individual and for the social context in art education. He includes art production, art history, criticism, and aesthetics as essential curricular components. He also discusses the need to consider (a) individual psychological characteristics of the students and (b) the contemporary and historical social context, as well as (c) subject matter. His view, like that of Tyler and Taba, attempted the balance without examination of the objective realist assumptions regarding subject matter content. An art educator who also wished to maintain the balance between subject, student, and society is McFee (1970). However, her work in anthropology and sociology added new complications to this balance, causing re-examination of the field of art education as a discipline. McFee stated, "Art education is not a distinct discipline since it is linked with many fields" (p. 5). She discussed art as communication, the role of human behavior in the production and appreciation of art, and the relation of art in the educational setting to art in the larger society. In addition to drawing attention to individual and cultural differences, she cited psychological, anthropological, and sociological studies that could have bearing upon what is to be considered as appropriate subject matter in art education. Implicit in her work is the potential for questioning the existence of universally applicable objective criterion for evaluating art.

Contemporary Discipline-Based Art Education in Context

There have been no explicit statements by proponents of discipline-based art education regarding their philosophical positions. It also appears that within experimental sites attempting versions of discipline-based art education there are a range of implicit philosophical positions. However, some of the published controversy surrounding discipline-based art education seems reminiscent of some of the earlier controversies discussed above.

I believe it can be demonstrated that certain terminology, proposed pedagogy, and stated beliefs of *some* proponents of current discipline-based art education express an affinity with the tradition of philosophical realism. The very title "discipline-based" is one example of terminology expressing such an affinity. According to Brubacher (1969), one of the best full-length statements of the realist position in education is that of Broudy (1961), *Building a Philosophy of Education*. Broudy has been influential in current and past efforts to emphasize subject matter drawn from the disciplines of art production, history, criticism, and aesthetics in art education curriculum. R. Smith, who studied with Broudy and whose lectures and articles also appear influenced by philosophical realism, was very active in working to establish aesthetic education. He is currently an active proponent of discipline-based art education. The realist position is in harmony with trends in general education to standardize curriculum and establish measurable, reliable, and replicable objectives with primary emphasis on subject matter arranged logically and systematically.

According to Lakoff (1987), components of basic realism include a belief in the existence of stable knowledge of the external world and rejection of relativism. An important component of the objectivist version of realism is the view that reality comes with a unique, correct, complete, structure in terms of entities, properties, and relations, and further, that this structure exists independent of any human understanding. Lakoff states that objectivist metaphysics is often found in the company of another metaphysical assumption, essentialism. That is, some properties that things possess are essential; they make the thing what it is. Without these, it would not be that thing. Other properties are incidental, not essential, to the essence of the thing.

Given these descriptions of the characteristics of objectivist realism, it is easy to see the logic of the educational realist position of essentialism, that is, certain characteristics and content are the essence of disciplines. Other things are considered incidental and may be shared with other disciplines. These shared things are assumed to have lesser importance and are not essential. What is essential is determined by subject matter experts.

Given the realist position that the structure of reality exists independent of human understanding, a creative intelligence that participates in the creation of reality is discounted in advance. Consequently, the theory of education as participatory construction of reality must give way to a theory of education as conformity to it. A curriculum composed of the best data on reality to date must be determined by the most competent investigators, that is, experts. Consequently, the realist's curriculum tends to be authoritarian and uniform (Brubacher, 1969).

Thus the basic tenets of some proponents of discipline-based curriculum, emphasis on subject matter, expert selection with emphasis on the essentials, and discounting the importance of personal and social reality, can be directly related to the belief system of philosophical realism. Specific content and practice associated with discipline-based curriculum also harmonizes with philosophical realism, particularly objectivism.

For example, the use of aesthetic scanning and empiricist criticism as means of understanding art works is consistent. Both of these techniques assume the existence of stable, observable objective factors common to and equally important to all art works. These are expert-defined and assumed to be universally applicable. That is, any kind of art work may be analyzed using the techniques of formal analysis that form the basis for aesthetic scanning and empiricist criticism. The formal elements and their relations provide the initial basis for understanding all art works. This approach, stressing observable visual qualities, provides an initial basis for standardized examination of all art works regardless of their origin, purpose, or other contextual considerations.

The conceptual frameworks underlying the realist position and its manifestations in general education and art education are well constructed, logically based, and consistent. In general, they may be said to be culturally valid. For example, any movement that associates itself with objectivity and rationality is generally highly valued. The larger framework from which these frameworks are derived, nineteenth-century scientific thought, is embodied in many of our cognitive models and folk wisdom.

However, contemporary aestheticians, artists, critics, and art historians, as well as philosophers of science and social scientists, are questioning the narrow definitions of rationality implied in the objectivist model of thought. Lakoff (1987) cites studies in anthropology, linguistics, and psychology that conflict with an objectivist view of mind. He holds a modified experientialist view and does not reject realism. He presents a view of mind supported by recent research. In this view, human reason grows out of the nature of the organism, its individual and collective experience, its genetic inheritance, the nature of the environment in which it lives, its function in that environment, and the nature of its social functioning; that is, it is highly context-dependent.

Feyerabend (1975), a contemporary philosopher of science who is a relativist, takes an even more critical stance toward not only objectivism but realism in general. In his view, our current conception of reason is no longer valid as a measure for other traditions, but is a tradition in its own right. He states that the valuing of any tradition, as good or bad, rational or irrational, advanced or primitive, humanitarian or vicious, is possible only when looked at from the point of view of some other tradition. In discipline-based art education, enlightening cherishing or unenlightened cherishing, excellence in art or mediocrity in art, is possible only from a perspective of a tradition.

Putting his view in a political perspective, Feyerabend further states that a free society is a society in which all traditions have equal rights and equal access to power. This differs from the view of liberal humanism, academic rationalism, and objective realism. In these perspectives, individuals should have equal rights of access to positions of power as they are defined by a special tradition, the tradition of nineteenth century science and its consequent definition of rationality. In this regard, it is interesting to note that empiricism in aesthetics was an attempt to put aesthetics on a scientific basis. It is upon the base of empiricist aesthetics and criticism, especially as espoused by Beardsley (1958, 1970), that discipline-based art education draws for its aesthetic scanning and empiricist criticism.

A hermeneutic philosopher, Gadamer (1975), also attacks nineteenth-century scientific objectivism by focusing on the role of the expert. He states that the point of philosophical hermeneutic is the correction of a false consciousness, the idolatry of scientific method and the anonymous authority of the sciences. He states his belief that the noblest task of citizens is taking responsibility for their own decisions instead of conceding that task to experts.

Broudy (1981), adhering to his philosophical position, describes his approach to public education. He openly states that his response to multi-cultural, multi-valued, multi-ethnic, multi-interest society is an evasion rather than a solution. He believes that a public school cannot satisfy this multiplicity of publics and yet cannot operate without a public. He advocates a curriculum validated by a consensus of the learned, that is, based on expert decision. He states his belief that this is a non-political curriculum. He wishes to evade what he regards as fruitless arguments about the relative merits of various cultures and their role in preserving the self-concepts of children. He believes a public school with a "uniform non-political program is far less threatening than one in which many cultural patterns are competing" (p. 14).

Smith (1987), using some of the same vocabulary as Crosser (1955), indicates that sentimentality and a desire to be socially helpful have been responsible for mistakes in policy thinking during the past two decades. He also expresses concerns that the philanthropic attitude in cultural and educational contexts places the arts and art education in the service of extra-aesthetic objectives. He also objects to "politicizing, fashionabilizing, and bureaucratizing" in cultural and educational matters. His paper was delivered as a lecture in 1986. Following the lecture, discussion focused on selection of appropriate curriculum. Smith indicated that curriculum should consist of expert-selected exemplars chosen from historically validated works of art. In response to a question regarding the inclusion of American Indian art in the curriculum, he responded that examples chosen should represent the highest and best as judged by standards such as Beardsley's critical approach.

The views of Broudy and Smith contrast sharply with the view of Jones (1987). She states that part of the role of public education is to develop responsive and responsible citizens who understand that both (a) the form and content of information and (b) how it is acquired and maintained are shaped by various aspects of the cultural setting in which it is embedded. Art education shares this role of public education. Although focusing primarily on visual, aesthetic, and artistic aspects of education, art education stimulates the development of knowledge and skills necessary to understand the interaction of these with economic, social, and political factors. Art education assists students in acquiring information necessary to interpret past and present art forms in their own and other cultures and to direct the creation of future forms in accord with consciously chosen values.

Consciously chosen values imply attention to the manner in which individuals and groups within cultures shape the form, content, and transmission of information. It implies that the "highest and the best," expert-selected, historically validated art be studied not as "good in and of itself," but as a reflection of valuing patterns of specific individuals and groups within specific time periods and contexts. It also implies that there are social and political implications of choosing aesthetic and art critical theoretical positions to be included in public education.

This position is in accord with contemporary views of relationships between power and knowledge. It does not dispense with rationality or require unqualified cultural relativism. Rather, it is more in accord with Lakoff's (1987) experiential realism or MacIntyre's (1977) practical rationality. MacIntyre stresses rule transcending: knowing how and when to put rules and principles to work and when not to. He considers how practical reason is taught. He uses generals, judges, surgeons, and natural scientists as examples. Educators could be added. He believes there is no set of rules specifying necessary and sufficient conditions for large areas of such practices and the skills of practical reasoning are communicated only partly by rules, but more by case histories and precedents. The rules cannot be understood except in terms of their applications in case histories; and the development of the rules cannot be understood except in terms of the history of both rules and case histories. Consequently, he believes *teaching of method is synonymous with the teaching of a certain kind of history* (cited in Bernstein, 1983, p. 57).

Attending to concerns similar to those of Jones (1987) and citing the influence of Habermas (1983), Blandy (1987) stresses that democracy may continue in a community only as long as mature members act individually, as well as through social and cultural institutions, to prepare young people to be competent community members. He believes that an experiential education, one in which cognitive approaches interact with moral/practical and aesthetic/expressive approaches, is required if young people are to learn to participate in public dialogue and democratic decision-making.

Both Blandy and Jones discuss educational fragmentation due to teaching decontextualized knowledge. This results from separation of the disciplines, over-reliance on experts, and isolation of aesthetic values from other values. The position that art is necessarily intrinsically valuable, good in and of itself, and unrelated to other values is seen by Blandy and Jones as preventing students from understanding the significance of art in our own and other cultures. How do the contrasting positions described relate to recent art theories?

Art Theory

If a single critical perspective is chosen to be applied universally to all works of art in an educational setting, then a certain kind of belief system is validated over all others. For example, if the popular theories of the 1960s (empiricist aesthetics and criticism) are chosen as the correct methodological approach to be used in education, a philosophical position coherent with the educational realist view is assumed. These theories are reflected in the works of Beardsley (1958, 1970), Aldrich (1963), and Sibley (1959). Later theories developed by Danto (1981), Dickie (1974), Gombrich (1960), Goodman (1969), Margolis (1979), and Wollheim (1968) stressed the exploration of nonperceptual factors affecting perception itself. If these theories were chosen to be used in education, they would be more explanatory of contemporary art and art of non-western cultures than empiricism but would not be consistent with the objective realist view of education. Other recent theories inconsistent with the realist view include the phenomenology of Dufrenne (1973), Hirsch (1967), Ingarden (1973), and Wolff (1983); Marxism of Lukacs

(1962) (especially as examined by Adorno [1984], Baudrillard [1981], and Carrier [1987]) and the post-structuralist positions of Foucault (1972, 1973, 1980), Lyorard (1984), and Derrida (1987). Carroll (1987), Dews (1987), and Foster (1985) discuss the relation of post-structuralist thought to social, cultural, and aesthetic analysis. Contemporary critics and art historians such as Kristeva (1980), Carrier, and Krauss (1987) are heavily influenced by post-empiricist art theories cited above. Recent works discussing theoretical positions in contemporary art history, Belting (1987), and the essays edited by Ress and Borzello (1988) reflect post-structuralist positions. Belting's discussion of possible areas of art historical research include reference to the need for openness to other disciplines, resolution of the dichotomy of art and context, art history as interpretation, need for increased familiarity with technical information and its manipulation in mass media, and understanding of the importance of revision of past views of art works based upon contemporary interpretations. Bourdieu (1984), a sociologist, demolishes the notion of a pure aesthetic. He demonstrates that in matters of art and culture, competence and judgment are socially constructed. In developing his notion of "cultural capital," he stresses the definition of excellence by a particular group. He stresses its dynamic character, not only as structure of given meanings, but also as a field of action. Culture is a meaning structure produced, reproduced, and used by acting subjects. Bourdieu's earlier work with Passeron (1977) discusses the role of the school as an agency for producing and defining cultural capital.

Contemporary Art Production

Many artists working after 1960 have abandoned the modernist position that is congruent with empiricist criticism. Their work no longer relies for its primary meaning on perceptual qualities involving formal elements and their relationships. The dematerialization of the art object, prevalence of performance and events, works that involve reference to political, ecological, and social reality, and works that incorporate multiple arts are all characteristic of the art of the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, self-referential art (art about art, art theory, art institutions, and relationships between mass culture and high art) is becoming more prevalent through the 1980s. This art frequently intends to point out that (a) the form and content of information and (b) how it is acquired and maintained both shape and are shaped by various aspects of the cultural setting in which they are embedded.

Many contemporary artists take a critical stance toward the older view of art and the aesthetic as decontextualized and removed from the world of practicality. In discussing art, art institutions, and the role of the artist, Camnitzer (1987), an artist from Uruguay, indicates that because of the view that art is an apolitical act, devoid of political consequences, operating in a nonpolitical space, artists live the myth of primarily being artists. He believes:

1. Artists are primarily ethical beings sifting right from wrong and just from unjust, not only in the context of the individual but in community and regional contexts.

2. To survive ethically, artists need a political awareness to understand their environment and develop strategies for action.

3. The definition of art, what culture is being served, what audience is addressed, and what art work is to achieve are all political decisions. The artist is no longer only an artist; artists are frequently also critics, historians, or philosophers. Krukowski (1987) is a painter and a philosopher. He discusses the difficulty of defining art works via adherence to a thesis of eternal artistic qualities. He states that even a position as generalized as Beardsley's (1958) goes against the sense of discontinuity and disaffection that characterizes much contemporary art.

Implications

Based upon the brief delineation of aspects of recent art theory and practice and art education, it becomes evident that discipline-based art education, as it is defined by views based in objective realism, faces a conflict. Curricula are required to be defined by experts whose data are the best at this time. Some of those experts have rejected realism as an appropriate view for art theory, art practice, and art education. Although article space does not permit expansion on those who reject this view, a brief mention that some general educators also reject this view seems appropriate. There is the existential view of Greene (1971, 1979), the linguistic concerns of Huebner (1966), the transcendental view of Macdonald (1974), and the Neomarxist views of Apple (1979) and Wexler (1982), to name a few. Whether the various artists or scholars question realism in its objective form, insisting upon a modified practical or experiential version, or if they question its very foundations, their questions are worth considering. Art educators need to engage in critical examination of the philosophical assumptions upon which they are basing curricular choices.

Educational Recommendations

Taking a stance that opposes the basic assumptions of objective realism might imply some or all of the following recommendations: participatory curriculum design, resulting changes in content, and multiple perspectives.

Participatory curriculum design implies that not only subject matter experts, but teachers, citizens of the school community, and students participate in curricular design including decisions regarding specific curricular content. This recommendation questions the sole authority of subject matter experts and eliminates the possibility of standardized curriculum imposed from above. This implies that experts may provide guidelines, especially providing questions that they consider important and that may be pursued across disciplinary boundaries. For example, the question, "How is the form and content of information acquired, maintained, and changed relative to aspects of the cultural setting in which it is embedded?" is one which may be pursued across disciplinary boundaries and from multiple perspectives. Jones (1987) provides an example of multidisciplinary curriculum formulated with this question in mind. This example addresses some of the concerns of Belting (1987).

Multiple perspectives implies that information is examined from various disciplinary perspectives as well as from various perspectives within disciplines. It also implies that is be examined in the light of the belief systems of various individuals and groups over time and across cultures.

Participatory Curriculum

Expert participation rather than expert domination of programmatic development is recommended. Experts who have devoted their lives to the topic of art, art history, art criticism, aesthetics, and art education should consult with other educational experts to formulate guidelines for general curriculum development. However, the application of these guidelines in specific programs should be determined locally. Within individual school districts, consultants who understand these guidelines should meet with citizens' committees, teachers' groups, and concerned students to determine their interests and needs. These interests and needs should be reflected in the program developed. This approach would assure strong subject matter content without ignoring the specific context in which it will be delivered. The approach of involving citizens' committees, teachers' groups, and students in discussions was used successfully by Jones in developing local curriculum in the 1970s. This work lead later to the development of the Oregon State Guide (Jones, 1977), which Kern (1987) characterizes as discipline-based because it attends to art production, art history, art criticism, and historical and contemporary aesthetic history. It may be noted, however, that this guide gives equal attention to fine arts, everyday arts, and environmental arts, as well as stressing the interaction of visual, aesthetic, and artistic with economic, social, and political factors. In the 1970s, the Oregon State Department of Education recommended that within all school districts in Oregon, minimum curriculum requirements for *all subjects* be determined with the assistance of citizens' committees from within local school districts. This permitted expert participation but allowed for local autonomy. This participatory approach to curriculum development is currently being used by Jones in developing components for a corporate graduate degree program in applied information management. This participatory approach acknowledges that teachers are experts in making choices within their own community, and that students are experts in determining their own educational needs at a particular time within a particular setting. It is only by considering all of these expert opinions as well as those of subject matter experts that a functional curriculum may be designed. This curriculum will be dynamic, responsive, and heterogeneous over time and place. It should be noted again that not all discipline-based education ignores the concerns expressed in this paper. Sites that are formulating approaches to discipline-based art education that are not based in objective realism involve educational participants in curriculum development.

Curriculum Content

Within a participatory curricular framework, guidelines come from experts regarding general curriculum content and approaches. Specific content, overlooked categories, and alternative structures and approaches are generated by local participants. Experts who consider both historical and contemporary approaches to art and art theory, as well as contemporary research in cognitive sciences and social sciences, would recommend a broadly based curriculum. It would include considerably more than historically validated examples of high art to be examined from one aesthetic perspective. In addition, it would include examination of (a) art production, (b) art criticism, and (c) aesthetic theory over time and across cultures. Current curricular recommendations of discipline-based education based in realism attend to art history only as the examination of art objects over time from one philosophical perspective. An examination of valuing patterns as manifest in aesthetic theories and criticism over time and across cultures opens the potential for achieving a more comprehensive view of art as it functions in human culture. In some other times and cultures, the concept of art as separate from other aspects of life was inconceivable. Consequently, aesthetic valuing patterns would be examined as interrelated with other valuing patterns such as social, economic, and political. Concepts such as (a) art as separate from the context in which it currently exists, has existed, and was originated; (b) aesthetic distance, disinterested attention, and avoidance of artistic intentionality as mandates for the aesthetic experience; and (c) elements and principles of design as universally useful to artistic analysis could be reviewed as examples of particular art theory influenced by a distinct set of historical and philosophical circumstances. Consequently, they would not be viewed as universally applicable. Examples from everyday art including folk art, popular arts, media, and mass culture as well as high art would also be examined across time and across cultures. Attention would also be directed toward varying local conceptions of art. This educational approach would allow examination of both concepts of art and individual works of art from multiple perspectives.

Multiple Perspectives

An educated person should be equipped to consider works of art and concepts about art from a variety of perspectives. Sources for these perspectives may be found in historical and contemporary art theory, research in cultural and historical valuing patterns, past and present philosophy, and statements from artists regarding their works. The concept that multiple perspectives are educationally valuable is hardly revolutionary. It was considered essential for European families to send children abroad for part of their education so that they might broaden their cultural perspective. An aristocratic young person from nineteenth-century England may have gone to Italy to absorb the culture. In general, these were not individuals who wanted to experience common cultural conventions wherever they went. They wished to encounter and learn to understand the heterogeneity of varied cultural conventions. It may be postulated that some who wish common cultural conventions for all may reason from ethnocentric biases or from a desire for universal standards based upon an absolutist philosophy. In contrast, M. McFee (1969) identified "the 150% man" among Blackfeet Indians. These individuals were leaders among their own people as well as operating successfully within the adjacent culture of white rural Montana. They had mastered not only their own cultural conventions but those of the dominant culture. This is common among successful members of subordinate groups. Members of dominant cultures in the United States do not customarily attempt a deep understanding of the conventions of other cultures or other time periods. It is a shame their education has not prepared them to be "150% humans."

Both knowledge of only one culture/time and shallow knowledge of many cultures/times are intellectually disabling. Using a single set of cultural conventions to understand all other cultures and times is also intellectually disabling. Using the perspective of a single discipline as exemplified in a single time period (for example, nineteenth-century science) to understand all other phenomenon is intellectually disabling. If we agree with post-structuralist thought, these perspectives are also politically disempowering. The perspective advanced in this paper implies that the extremes of objectivism and relativism are equally disempowering educationally and politically. These extremes may be stated as (a) the objectivist position that a specific expert-chosen view is the only valid perspective for everyone and (b) the relativist position that all views are equally valid. An approach grounded in experiential data as a basis for educational choice, utilizing the knowledge of educational participants, including experts, may provide an education with a balanced emphasis on subject matter, student, and social context. It would satisfy the conflicting demands of considering dominant cultural traditions, cultural innovations, as well as assimilation and conservation of diverse cultural models and practices. It would include attention to varying levels of similarities and differences, from individual and local to those generalized over time and cultures. These factors considered from a multidisciplinary perspective would lead to a curriculum intended for an intelligent citizenry capable of responsive and responsible decision-making.

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Informing the Promise of DBAE: Remember the Women, Children, and Other Folk

Georgia Collins and Renee Sandell

Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) has promised to increase the status of art education in America's public schools. This paper raises questions with regard to this promise. It finds that the subject-dominated approach associated with DBAE tends: (a) to ignore the degree to which art's popular feminine identification has influenced the role and status of art in our schools; (b) to marginalize the professionalism of the public school art teacher; (c) to narrow the definition and values of art to those which have been legitimized by the Western mainstream art tradition; and (d) to diminish the psychological and social concerns that have distinguished art education from other art-related disciplines. The paper concludes by proposing a balanced-concern model for art education which would give equal and self-correcting attention to the child, the society, and the subject matter of art.

The Promise of DBAE

As described by its proponents, the projected consequences of DBAE include a most compelling promise: The implementation of DBAE will increase the status of art in the curriculum of America's public schools. Given the marginality of art education's current curricular status and the unprecedented power, money, and cultural prestige of DBAE's self-appointed patron, the Getty Center for Education in the Arts, this particular promise must make many art educators feel that DBAE is indeed an offer that cannot be refused. The offer of higher curricular status for art is not, however, without certain attached conditions. It is, therefore, our purpose here to explore a few of these conditions and their potential effects on art education from a feminist point of view. We will then suggest how DBAE's otherwise generous promise might become informed and modified by cross-checking its concern for a purified subject matter against the lively, if culturally "tainted" concerns of women, children, and other folk.

To demonstrate art education's need for DBAE, *Beyond Creating: The Place for Art in America's Schools* (The Getty Center for Education in the Arts' 1985 report) and *The Role of Discipline-Based Art Education in America's Schools* (Eisner, 1987) take art's current marginal status as a starting point for discussion. As identified in these Getty publications, the causes for art's low curricular status are quite simply those practices and attitudes for which DBAE would seem to be the logical and handy cure. For example, if art education in the public schools has emphasized hands-on studio experiences, this is identified as a factor contributing to its low status. It follows that to raise its status, art education must give equal emphasis to each of the more verbally oriented art-related disciplines of art history, criticism, and aesthetics. Similarly, if art education has focused on emotions and creative imagination, it must now attend more closely to teaching the ideas and intellectual structures of art and its related professions. If it has been enamored of children's art as creative expressions of their experience and development, it needs to provide for the serious study of exemplary adult artists and works. If it has encouraged teachers to develop courses in response to their own and their students' needs and interests, it should now provide an expertly designed sequential curriculum and employ formal evaluation procedures to monitor student progress. In effect, the DBAE prescription for increasing the status of art would require art education to emulate high status subjects such as math and science in terms of their rigor and academic substance. While the DBAE analysis of art's low status in the schools might be guilty of special pleading, an acceptance of its general explanation would seem to be a preliminary condition for embracing its promise to raise the curricular status of art in the public schools.

Ignoring the major extra-school variables that have influenced our society's attitudes toward art and the role it might play in American education, DBAE's statement of need gives us only a partial and surprisingly naive accounting of art's low curricular status. Identifying the art educator as being at fault for the weak state of art education does, in fact, scapegoat the field by "blaming the victim" (Ewens, 1988). In our society, art is a feminine-identified activity, and feminine-identified activities are accorded relatively low status in our society (Garrard, 1976; Wayne, 1974). This fact cannot be ignored in a search for the causes and cures of art's status in the schools (Collins, 1979; Collins & Sandell, 1984). While the DBAE description of art's present character and role in the curriculum may be accurate as far as it goes, a feminist perspective calls additional attention to how the role and current focus of art in our schools, a microcosm of society, is stereotypically feminine: Art is found useful for its ability to provide for the catharsis and articulation of emotion; to support positive self-concepts in the young; to encourage individuation in a non-judgmental environment; to decorate the halls with pretty pictures; and to craft reassuringly familiar symbols to celebrate the inevitable cycle of seasons. Art is viewed as educationally valuable because it provides a maternal refuge from an otherwise highly structured, rationalistic, and unforgiving paternalistic curriculum. Since art parted ways with industrial arts in America's public schools, it has been called upon to play a more or less decorative and nurturant role in education. If it has been regarded as valuable in its place, as with other feminine-identified activity, that place is restricted to the margins of the patriarchal text of our public concerns and institutions.

We might well interpret the DBAE approach as a proposal to defeminize the teaching of art in order to raise its status in the public school curriculum. Defeminizing the teaching of art implies a more or less systematic effort to revise art education by removing all traces of theory and practice perceived as weak and stereotypically feminine and replacing these with respectable behaviors, attitudes, and principles of higher art, education, and human values that are coincidentally more stereotypically masculine. Art, then, is to become more actively competitive rather than passively offering itself for integration with other subjects in the curriculum, or as a change of pace from them.

While we can agree with Eisner (1987) that the arts ought not to be merely ornamental in education, we subscribe to the caveats in Huber's (1987) article, "What Does Feminism Have to Offer DBAE?" With regard to the increased attention DBAE would give to art history, aesthetics, and art criticism, Huber says "it is crucial to evaluate clearly and not 'perpetuate' the inequalities and warped visions of that tradition in which we find ourselves" (p. 41). Rejecting feminine roles and values will not automatically endow our field with either integrity or power. Indeed, there is reason to expect art education will experience, at the least, a short-term withdrawal of public support if DBAE precipitously introduces changes in art education that are at odds with intuitions of art's feminine value held by the larger society. More importantly, however, before accepting the conditions of DBAE's promise, we need to ask what the long-term effects of its proposed gender-change operation might be on the theory and practice of art education. What negative effects would the defeminization of art education have on the subject, teachers, and students of art in our public schools? While we do not here intend to undertake an in-depth analysis of the educational, psychological, and cultural costs of DBAE's conditional promise, we will touch on a few areas of concern that may be both anticipated and minimized by informing that promise with a feminist perspective.

Forgotten Considerations

To anticipate the costs of DBAE's conditional promise from a feminist point of view, it is helpful to begin with a graphic comparison of the triangular paradigm often used to describe three areas of legitimate educational concern: the child, society, and subject. In the equilateral triangle of Figure 1: "Paradigm for Identifying Balanced Educational Emphasis," art education is surrounded by its balanced educational considerations: child-centered, society-centered, and subject-centered concerns. If we compare the shape of art education in Figure 1 to the shape of art education as envisioned by the proponents of DBAE in Figure 2:

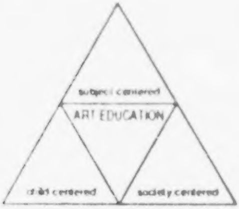

Figure 1. Paradigm for Identifying Balanced Educational Emphasis (adapted from Elliot W. Eisner, Educating Artistic Vision, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1972, p. 58)

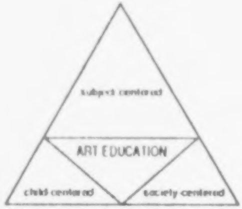

Figure 2. An Interpretation of DBAE's Approach to Educational Emphasis in Art Education.

"An Interpretation of DBAE's Approach to Educational Emphasis in Art Education," we can see a dramatic flattening of art education, produced by overemphasis of subject-centered concerns. As a simple illustration of the major condition of the DBAE promise, this comparison should call our attention to a diminished concern for child and society and an exaggerated concern for subject in DBAE's proposals for increasing the curricular status of art education. If DBAE is trying to correct for an overemphasis on feminine-identified concern for the child in current art educational practice, the proposed correction does not call for a balance between the three basic educational concerns, not does it call for their pluralistic enlargement (Collins & Sandell, 1984, p. 173). It would in effect replace one distorting educational emphasis with another. The reduction of child- and society-centered concerns decreases their equalized connection with the subject, implying a defeminization and even a potential dehumanization of art education, which is what happens when the needs of the individual and society are not attended to.

It is important to note that many American schools have tried to maintain a semblance of balance between educational concerns by asking art education to attend to the nurturance of the child and the needs of the school community (if not the larger society), to provide a counterweight within the general curriculum to that heavy subject-centeredness found in the higher-status subjects that DBAE would emulate. Indeed, the one thing that has redeemed art in its marginal curricular status has been the opportunity it has provided to disciplinary concerns. One anticipated side effect of extending a subject matter emphasis to art education might well be that the educational needs of child and society will have to go begging.

DBAE's emphasis on subject-centered concerns finds its precedent in the structure of the disciplines movement of 20 years ago (Clark, Day, & Greer, 1987; Mason, 1972). Analyses of the conditions that tended to undermine the educational effectiveness of this earlier effort at discipline-based education in other subjects include as negative factors a neglect of child- and society-centered concerns (Clark, Day, & Greer, 1987, pp. 131-132). There is reason, then, to anticipate that even in its own terms, the educational effectiveness of DBAE might be ironically diminished because of its preoccupation with the less frivolous or more serious study of the concepts and intellectual structures of art as a discipline (Efland, 1988).

Although individual educators and even school districts will tend to emphasize one or the other of the three basic orientations to educational values (that is, the child, the society, or the subject), the uniform distortion of the paradigm proposed by DBAE for all art teaching in America's public schools short-circuits the safety mechanism built into the equilateral tripartite of educational concerns. The equality of educational value assigned to each of these areas in the traditional paradigm allows for the monitoring and modification over time of one set of concerns by the other two. If, for example, art education's subject-centered concerns were at some point confined to only those that could find precedent in an elitist art tradition, competing educational concerns related to the child and/or the society would provide the art teacher with a ready and educationally relevant basis for a critique and revision of these narrowly prescribed subject-centered concerns. DBAE's overweening focus on subject-centered education should serve as a warning that, as proposed, this approach to art education is neither likely to recognize nor correct for any social or psychological injustices or irregularities within those art professions and disciplines that they assume comprise the subject of art.

Forgotten Identity

If the conditions of DBAE's promise do not provide for the enlargement of all three bases of educational concern, they do involve a broadening of the definition of the subject upon which art educational concern is to be centered. In addition to art production as exemplified by the professional artist, DBAE will require the teaching of responses to art as exemplified by professional art historians, art critics, and aestheticians. Not surprisingly, the art world has reacted positively to the DBAE proposal, as reflected in recent art media coverage about developments in art education (Brown, 1988; Esterow, 1987). Potentially, the DBAE shift away from child- to discipline-centered concerns could produce a larger, better-informed art audience ready to support museums, buy art, and respect the work of professional artists, art historians, art critics, and aestheticians. If DBAE proponents argue that the by-products of informed audienceship will enhance the quality of life for individuals and society, the concerns of the art world are more parochial. The quality of life as influenced by non-mainstream art production and non-professional levels of art appreciation has not been a major concern of mainstream art professions and institutions. These aspects of life, on the other hand, have been a defining concern of that art profession pointedly omitted by DBAE as a legitimizing source for the content of art education, that is to say, the profession of art education itself. Unidentified as a source of art content by the DBAE model, the traditional concerns of art educators for child and society as well as for art are therefore twice banished from the DBAE approach to art education.

By excluding art education from its list of exemplary art professions, DBAE reinforces the second-class status of this already highly feminine-identified art profession (Collins & Sandell, 1984, pp. 31-33), even while promising to increase the status of the subject they are to teach. Rather than ratifying the independence and expertise of the art educator, under the DBAE plan art teachers are slated to play out the more negative aspects of the feminine role by becoming more dependent on experts from other art disciplines for the prescribed ideology and content of the art curriculum. There is a painfully familiar irony in the DBAE effort to defeminize art education by divesting the art teacher of all but the most debilitating aspects of the feminine role. One result we might anticipate from DBAE's circumscription of the art teacher's professional concerns and competence is a less-than-whole-hearted compliance on the part of independently minded art teachers who "know their kids." Once again, these professionals may find their only compensation in pursuing low-profile, idiosyncratic approaches to teaching art behind the closed classroom door (Grumet, 1988).

Forgotten Content

In current practice, the content of art education has typically been selected by the teacher in response to the perceived life interests, abilities, and expressive needs of the child and the teacher's understanding of art and its role in the school, larger society, and human cultures. DBAE proposes to defeminize both the content of art education and the intuitive methods by which that content has been determined. To increase the curricular status of art, DBAE declares that the selection, if not the teaching, of art content must be placed in the hands of curriculum designers or district-wide committees who will base this content on concepts, values, and skills exemplified and legitimized by adult professionals in studio art, art criticism, art history, and aesthetics. The proponents of DBAE have failed to acknowledge, however, the degree to which these mainstream art professions have been and continue to be biased with regard to gender, class, racial, and ethnic art activities and values. The discipline of art history, for example, must be recognized as:

> A component of cultural hegemony maintaining and reproducing diminutive social relations through what it studies and teaches and what it omits or marginalizes, and through how it defines what history is, what art is, and who and what the artist is. (Pollock, 1983, p. 40)

Although extensive critiques of these biases have been mounted by socially concerned professionals practicing within these and other disciplines, DBAE's global descriptions of content drawn from the exemplary practice of these professions have not included a keen awareness of these critiques nor provided for corrections of bias. As Hamblen (1987) pointed out in her article, "An Examination of Discipline-Based Art Education Issues," "In technique, focus, interpretation, and final history, Linda Nochlin is an art historian prototype vastly different from H. W. Janson." Furthermore, an "accomplished folk artist could be as worthy a prototype as an artist whose work is discussed in *Art News* [sic]" (p. 71). Even if only by default, the narrow, socially and psychologically unresponsive delimitation of art's content by DBAE ignores the progressive separation of art from life in western culture and fails to address the need for greater human relevance and social responsibility in mainstream art and its related professions. In its concern to elevate the content of art by basing it on mainstream models, DBAE does not recognize how even art's mainstream might be revitalized by attending to the cultural roots and life experiences of our students and the particular society in which they live or would like to live.

Like a strong current, the promise of DBAE has propelled the field of art education into motion and has already altered its sense of direction. To better navigate our course (before we sail off into the promising sunset), we have attempted to raise consciousness with regard to forgotten equity concerns that address considerations, identity, and content of the field of art education. Informing the promise of DBAE involves mindfully addressing these neglected areas as well as the notion that discipline itself may not be a sufficient base for art education or any other subject taught in the public schools. A realistic and positive self-concept of the field of art education, that is, trying to be better at what we are instead of what we are not, strengthens our identity. This occurs when we remember and respect our roots as we attempt to expand our domain. Further, our field is enhanced by its collaboration with other arts disciplines in efforts to promote equity in art and society. Rather than applying a few corrective revisions to the DBAE promise for improved curricular status, we are asking for a balanced-concern model for art education. The latter includes acceptance of what we have been and would allow for continuous modifications of art education—indeed of art itself—by a "feminine" responsiveness to the needs of child and society (ranging from micro to macro) for greater artistic relevance. Without this, the current trend toward defeminized, nonstudio approaches to art learning could transform the efforts of the field to resemble humanities education for cultural literacy rather than art education for visual literacy (Sandell, 1988). In embracing the DBAE or any other enticing promise, the field of art education must strive to sail beyond its boundaries without going off its navigational course and disappearing out of sight.

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Pluralism and DBAE: Towards a Model for Global Multi-cultural Art Education

Paulette Spruill Fleming

The Getty Center for Education in the Arts has been a very strong advocate of discipline-based art education for the past few years. In many ways, DBAE has become a slogan, with a number of perceptions and misperceptions surrounding its approach to art education. Examining some of these perceptions about the nature of DBAE teaching models and curriculum content is a necessary first step in the development of a pluralistic approach to art education. A curriculum model for global multi-cultural art education that is discipline-based will be suggested.

For many years, art educators spent a good deal of time trying to provide rationales that would justify the place of art in the curriculum. With the emergence of the aesthetic education movement in the 1960s, art education began haltingly to stand on its own two feet and assert that art had intrinsic value that was central to the education of the child. In the 1980s, art educators have been strengthened in their assertion that art has a rightful place in the curriculum by advocates of discipline-based art education. However, there are some perceptions surrounding DBAE that need to be considered in evaluating its potential for shaping the future course of art education.

The purpose of this paper is to explore two of these perceptions as they relate to DBAE in the development of curriculum models for art education. The first part of the discussion will examine misperceptions about the approach of DBAE. The second part of the paper is concerned with the perception that a discipline-based curriculum for art education is inherently elitist. A curriculum model for global multi-cultural art education that is discipline-based will be suggested.

Perceptions About DBAE

Curtiss (1987), in discussing the relationship between content and form in art, notes: Content includes, or is modified by, the interpretive perceptions of the viewer. Your interpretations, no matter how far removed from the intent of the maker, are a valid part of the visual communication (p. 5). Similarly, perceptions about DBAE have become a significant part of the communication of ideas about it. The Getty Center for Education in the Arts has itself acknowledged this important phenomenon by publishing a position paper titled "Perceptions of Discipline-Based Art Education and the Getty

Center for Education in the Arts" (Dobbs, 1988).

Discipline-based art education most frequently has been referred to in terms of its approach to art education (Dobbs, 1988, p. 1; Duke, 1988, p. 8; Esterow, 1987, p. 112; Greer, 1984, p. 213). The most salient characteristic derived from descriptions of the DBAE approach is its emphasis on program content, with the four parent disciplines for instruction modeled on the studio artist, the art historian, the art critic, and the aesthetician.

Perhaps certain aspects of the training model used by the Getty Institute, as well as the ordinary language use of the word "approach," have left the perception that how to teach, or methodology, is a primary concern of DBAE. Although the Center (Dobbs, 1988; Duke, 1988; Eisner, 1987) has stated that neither a nationwide DBAE curriculum nor a prescriptive way of implementing it exists, the perception persists that concepts associated with DBAE must necessarily unfold in a specific form.

Discipline-based art education has become a slogan, carrying with it perceptions and programmatic connotations that are not necessarily implicit in the use of the term "discipline-based" itself. There is a difference between discipline-based art education and art education that is inclusive of the disciplines of art and influenced by their structure. Because of the importance of the four disciplines in structuring cognitive processes, advocates of this approach can be identified with what Efland (1983) refers to as an information-processing or content-centered model.

Although the idea of correcting past neglect by concentrating more on the content of all disciplines of art is laudable, Efland (1983) has also identified a teacher-centered or behavior-modification model, a student-centered or person-centered model, and a society-centered or social-interaction model. The teacher-centered model is a familiar approach, characterized by the teacher demonstrating a process or skill, and the students then modeling this behavior. Because of its emphasis on skills and its use of the studio artist, art historian, art critic, and aesthetician as models, DBAE may also be perceived as being very teacher-centered, reminiscent of the behaviorist model. To a certain extent, this behaviorist comparison may occur because DBAE aims for the thought processes of the role models to remain with the student long after the experience (Greer, 1984).

The person-centered model is another very familiar approach, having roots in the Child Study movement of the 1930s, and attributable to Lowenfeld's legacy (Youngblood, 1982). Perhaps the most vocal opposition to DBAE comes from those who feel that creative self-expression as a rationale for art is being pushed aside, to the extent that a more intimidating climate for the teaching of art will result (Esterow, 1987).

Unfortunately, for some art educators, it does not seem to be enough to assert that DBAE is one of the major approaches to art education. Instead, they assert that it is more important than any other approach to the study of art. While it is certainly true that the traditional child-centered and teacher-centered models resulted in an almost exclusively studio-oriented art program throughout the country, there is no reason to throw the baby out with the bath water. Nor is there justification for the idea that a strict content-centered model for discipline-based art education is more important than any other, or for that matter, the only way to conceive of DBAE.

Because, as Duke (1988) has noted, the idea for DBAE did not begin with the Getty Center, there should be a good deal of room for other interpretations. DBAE's most important contribution to extending the legacy of art education theory of the 1960s lies in its focus on the disciplines of art as a way of guiding what to teach—not necessarily on how to teach.

Each of the four teaching models that Efland (1983) has identified has strengths and weaknesses in advancing specific goals for the student within art education content. There need not be a dichotomization of the field into people who "teach art," and others who "teach people." Some teaching models favor certain teaching styles and practices, while others may be more efficient for transmitting information. Still others may do a better job of accommodating the individual interests and learning styles of students, or meeting needs that arise out of living as part of particular communities.

Efland (1983) suggests that an eclectic model of teaching is appropriate, which allows for greater flexibility in approaching curriculum planning. Since the teaching of art in a classroom setting is transactional, an eclectic model provides for a consideration of the nature of the art content (or disciplines), the nature of the learners, the characteristics of the teacher, and the physical, psychological, and socio-cultural environment in which the interaction of these factors occurs. The goals of art education can be successfully addressed through many models and approaches.

For example, though a teacher-centered model has traditionally been used to teach skills in studio art, some research has indicated that self-instruction and peer instruction can be even more effective in a person-centered or a social interaction model (Calder, 1980; Johnson, 1974, Johnson & Johnson, 1979; Slavin & DeVries, 1979).

When art educators hear that more art history should be included in the curriculum, their connotation may be that of sitting in a large, darkened room to hear an hour-long lecture on countless slides. Where typically a teacher-centered lecture format might be thought of as more efficient for gaining everyone's attention at one time for an art history lesson, independent person-centered exploration with high-interest stories, or socially interactive activities like games, teams, and tournaments might prove to be more meaningful for the learner.

The merits of a society-centered or social-interaction model have been explored by proponents of global and multi-cultural education. The society-centered model has been particularly important in the early days of American immigration in the Owatonna Project of the 1920s, and the decades of social and cultural change since the 1960s. A social-interaction model for aesthetics may be the most efficient approach to helping students understand the role of art in society and of the aesthetic dimension in everyday life. Chalmers (1987) has been critical of DBAE because it focuses too narrowly on the four parent disciplines, leaving out such disciplines as anthropology, sociology, and the other social sciences that are relevant to understanding art in society.

Narrowness of focus is also part of the difficulty that art educators face in trying to include aesthetics in the curriculum. There is a lack of precision in the use of the term "aesthetic" in its many meanings and uses (Fleming, 1985). At least five categorical definitions for the word "aesthetics" can be identified, and these definitions are all interwoven with the other three disciplines. In fact, most art educators would agree that all four of the disciplines are interrelated, making the prospects for the success of an eclectic model even more viable.

A Model for Global Multicultural Art Education

As Metcalf (1983) has noted, "Art represents and sanctifies what is valued in a society" (p. 271). Unfortunately, discipline-based art education has been perceived, perhaps wrongly, as elitist and representative of only one view of the art world (Chalmers, 1987; Lanier, 1987). In responding to this perception, Dobbs (1988) states that high quality is the important consideration for the selection of exemplars, noting that imagery may be drawn from such diverse sources as folk arts, crafts, industrial or applied arts, photography, and electronic media in addition to the traditional fine arts. However, this second paragraph also appears:

> An emphasis on European and American art that exists in most art programs...is a natural consequence of the background, experience, and values of those in the various fields of art teaching and practice. It takes effective teachers to connect their students to high achievements of any civilization, their own as well as others. (p. 7)

Art educators, regardless of whether they are operating within the context of cultural and ethnic diversity, are challenged to go beyond the "natural" in exploring the role of art in society. Just as the field itself needed to move beyond the comfort of a child-centered, creative self-expression rationale, art educators must also become actively involved in revealing the richness of all of the heritages that are so basic to the society. Art education within a pluralistic society that celebrates its diversity, and which wishes to remain pluralistic, must look to eclectic models.

The statement prepared by the Commission on Multi-cultural Education and adopted by the Board of Directors of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (1972) asserts that there is "no one model American," allowing for an egalitarian approach to education. For if there is not a *single* model with an adequate cultural definition, then art education in the public school must reflect the diversity of forms and values within the total society. While it is important to study the cultural traditions of all groups, it is also important for ethnic and cultural groups to have access to the exemplars that have been important to those who have dominated the society. If both ends of this cultural continuum are not maintained, there will not be sufficient room for art educators to help students negotiate a place for themselves, as Nadaner (1985) has suggested.

One point needs to be stated clearly: There are two concerns operating with regard to education in culturally pluralistic societies. Although there are many positive results of ethnic and cultural diversity, such as a multiplicity of art forms to be studied for their intrinsic worth, it should also be recognized that negative interactions between and among society's groups have resulted in prejudice, discrimination, and racism to the extent that the art of all groups has not been equally valued. Both of these concerns need to be recognized if the problems and potentials of pluralism are to be addressed. While it is joyful to celebrate beauty in cultural transformations, proponents of multi-cultural art education must also accept this bigger picture. Part of promoting more global acceptance includes the responsibility to examine the origins of visual imagery associated with negative transformations, and to serve as cultural catalysts in bringing about perceptual change where appropriate. In order to take on this task, exemplars of fine art, the practical arts, folk arts, and the popular arts need to be examined, since a symbiotic relationship exists among them in contemporary culture.

Banks (1982, 1987), a major theorist in the field of global multi-cultural education, has reported that one of the most successful ways of reducing prejudice has been to increase the level of cognitive sophistication throughout the curriculum. In other words, attitudes of prejudice may be challenged by tasks that require higher-level thinking skills. Because, as Greer (1984) states, the basic attributes of DBAE emphasize art content, skills, and structured presentation, it has the potential for contributing to a framework for the kind of global multi-cultural art education that is needed to meet this challenge of cultural diversity.

However, it is critical that DBAE not be tied solely to an information-processing or content-centered teaching model. Banks (1982), in proposing an ethno-national model for global multi-cultural education, provides another part of the theoretical framework for the curriculum model of global multi-cultural art education

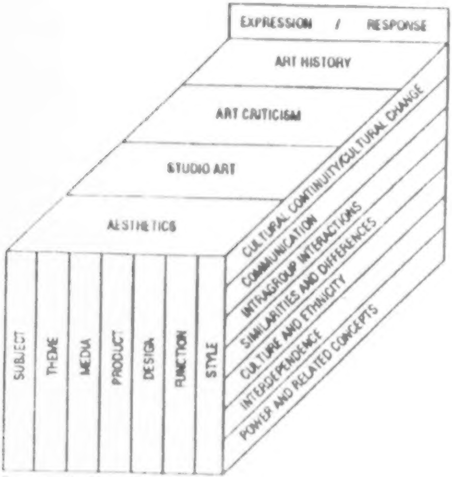
EXPRESSION / RESPONSE
ART HISTORY
ART CRITICISM
STUDIO ART
AESTHETICS
SUBJECT
THEME
MEDIA
PRODUCT
DESIGN
FUNCTION
STYLE
CULTURAL CONTINUITY/CULTURAL CHANGE
COMMUNICATION
INTRAGROUP INTERACTIONS
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES
CULTURE AND ETHNICITY
INTERDEPENDENCE
POWER AND RELATED CONCEPTS

Figure 1 Global Multicultural Art Education

illustrated in Figure 1:

Cultural continuity/cultural change, communication, intragroup interactions, similarities and differences, culture and ethnicity, interdependence, power, and related concepts are extremely important issues that need to be addressed to gain a fuller understanding of the role of the arts in a pluralistic society. The face of the curriculum model reflects the seven features of content that are recommended by the Ohio state guidelines for art education (Efland, 1977). The top of the model includes the four parent disciplines of DBAE and corresponds in spirit to the expression and response categories in the approaches to studying art found in the Ohio art curriculum. While it is understood that the four disciplines are interrelated in a practical way, for purposes of planning the disciplines will be viewed from the theoretical perspective of their various practitioners. The model is designed to suggest a number of possibilities for study.

Proponents of global multi-cultural education would insist that a linkage be made between some aspect of what is being studied about an antecedent culture and the behavior or lifestyles of ethnic groups currently living in the country. In examining the issue of cultural continuity/cultural change, for example, an exemplar like Bearden's *Patchwork Quilt*[1] provides the necessary link and is capable of affecting a number of activities.

Patchwork Quilt is a collage which divides one's attention between an area of patchwork design and a black female figure reclining on a spread in what appears to be an Egyptian posture. The head and legs are presented in profile, but the arms, shoulders, breasts, and abdomen are more frontal. Various strips and blocks of brightly patterned material are arranged above the figure at what would be the top of the spread, which is rounded on each side as though it might have been thrown over a couch. The thin lines of the muted pink and green spread itself also reflect a patchwork assembly, with one section juxtaposed against another at right angles. The lower part of the spread completes the bottom of the composition, its scalloped edge set off as a frame for the darker background. The woman, dressed only in a head scarf, sash, and bracelet, is resting against her right forearm on a floral pillow, though her eye appears to be open.

If media is selected as a content feature, and art history is selected as an approach, students might be introduced to the "story" behind the strips of fabric that give the work its title. The use of strip weaving as a fiber art technique represents a long tradition in African art that is its cultural antecedent, especially in Ghana and other parts of western Africa where many African-Americans are thought to have originated. During the days of slavery, quilts functioned in a number of culturally significant ways. Stuckey (1987) recounts their value as preservers of visual imagery associated with African religious practices. Baptismal quilts, for example, were made by slaves using similar materials, techniques, and processes. Eventually this imagery was transformed by folk artists like Harriet Powers, whose Bible quilts reflect both African symbolic forms and newly acquired Christian content.

The roles of men and women as cultural groups can also be considered. In West African societies, males created much of the fiber art; in America, mainly women were quilters. Bearden's 1985 ceramic mural, *Quilting Time*[2], is another example of the importance of this form in African-American art history and of the relationship of quilting to early American society. In this piece, Bearden adds a man with a guitar to the right of the composition, admitting that he was not sure about the historical accuracy but wishing to reflect the importance of the quilting bee as an important social institution. In fact, men often did attend ante-bellum quilting bees, which along with church gatherings, were among the few times that slaves were allowed to leave the plantation and meet socially.

With a studio art media focus, Bearden's *Patchwork Quilt* might serve as a point of departure for working with strip assembly, quilting, or collage. In the film "Two Centuries of Black American Art" (1976), Alma Thomas describes her mother's gift for creating beautiful and unusual patterns by cutting, turning, and juxtaposing designs from the same cloth. This same technique can be observed in early African-American clothing and quilts and in fabric designs from Surinam. Students may find this technique even being exploited by contemporary fashion designers, since many of the fashions from the current Gitano line have this same design feature.

Students can examine the design features of the assembly techniques, design motifs, quilted products, functions, and styles of quilts of other cultural groups. Students could examine these for similarities and differences, and interdependence in terms of design ideas.

Some interesting aesthetics questions may arise out of art criticism activities surrounding *Patchwork Quilt*. Students might theorize, for example, about why the figure is rendered black (in the sense of the pigment used) or discuss the notion of "Black is Beautiful" as an aesthetic issue for contemporary African-Americans. The role of culture and ethnicity in regard to color response, or intragroup interactions that result in different aesthetic responses, might be explored. These few activities just begin to scratch the surface of what is possible.

Holding constant a single issue, concern, or content from each face of the model stretches the range of potential activities, the only limitation being the depth of knowledge of those making the choices. At the middle and secondary levels, students may be offered a number of possibilities for exploring from the same motivation and ideally would be able to learn to use the model themselves for independent (though not necessarily solitary) self-directed art exploration.

Conclusion

The proposed model for global multi-cultural art education attempts to summarize some major ideas that already exist in the field, as well as to incorporate concepts from global multi-cultural education. In considering what to teach, art educators must also move beyond the European fine-art tradition in recognition of the pluralistic nature of contemporary society. Art educators must seek out exemplars that help students appreciate different categories of aesthetic objects, understand different cultural traditions, and provide trans-national linkages to connect students to the diversity of the cultural heritage of all members of the society.

Although content advocated by proponents of discipline-based art education has been utilized, its inclusion in the curriculum need not follow the strict information-processing teaching model that may be perceived. The structure of each discipline must be taken into account for a curriculum model, but need not dictate its final implementation in a given classroom.

In considering how to teach, art educators need to go beyond the traditional teaching models for the disciplines in which they may have been trained and adopt a more eclectic approach. There needs to be a recognition of the integrated nature of art experiences, and of the need for teaching strategies that will yield the best results for students when the transactional nature of teaching and learning are considered.

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Debased Art Education: The Consequences of Destructive Engagement

Motepele B. Malebana

The relationship between Black South Africans and United States' public and private policy is problematic. Can DBAE be congruent with art education practice in South Africa? This article examines this question.

> Too much was wrong and too deep were the wrongs and too much a part of the wrong was she herself.
> (Kozol, 1967, p. 86)

As a Black South African, I find it ironic that my graduate studies in art education in the United States are predicated upon a kind of "benevolence" that is derived from former President Reagan's "constructive engagement" posture. I am troubled by the realization that I may be part of an experiment of the Reagan Administration's constructive engagement. Although I have expressed these apprehensions elsewhere (Malebana, 1987), I find it necessary to address this issue once more.

A significant number of South African scholarship grantees have expressed the feeling to me that they are being used as cogs in a faceless political gambit whose objectives are to create proxies for U.S.-inspired maneuvers in South Africa's post-apartheid society. This became clear to me on and after my arrival in the United States in 1986.

I settled down in this country in the midst of socio-political and economic polemic over the divestment question. It occurred to me that my scholarship was directly tied to this polemic. Particularly important in this regard was the view that scholarships should be given to South African Blacks so that they might advance themselves educationally. Considering that Blacks are educationally deprived in South Africa, I perceived this idea as plausible. What seemed strange, though, was that the United States has for years been part of the leeching process in South Africa. That the United States should suddenly change its attitude toward being a benevolent nation raised eyebrows. We South African Blacks cannot help but see it as an attempt by the United States government to assuage its conscience. What the United States saw here was an opportunity to use Blacks "as political guinea-pigs in a diplomatic circus act of constructive engagement" (Malebana, 1987).

Two instances have underscored my apprehensions about this gambit. The first was a talk by Chester Crocker[1] at the Ohio State University (May 24, 1988) in which he tried to explain the U.S. role in promoting democracy in Africa. The second is the discipline-based art education (DBAE) posture which constitutes the heart of this essay.

Although these references may seem unrelated, I should imagine that they are. Their relationship is that they represent ideas that are seen as models for other cultures to emulate. It may be that, like U.S. democracy that is being foisted on other countries, discipline-based art education is seen by its creators as the appropriate art curriculum model for schools in other countries. How can U.S. democracy be a model for countries whose socio-political order is as different for the United States as capitalism is from communism? How can DBAE represent the cultural expectations of communities as diversified as one finds in this country? That DBAE, which is no more than a subtle buttress of Western artistic values, may be used as a model in other countries seems a bit far-fetched.

I see both models as symptomatic of a patriarchal euphoria that upholds chauvinist proclivities while it simultaneously professes itself to be a paradigm of what Mokubung Nkomo (1985) refers to as attributes of Western education: freedom, equality, fraternity, liberalism, rationalism, and nationalism. I will attempt to show how the DBAE model not only reflects the artistic and political hegemony of males (Collins, 1987), but also debases these attributes and, *a fortiori*, the role of education in the lives of non-Western and minority cultures. I will also try to illustrate how DBAE cannot hold water even in the context of its own pluralistic clientele, never mind exporting it to other cultures.[2]

There is enough abrasion going on in the education of students from minority cultures in the United States. In a revealing study that shows the forms of the abrasiveness resulting from underservicing Blacks in education, Kozol (1967) remarks that "these seem amazing facts in a country which daydreams about exporting its democracy" (p. 53). While this observation was made some two decades ago, it seems reasonable to assume that it can still be made today.

Crocker's sanctimonious attitudes about transporting U.S. democracy to African countries border on the naive. This naivete is surpassed only by foreclosed views toward the realities of what constitutes the lives of African people generally and South Africans in particular. That the Botha regime has spurned U.S. government overtures in trying to resolve the South African stalemate is not surprising. While Botha's recalcitrance is motivated by self-serving interests and his disenchantment with the United States following the sanctions bill of 1986, Black South Africans felt repugnance at U.S. interference in issues which they felt were contrarily covert support for the white minority regime.

What seems pointed here is why the United States, with all its claims to super-power status and democratic order, its better-than-thou profile especially in light of the cold-war bugaboo, seems to catch the flak of critical scorn, particularly from so-called Third World countries such as Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, South Korea, and Panama. The rugged diplomatic forays that characterize U.S. attempts to win international friends borders on morbidity. The problem is that this is done through the entrenchment of the United States' own genre of political-economic agendas which may conflict with those of the host countries. Although this may not seem so, this problem is also inherent in DBAE's hidden agenda.

While DBAE does not lay claim to prospects of future African influence nor international gains, my assumption is that it suffers from the same pathological disorders that belie Crocker's agenda. It seems hardly necessary to highlight the fact that even within the parameters of the U.S., DBAE may not pass the acid test of popular support, considering the endemic and ever-growing criticism it is getting from some of the most astute leaders in the field of art education. I will come to this shortly.

It is apparent that the courtship of the Getty Center for Education in the Arts and DBAE was meant to issue forth healthy offspring through a long-lasting marriage that seems hell-bent on being polygamous. DBAE not only seeks to woo reluctant lovers, but also wants to cajole friends and influence people. Why do some art educators feel they are being forced into subjugation by DBAE? (Muth, 1988).

My assumption is that DBAE is debased, which is defined as "to lower in status or esteem...to lower the quality or character of" (Webster's International Dictonary), because it purports to be what it is not. This assumption is premised on the fact that there is no way one can justify its claims to democratic praxis. It cannot claim to represent the interests of all students. I should, therefore, like to posit that DBAE fails to address itself to a wider audience, primarily because of its negation of some issues that are central to art educational concerns such as equality. This matter goes back to the traditions of Western scholarship and the paradigms that have infiltrated cultural systems which are other than Western. I am referring particularly to African cultures. One of these problems which DBAE cannot escape is the chestnut known as the "melting pot." In a country comprised of diverse populations such as the United States, DBAE needs to accommodate the plural interests that are extant, without swamping them into a cultural mainstream. Unfortunately, its agenda is couched in terms that espouse Western models of art as valid ones for study by students. This is, of course, a flawed notion because it is premised upon cultural homogeneity a la ***e pluribus unum*** (Urdang, Robbins, & Abate, 1986). On this issue, Wangboje (1986) cautions:

> This unity...entails certain problems, which must be given serious consideration if we are to avoid stifling the harmonious development of the various cultures and peoples which make up that unity. In its drive towards unity, the world becomes a melting pot in which the smaller cultures can be swallowed, and indeed are being swallowed, by the larger cultures. (1986, p. 25)

In order to understand this dilemma of cultural domination and imperialist conquest, one needs to be aware of the traditions of Western scholarship that helped in shaping it. One of the most pointed observations about this issues from Magubane (1987), who cites Hegel's monomanic view of the Black man's role in history. He notes that Hegel:

> seems to have anticipated most of the arguments that were to be used later by racist and imperialist intellectuals. Hegel was a philosopher of great repute and his influence on European thought is still felt today, regardless of the validity of his writings. His description of Africa and the sources of his data do not require extensive scrutiny to reveal that they violate even the method of philosophy. He made no attempt to describe Africa as it was, but simply drew sweeping conclusions from the writings of travelers and missionaries. (p. 57)

Another influential force in shaping Western constructs of scholarship was the Darwinian concept of evolution that Magubane (1987) discusses in detail. The "imperial urge" of Darwinism ushered in a whole repertoire of ratiocinations whose racial slants influenced much of scholarly thinking. Illustrating the bigotry which shaped some of the constructs, Victorian anthropology saw European society as a "progressive advance over ruder, more savage cultures that must represent earlier stages in the forward drive toward higher civilization" (Danto, 1988, p. 128). Danto notes that Darwin felt a greater affinity for certain monkeys and baboons than for savages who torture enemies, make bloody sacrifices, practice infanticide, treat wives like slaves, know no decency, and are "haunted by the grossest superstitions" (p. 128).

I find myself hard put to accept the validity of some occidental discourses in art history, aesthetics, art criticism, and even studio, without being extra cautious. This is more so when I consider observations by Anderson (1988) that white universities and colleges historically have been the seedbed for the "legitimization" of racial stereotypes and for the proliferation of racist-oriented scholarship related to Africans and peoples of African descent (p. 259).

It may seem far-fetched to argue that the slanted advocacies of the William Bennetts and the Allan Blooms for classical occidental paradigms in education are vestigial to this Darwinian tradition. Their demands that Western paradigms of scholarship be the template for curriculum material in American schools is, to say the least, myopic. Perhaps former Secretary of Education Bennett's presence among the Founding Fathers of DBAE at the Getty Center-hosted 1987 National Invitational Conference on DBAE (Duke, 1988) was an endorsement of their stand. I would assume that the closing of the American mind and its European antecedents were triggered by such arguments as Hegel's and Darwin's, antecedents that have led to a state of academic oblivion that is extant in some advocacies for Western paradigms. It would not be preposterous to assume that Bennett's demands are a "self-conscious plea for ethnocentricity...an advocacy consecrating the European-American tradition as an official culture" (Schorske, 1988, p. 2). Like Schorske, I believe that Bennett and his conservative supporters are the new fundamentalists of Western culture. A condition of academic oblivion and ignorance about other cultures results; that is very disquieting.

It seems Euro-American scholarly research in cultures that are non-Western is stimulated only by circumstances such as those of Japan's sudden economic take-off, a factor which ostensibly threatens erstwhile solid imperialist foundations. It is my assumption that DBAE is cocooned in that same strait-jacket, as I will attempt to demonstrate.

The apparent neglect of non-Western cultures in the mainstream of Western academic though is ironical when one considers some emerging evidence that Western paradigms evolved from Egyptian mystical epistemology (James, 1976/1954). I should assume that they became Western by dint of fabrications, distortions, plagiarism, false-nomenclaturing (Asante, 1988), and historical misrepresentations. To ascribe Western thought and culture solely to Greek philosophy clouds the picture of what the role of other cultures was, particularly in regard to those of African and Oriental origin. James notes that:

> The true authors of Greek philosophy were not the Greeks; and the praise and honor falsely given to the Greeks for centuries belong to the people of North Africa, and therefore

> to the African Continent. Consequently this theft of the African legacy by the Greeks led to the erroneous world opinion that the African Continent has made no contribution to civilization and that its people are naturally backward. This is the misrepresentation that has become the basis of race prejudice, which has affected people of color. (p. 7)

That Western culture was enforced through military as well as hegemonic control on other cultures is history. Education was and still is one of the vehicles of this enforcement. Some institutions uphold Western paradigms with all their concomitants of ethnocentric biases. This has created a dearth of legitimate scholarship that would look at other cultures for the re-creation and reconstruction of academe. What is eminently clear is that only through high-profiled, non-racial, non-discriminatory and universally accepted processes would this be possible. The lack of knowledge or falsification of other peoples and cultures is a blight on present-day scholarship. In the United States, such scholarship is likely to eviscerate the cultural-gut of its society. To this end, Greenberg notes that an ignorant society is dangerous to itself and to those who compose it (as cited in Muth, 1988). Camus (1960) warns that "the evil that is in the world comes of ignorance, and good intentions may do as much harm as malevolence, if they lack understanding" (p. 120). It is possible that the U.S. government's intentions to democratize other nations are benign. It is also possible that DBAE's purpose is well-intended. There are, however, far too many questions left unanswered. No flash-in-the-pan solutions will work, whatever their intentions. The interests of minorities are not sufficiently addressed, if at all.

That the United States needs to take care of its own cannot be overstated; a great nation should have that as its priority in order to maintain its greatness in the eyes of the world. Likewise, I find it difficult to accept the validity of DBAE for the simple reason that by ignoring the cultural values of student populations outside of the mainstream, it is not taking care of its own but is pandering to the needs and the interests of a clique. This clique seeks to entrench its values through corporate pieces of silver. No amount of money can buy the future of children whose careers have been debased. This goes against the grain of democratic praxis in education. Even in political-economic domains, this democratic praxis is invisible. Recent presidential elections are an index to this. Far too many people are opting or dropping out of their voting franchise, just as are students in the public schools.

If the international community is to make sense of American democracy, American democracy must clean its own house first. I do not think that this is the case. Similarly, for DBAE to make sense internationally, it needs to work within the ambience of the United States, but is basic complexion seems unconvincing to me.

The assumption that art history, aesthetics, art criticism, and studio practice would constitute the correct bases for articulating an "organized body of knowledge requiring the same kind of substance and intellectual rigor [as expected] in the sciences and the humanities" (Duke, 1988, p. 8), is not only flawed but misleading. In the first place, Muth (1988) rightly asks, why not three or five or another number of disciplines? Is designation of four disciplines a truthful reflection of what is or what ought to be?

This arbitrary selection of the four domains of the art(s) experience pares them down to "narrow specialisms" (Chalmers, 1987, p. 58) that do not account for multi-cultural manifestations. This leaves many international art educators out of the picture, including me! I cannot forego my hypothesis that for art history, art criticism, aesthetics, and studio to be meaningful, a holistic approach is necessary. By that, I mean they should include not only multi-cultural constructs, but should also be subsumed under them. Then, and only then, would there be a possibility of making references that would inform art praxis. After all, the behavior of children or adults in art-making is what keeps the other three areas in business. Therefore, art history, art criticism, and aesthetics must be informed by art-making activities, and not the other way around. Burton (1988) maintains that the practice of art best enables learning about the aesthetic dimension of experience and how to make nuanced judgments. Through the practice of art, the senses and the imagination interplay, and set the scene for complex reflective judgments.

If this is accepted, it follows that the other three disciplines should be informed by that experience in order to be valid. However, systems of art criticism, aesthetics, or art history tend to evolve, disconnected from the organic welter of art practice. It is for this reason that the disciplines of art criticism and aesthetics, derived from Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates down to Hegel, up to and including some contemporary manifestations, are to a very large extent irrelevant in the study of African art or other non-Western art.[2]

First, these three core areas evolved into an agenda that put a premium on retinal sensations. All were about what could be seen. This resulted in the problem of imitating nature and beauty. Only toward the end of the nineteenth century are other phenomena such as feeling accepted.

Second, these disciplines became so specialized that they could not connect with the art object itself. The result was aesthetics for aesthetics' sake, art history for art history's sake, and art criticism for art criticism's sake. There is even a discipline known as metacriticism. While I do not have problems with these congeners of art, I feel that their connection with the object should be maintained, otherwise they become luxuries for the entertainment of philistine preoccupations. This holds for art history, whose account "seems equal to the study of Western monuments" (Chalmers, 1987, p. 58). Gombrich notes that there are nearly as many varieties of art history as there are art historians (cited in Jackson, 1987). If this is so, which art historical account will be accepted?

Third, what confounds the validity of DBAE is that by "sharpening the categories" (Muth, 1988, p. 21) of art history, criticism, aesthetics, and studio, it perpetuates the problem of arbitrary distinctions that Dewey (1934) and Melzer (1936) decried with respect to painting, sculpture, architecture, and so forth.

Another aspect of DBAE that sours art education is its pretense to democratic praxis. It is hard to defend DBAE against charges of elitism (Lanier, 1987) or allegations that it is "suspiciously pretentious" (Jackson, 1987) when its salespeople pay lip-service to feminist and minority profiles. While traditional art educational practice has shown a committed attempt to address these issues, DBAE merely gives them token acknowledgement. By invoking the prophetic power of masterpieces that have withstood the "test of time" (Silverman, 1988, p. 17), and giving them front-page status, DBAE sends out signals with an unmistakable message. Any attempts made to incorporate popular idioms from feminist or minority cultures are haunted by a glib verbiage that fails to hide the veneer of tokenism. I am inclined to agree with Barzun (1961), who states that democracy in art must steer clear of the fallacious belief that there is a "socially approved list of books, pictures, and symphonies called the Best" (p. 19).

Memory seems to have escaped some DBAE advocates when one considers that some master artists whose works have withstood the test of time also salvaged what were essentially moribund if not decadent manifestations in the arts. Paul Gauguin's desire to distance himself from Western art resulted from his distaste for it, as well as for Western society, according to Danto (1988). Gauguin deeply believed that Western art was false, in part because its agenda was to copy mere visual appearance. Danto refers also to Duchamp's repudiation of the "retinal" artist who followed the Renaissance ideal of arranging forms and colors on a flat surface to affect the retina just as it would be affected by the scene to which the painting corresponds. Picasso resorted to "Negro Art" because of his disenchantment with "what was called beauty in the museums" (Daix, 1988, p. 133). Revolting against the futility of what were considered Western traditions of reason and enlightenment, the Dada movement was inseparable from the First World War and its confirmation of the bankruptcy of nineteenth-century bourgeois rationalism (Rubin, 1967).

It is inconceivable how the four-pronged curriculum structure of DBAE can accommodate the interests of students whose education abounds with forces that are abrasive to their well-being (Illich, 1971; Kozol, 1967; Labov, 1972). How does one ascertain that all students are "empowered to be personally involved with works of art" (Green, cited in Fowler, 1986, p. 34) without creating a situation in which they will be socked "with a grueling menu of note-taking and memorization of facts that will obliterate such involvement?" (Fowler, p. 34). The premises of academic standards, rigor, and acquisition of art concepts and skills may well turn out to be repellent rather than attractive to students. As discourse in the four disciplines tends to be charged with highly technical jargon, how are students from cultures that are not Euro-American to engage themselves in disciplines that are cast in Euro-American vernacular idioms? How valid would English be in conducting discourses of aesthetics and art criticism on Chinese, Zulu, Ndebele, Islamic, or Buddhist icons without misrepresenting them?

In the so-called Third World countries, the problem of poor teaching practices or lack of properly trained teachers is commonplace. How are the arts, which are often considered frills, to be taught without resulting in what Greer calls the nightmare of badly done arts teaching? (cited in Fowler, 1986, p. 36).

Myriad suggestions made by some art educators seem sound and valid, but how do they fit with the tenets of DBAE? One such advocacy is for local specificity of the art content (Anderson, 1985). Chalmers (1978) suggests the use of anthropological and sociological considerations in the teaching of art history. Both Chalmers and Wangboje (1986) make a strong case for the recognition of the aesthetic worth of non-Western cultures. In reference to the problem of exposing students to paintings by so-called great artists, Schellin (1973) notes that:

> [What] we may tell a Black student, a Chicano, or a Native American student when we show them European art objects is that there may be something "wrong" with or "primitive" about being non-white. We may debase any student as a human being... if we insult the student's or his parent's latest prize

> possession as something which has no redeeming "aesthetic worth" according to the culturally defined aesthetic standards we "hawk" in the classroom. (p. 6)

Congdon's (1986) suggestion that folk speech be used in art criticism has significant import in encompassing the vocabulary genres of all students irrespective of their racial, cultural, or language origins. How DBAE accommodates this is not clear. King's (1983) study shows how successful a student-choice learning environment can be through demonstrably greater achievement and more positive self-concepts and attitudes toward art than would be a teacher-choice environment. The DBAE model seems to give too much leeway to a teacher-choice type of learning environment. This may truncate students' chances to assume ownership over the arts experience and end up being merely vicarious.

Like Jackson (1987), I am skeptical of the specificity and the universality of the DBAE prescription. These kinds of prescriptions are reminiscent of the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black South African schools. The calamitous consequences of this action were the tragic student uprisings of 1976, which embroiled the whole country in civil disorder. Although my case may seem overstated, I am convinced that the real motivations of DBAE are predicated upon a general tendency toward a patriarchal, imperialist fundamentalism that seeks to dominate all cultural systems that are other than Western. For that reason, the DBAE stance may see itself failing to win supporters.

While my reflections are by no means pessimistic, I am concerned that uncritical pandering to the seductions of DBAE would auger ill for art education generally. There is a need for art education pandits to subject the DBAE agenda to critical scrutiny before it is implemented. These pandits should not necessarily be its avowed supporters but also its indefatigable opponents. My sense at the implementation of one such project was that no debate was accommodated; teachers were just there to imbibe the DBAE stuff. In addition, I should like to conclude by citing the following remarks that were made by an educator whose vision has reawakened to the negative effects of ethnocentrism. In his passionate appeal for a "cultural glasnost," Schorske (1988) remarks:

> We did not realize that our vision of the world was limited by our own western culture, by the western binders we wore. To be civilized, we thought, meant to be schooled in European-American elite culture. The cultures of "the others"—not only Asian and African but also our own folk and popular cultures—were simply not included as basic constituents in the

> education of the cultivated person. (p. B2)

Stanford University's attempts to broaden the curriculum base of its courses by adding ideas and thoughts from non-Western cultures is welcomed by Schorske for its efforts to prepare students to appreciate cultural diversity and to live in a multi-cultural society at home and abroad. That the U.S.A., like South Africa, is a multicultural society presupposes carefully tailored arts curricula that should help in dispelling fears of cultural or imperialist domination among various subcultures.

I believe it to be the democratic right of teachers, as well as students, to scrutinize curriculum critically. Foisting curriculum through a corporate or institutionalized mechanism without subjecting it to critical review may be a recipe for trouble. I do not believe that DBAE is being consciously foisted down on its recipients, but I cannot at the same time free my thoughts from the nagging feeling that minds are being engineered into particular ways of thinking. If my feeling is correct, I cannot help but hope that there will be a change of attitude among the engineers.

What brought me into this country for education was generated by memories of the United States in the 1960s, which I thought were phenomenal times in terms of social awareness in this country. I should like to assume that those days are not forgotten. Coming from a country whose socio-political order is nightmarish, I feel enlightened by what I have garnered.

My country's tragic education system cries out for radical reform, as it is trapped in the maw of apartheid control. By coming to the United States for my studies, I entertained the illusion that I would get some clues from the U.S. "Pandora's Box" that would help reform our country's education. As teachers, we find ourselves between Scylla and Charybdis. Scylla represents the highly politicized and radical students who feel no reforms will work and that education as it stands would be scrapped. Some of these were brilliant students who felt so betrayed that the shortest route to their reprieve was the barrel of an AK-47. The ideological institutions that want to keep things in check represent Charybdis. This Charybdis seeks to buy the support of Black teachers through measly pieces of silver.

While it may seem that the U.S. educational system is much freer, the signals that are sent out by students who decide to opt out are significant. I am not sure whether DBAE with its present agenda really addresses these issues. If not, how does it then address a larger international audience? Fortunately for my part, the United States is a smorgasbord of art education choices. Which one will best fit into one's training still stands to be seen.

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Footnotes

[1] Chester Crocker was the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs during the Reagan Administration.

[2] I have addressed the issue of art education and by extension, aesthetic education as a vital component of engaging in the arts in most non-Western cultures. It was predicated upon primeval processes of collective living, with unity of purpose and intent manifested in a "gesamntkunswerk" of painting, sculpture, and other forms of creative expression such as music organically linked with architecture.

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Cultural Literacy Through Multiple DBAE Repertoires

Karen A. Hamblen

Much current educational literature suggests that cultural literacy consists of a particular type of information and level of expertise that would enable individuals to deal knowledgeably with the experiences of a selected culture. Cultural literacy is not, however, a particular body of knowledge but rather a process involving an examination of the assumptions of one's own culture and of other cultural bases of knowledge and experience. It is proposed that discipline-based art education (DBAE) curricula could be accommodative of cultural literacy through the study of cross-cultural arts, the study of art of diverse multi-cultural groups within our society, and through the active, ongoing examination of the means by which particular aesthetic knowledge bases are given legitimation and others are not. Students who have such DBAE instruction will have an elaborated repertoire of aesthetic knowledge and a culturally literate base of understanding.

Eliza Doolittle of My *Fair Lady* fame initially saw nothing wrong with her Cockney accent. At Professor Higgins' persistent intervention, however, she began to anguish over her lack of social graces. Finally, of course, she triumphed with her careful "British" pronunciation of "The rain in Spain falls mainly on the plain." Hirsch (1987, 1988), who has identified several thousand facts that he believes are possessed by culturally literate individuals, uses Eliza Doolittle as a metaphor for the acquisition of specific knowledge that enables adults to participate in their culture. The irony, of course, is that the culture of which Eliza gained knowledge is not her own, and, in fact, denigrates her cultural heritage.

Increasingly, we are seeing references to the terms "cultural literacy" and "common culture" (Bennett, 1987/1988) and similar phrases that suggest there is a particular type and level of expertise that would enable individuals to deal knowledgeably with the experiences of a selected culture. This is sometimes expressed in art by a call for artistic literacy, and more specifically in discipline-based art education (DBAE) programs, by the belief that there are particular, desired types of professional art role models and that art instructional time should be focused on the study of artistic exemplars (Smith, 1987). In other words, there is the belief that there is a core of art knowledge that constitutes artistic literacy and, hence, a validated cultural literacy.

Proponents of a particular configuration of cultural literacy fail to note that we do not live in a homogeneous, singular society. In addition to the many small community, professional, and familial cultures in which we participate daily, we also live in a larger pluralistic society composed of numerous ethnic and racial groups. Eliza Doolittle's triumph over her Cockney accent comes at the expense of her Cockney heritage. The "correctness" of her new accent has been dealt with in a taken-for-granted manner; it becomes ingrained through Professor Higgins' instruction, and it is held up as a singular ideal. A Cockney background is seen as something to overcome, to cast aside—and therein lies the problem.

Cultural literacy is about knowledge legitimation when it is talked about as being a single thing; that is, a particular culture's knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviors are held up as a standard. This entity is referred to as the core culture, the legitimate culture, or more concretely, it has been called the cash culture. This cash culture constitutes a standard that is legitimated by the educational system, news and print media, governmental policies, and so on. Failure to achieve this standard becomes equated with a personal failure to deal adequately with society or with essential portions of society, as is the case with the artistic knowledge identified as the standard for DBAE programs.

In this paper, DBAE will be discussed in terms of how it does and does not relate to an encompassing and expansive application of what it means to be culturally literate. It will be proposed that DBAE could be accommodative of multiple culturally literate knowledge bases; as well, it could provide a forum for the active examination of how some artistic knowledge bases come to be legitimated and others do not. Much of our current literature on cultural and artistic literacy is deceptively simplistic. To use such terms as cultural literacy to mean a singular entity has resulted in an ethnocentricity that obscures multiple possibilities for cultural literacy. It is unfortunate that cultural literacy has most often been presented in the literature as constituting a particular configuration of knowledge and meaning. Rather, cultural literacy should be considered as an active process enabling the understanding of one's own culture and of multiple cultural configurations. It should involve the examination of how those configurations relate to and differ from one another. In this paper, it will be proposed that cultural literacy pertaining to art should be considered as a process that entails an ongoing examination of multiple aesthetic realities, of how aesthetic realities relate to their cultural milieu, and how particular artistic forms and meanings come to be legitimated. Cultural literacy is not a particular body of knowledge, but rather a process by which the knowledge of one's own culture, and that of others, is raised to consciousness in terms of comparative and relative meanings and significance.

DBAE Characteristics and Controversies

Discipline-based art education programs consist of instruction that is sequenced within and between grades, has a strong evaluation component, is implemented district-wide, and comprises the four content areas of aesthetics, art criticism, art history, and studio production (Clark, Day, & Greer, 1987). While DBAE substantially expands instruction beyond traditional studio instruction and appears to take into account a variety of ways individuals can experience and understand art, DBAE, nonetheless, has been faulted for presenting a limited perspective on the study of art. Hausman (1987) asserts "that we can be accountable to a 'multi-discipline base' that includes studio practice, art history, aesthetics, art criticism, psychology, philosophy, history, literature, science—indeed, the full range of our human knowledge" (p. 58).

On the basis that we live in a multi-cultural society and in a world that is shrinking in experiential dimensions due to rapid communication and travel, McFee (1988) proposes that DBAE programs build upon the role of sociologist/anthropologist or, at the least, incorporate the cultural study of art as a fifth content area. In addition to using a cultural perspective to examine art in its functional context, it is believed that such study is necessary due to the demographics of student populations in our society. In some school districts in New Jersey, as many as 40 different ethnic and racial subcultures are present in the schools. In Los Angeles county schools, 82 different language groups are represented in the student population (McFee, 1988). Lederman (1988) has objected to DBAE's emphasis on Western fine art exemplars, and she suggests that art instruction needs to encompass craft, popular, folk, and commercial arts. According to McFee (1988) and Lederman (1988), not only should the cultural aspects of art be studied, but art also should be studied in all its diversity—different types of art, multi-cultural art forms, cross-cultural art, and so on.

While there is growing criticism of the cultural limitations of current DBAE programs and proposals, the most vocal critics are those who believe DBAE indicates a lack of enthusiasm for the creative spirit (London, 1988). There are strong criticisms that DBAE does not allow for individual differences and self-expression (De Chiaro, 1988); that it stultifies freedom, creativity, and imagination (Lidstone, 1988); and, in general, that it devocalizes the importance of art production (Zessoules, Wolfe, & Gardner, 1988). DBAE has also been faulted for too closely resembling the content and methodologies of instruction used for subjects within general education (Hamblen, 1987).

To date, DBAE curricula and proposals have tended to focus on the formal qualities of art, technical skills, Western fine art, and singular approaches to aesthetics and art analysis, that is, aesthetic scanning (Hamblen, 1987). In general, DBAE has conformed to the aesthetic cultural base of the white, upper-middle class who place the highest good in art on individualistic and bracketed aesthetic experiences, museum experiences of art, and attention to art's formal qualities.

Although many of the criticisms of DBAE appear to emanate from a desire to maintain the status quo and may have little to do with such issues as cultural literacy and aesthetic knowledge legitimation, the above-cited criticisms of DBAE do have in common the belief that current DBAE proposals are limiting and that they present a particular aesthetic knowledge base. To some critics of DBAE, that knowledge base itself is considered to be flawed; for others, it is considered to be insufficient by itself. In this paper, the major concern with current DBAE proposals is that a particular aesthetic knowledge base is being legitimated and that its legitimation is not being examined. Moreover, by excluding other aesthetic perspectives and by not examining the cultural dimensions of aesthetic expression and response, a narrow and limiting view of art is being presented. Ironically, an open elite (Smith, 1987), such as DBAE proponents propose, allows students to experience the so-called best of fine art, but it is quality art that exists within a relatively narrow range. The world of visual art offers a rich and diverse spectrum, that is, art forms that are historic, cross-cultural, fine, folk, popular, occupational, hiddenstream (women's), commercial, functional design, environmental, domestic, and so on.

A major concern with DBAE is that a particular aesthetic knowledge base is being presented as correct and inevitable. DBAE curriculum choices and their philosophical and cultural biases have tended to be obscured. Educational choice cannot be avoided (Apple, 1979). Even if one opts for rampant eclecticism or for a laissez-faire approach to instructional activities, these are themselves choices that allow for some types of outcomes and preclude others. Curriculum developers make choices among artistic knowledge bases and decide whose culture or cultures will be represented in the program. They decide what is worthwhile to study and why. According to Shulman (1986), teachers are professionals when they not only make choices and act, but then they also know why they act as they do. Educational professionals act as self-conscious critics of their choices.

It is this component of self-conscious critical reflection that appears to be absent from DBAE's knowledge base, both in regard to the curriculum selection process and to the actions of students within the curriculum.

One might ask what is gained and what is lost as a result of Eliza Doolittle's grueling work to articulate in an acceptable manner—and who decides what is and is not acceptable diction. Whether Eliza is cognizant of such issues and is conscious of what she has gained and lost are of utmost importance. Likewise, questions of what is worthwhile for study need to be raised within the art curriculum itself. For example, the tight sequencing of the rendering of an intricate cityscape in two-point perspective during portions of one or more school years involves a tremendous amount of student time and effort. Such curriculum choices need to be examined in relationship to outcomes, the multi-cultural base of the student population, and the understanding students gain of art in its larger context.

An art curriculum allows for some views and understandings of aesthetic realities, and it obscures or defocalizes others. While DBAE may be considered more encompassing of diverse art role models than past curricula, it is however, limiting in that a self-conscious and self-reflective examination of assumptions is essentially precluded and a particular type of cultural and aesthetic literacy is promoted. Later in this paper it will be proposed that these limitations could be overcome through the study of cross-cultural arts, the study of art of diverse multi-cultural groups within our society, and through the active, ongoing examination of the assumptions underlying curriculum choices and the means by which particular aesthetic knowledge bases are given legitimation and others are not. Knowledge legitimation as it relates to cultural literacy and how cultural literacy is defined appear to be at the crux of the dilemmas and controversies currently surrounding DBAE and the solution to how DBAE could be focused toward culturally relevant instruction.

The Common Culture Argument

Arguments for the teaching of a common cultural core of knowledge characterize literature emanating from sources like the U. S. Department of Education, state departments of education, prestigious universities, and philanthropic organizations. It is also thoroughly embedded within the assumptions of many of our everyday experiences. In the popular television program *Cagney and Lacey*, the social class differences between the two female police officers and their opportunities for social mobility are clearly shown in a 1987-88 series episode dealing with the theft of several paintings. Cagney, having a college education and course work in art history and appreciation, is able to converse glibly with gallery dealers and New York artists. Lacey, who has a high school education, follows along, painfully aware of her inadequate formal art background. She makes elaborate plans for her infant daughter's future aesthetic education, which is to include trips to museums, talk about famous Western artists, and listening to tapes on art appreciation. No mention is made in this program of the art forms that are now part of Lacey's environment and understanding nor of art that would differ from that which tends to be displayed in swank New York galleries.

Arguments for a common culture are based on assumptions that some cultural experiences, values, behaviors, and knowledge are more valuable than others. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine how some cultures become legitimated and others become devalued. However, despite the logic and attractions for a more pluralistic and democratic approach to the arts, it is important to acknowledge that some cultures and some cultural knowledge provide more advantages than others. This is not to argue that some are better, but rather that in the social scheme of power and prestige, some carry more weight than others. In this respect, Hirsch (1988) is correct in stating that his identified common cultural knowledge provides access to opportunities that other cultural knowledge may not. In our information society, personal and professional power does not reside so much in that which is possessed in terms of tangible goods as it does in what type of knowledge one has (Gouldner, 1979). Problems develop, however, when a common or singular culture becomes exclusionary and is seen as being correct rather than being one option among many. Eliza Doolittle and Lacey are made to feel inadequate and wrong in their current subcultural behaviors. In this sense, the common cash culture is presented as a reified entity; it loses its historical origins and its human authorship. It comes to appear historically neutral and inevitable, and it takes on a correctness at the expense of other culturally literate options.

According to Hirsch (1988), Eliza Doolittle's world is enlarged in that she is able to go back and forth, from her newly acquired cultural knowledge to her Cockney beginnings. This, however, is not an option if a particular type of cultural literacy is presented as correct or as better. Also, it is not an option if alternative culturally literate knowledge bases are not studied and are not given legitimacy. Patrons of New York art galleries and folk artists in the Kentucky hill country are both disempowered if they limit themselves to the aesthetic of their particular subcultures or if they consider their aesthetic preferences as exclusionary to other possibilities. Eliza

Doolittle is disempowered and diminished when she eschews her cultural roots irrespective of the avenues opened by her newly acquired knowledge and manners. Her gain is, in the totality of her life, a loss of potential and of critical consciousness.

A Case for Multiple Cultural Repertoires

Studies of multiple modes of intelligence (Gardner, 1983), cross-cultural aesthetics (Fischer, 1971; Kavolis, 1968), and hypothesis testing theory (Bruner, 1958) offer examples and models for thinking about options available for DBAE curricula. Studies in these areas also indicate the importance that content options be available and included in art curricula.

As noted earlier, DBAE heralds a start in opening up art study through the inclusion of a variety of professional role models beyond that of the artist (Hamblen, 1988b). The need for the incorporation of even more role models and, in particular, for a socio-cultural grounding to the DBAE curriculum is becoming increasingly recognized (Dobbs, 1988; McFee, 1988). Studies of multiple modes of intelligence indicate how limited much instruction, including art, has been in allowing for individual talents and differences in cognitive style (Hamblen, 1988b). Likewise, studies in cross-cultural aesthetics indicate how aesthetic expressions relate to world views and consciousness formation. Educating students in the aesthetic reality of a "common culture" may result not only in the negation of their everyday life/world aesthetic, but also in the limitation of their abilities to understand and appreciate the art and world views of other cultures. In this sense, they are being denied access to other ways of thinking and perceiving. This is especially the case when curriculum content is considered representative of a "correct" common culture and is presented as inevitable.

The benefits of having access to and knowledge of multiple cultural realities is, perhaps, revealed as being even more important in the context of Bruner's (1958) cognitive theory of hypothesis testing. According to Bruner, when we are confronted with a particular problem or life situation, similar problems or situations are recalled for information on how to proceed. Hypotheses are formed and tested against the requirements of the new situation. Often "the entire process of hypothesis formation, tentative testing [of hypotheses], and evaluation, followed by the taking of some form of action, is . . . accomplished very quickly and subconsciously in the ongoing tasks of life" (Hamblen, 1988a, p. 6). For example, hypothesis testing is applied to the quickly resolved action of whether to stop one's car at a red light "Hypothesis testing can also be applied to the ongoing, lengthy, and conscious process of deciding which instructional content and methodologies are appropriate for a given student population" (Hamblen, 1988a, p. 7). Through past informal and formal learning, repertoires of information and, hence, working hypotheses have been compiled. It might be surmised that those individuals with the most extensive and varied experiences in, for example, art study, will have recourse to a rich fund of artistic hypotheses for art understanding, appreciation, and problem-solving. They have more choices and can make finer and more appropriate discriminations. In this sense, Eliza Doolittle benefits from her newly acquired knowledge and abilities. Likewise, students who have DBAE instruction in multi-cultural art forms and cross-cultural arts and who engage in the sociologist/anthropologist role model will have an enlarged repertoire of aesthetic knowledge and an elaborated culturally literate base of understanding.

There is, however, an important proviso that needs to be made regarding multiple cultural repertoires. The sheer amount of artistic knowledge and varied artistic experience is not sufficient by itself. It is the consciousness of the relative merits of various hypotheses or culturally literate bases of study that distinguishes between the individual merely having access to multiple repertoires and the individual having access with consciousness of the relative possibilities those repertoires provide.

Bowers (1984) proposes that cultural literacy and critical consciousness can result from attending to one's phenomenological experience of a given issue, an examination of an issue's historical origins, and comparisons of how a particular issue has been treated cross-culturally. I am suggesting that cultural literacy entails an ability to examine the assumptions of one's own culture and of other cultural bases of knowledge and experience. Such an ability can be developed through the study of multiple aesthetic and cultural repertoires, that is, multi-cultural and cross-cultural arts, as well as engagement in a critical examination and comparison of those multiple repertoires and bases for aesthetic knowledge legitimation. In other words, students need to be made privy to the curriculum developer's choices, assumptions, and biases. Cultural and aesthetic literacy is a process whereby students examine the aesthetics of their own culture as well as historic and cross-cultural aesthetic realities; students examine how aesthetic realities relate to art's cultural milieu and how particular artistic forms and meanings come to be legitimated. Multiple aesthetic repertoires are acquired through the study of multi-cultural and cross-cultural art and through the study of diverse art forms.

Conclusion

In addition to arguments for the benefits that can be accrued from the study of the common culture, objections to a cross-cultural and multi-cultural approach to art education have hinged on instructional time limitations. Supposedly, students already have experience with and knowledge of vernacular and commercial art forms (Broudy, 1987; Smith, 1987). The argument is that, given the severe constraints put upon instructional time, art study must be confined to what will give the greatest benefits. Smith (1987) believes that at least six years of art instruction, including core requirements and electives, are necessary to achieve competence.

When art instruction is limited to 90 or 110 minutes per week and perhaps one course taken during middle and high school years, the few art courses that are offered have had to bear the entire weight of one's philosophical and artistic beliefs. DBAE programs, with course work sequenced throughout grades 1-12, could very well provide the time to offer multi-cultural and cross-cultural art study as well as other perspectives that would enrich the entire program of study. It is doubtful that either students or art specialist teachers will be satisfied with a year-after-year sequence of lessons on the color wheel, types of line, and compositional techniques—such as is now the case with most current DBAE curricula that have been developed.

DBAE should not be considered a completed, chiseled-in-stone program of study, nor should it be considered an approach to art that is controlled and dictated by any one organization or individual. DBAE is a concept and subject-centered approach to art instruction that can be accommodative of a variety of curricular interpretations and types of artistic meaning and response, to multi-cultural bases for cultural literacy, and within diverse art role models are but some of the possibilities for achieving cultural literacy through multiple DBAE repertoires.

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Teaching Art to Students of Minority Cultures

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Because students of minority cultures possess traits, folkways, and learning styles that differ from the dominant culture in society, they must be taught differently. Teaching is a process of human interaction, based on communication, to enhance learning. When art teachers emphasize content, they may ignore interaction, which is very important to children of some minority cultures. Facilitation of learning can be accomplished through the manipulation of four instructional aspects: motivation, classroom behavior, student/teacher interaction, and evaluation. These aspects of interactive behaviors are far too often overlooked. The purpose of this paper is to discuss these teaching variables in regard to discipline-based art education and to provide examples of their implementation.

Discipline-based art education is essentially a content-oriented approach based on the disciplines of art history, studio production, art criticism, and aesthetics. However, relevant literature reviewed by the author failed to explain how art content may be used to teach students of minority cultures. There is no referential evidence that minority educators are consulted in developing discipline-based art education programs advocated by The Getty Center for Education in the Arts (Dobbs, 1988). Researchers adopting this orientation assume that students can read and write [English] effectively when studying art history, criticism, and aesthetics.

Discipline-based art education can also be elitist in its choice of subject matter, such as Wilson's (1988) 12-week unit on art criticism, in which fifth and sixth graders read about, discuss, evaluate, and write about Picasso's *Guernica*, or Day's (1988) lessons on Cubism, in which junior high students combine art history study with studio art. In both cases, students are from well-to-do families. Most of the sites used by The Getty participant-observation researchers seem to be middle/high income areas (Day, Eisner, Stake, Wilson, & Wilson, 1984).

What if students cannot read or write? Can all facets of discipline-based art education be used with them? To date, there is no convincing evidence that they can, and it is my belief that they will not, unless their advocates develop a unique delivery system based on these students' interests, preferences, abilities, cultural heritages, and learning and interaction styles. Some of these discipline-based approaches may not be appropriate for students of minority cultures in certain contexts, especially in the beginning of their schooling.

Students of minority cultures are those who possess traits, folkways, and learning styles that differ from the dominant culture in society. These children are often mislabeled as deprived, disadvantaged, and slow learners. Silverman (1984) refers to them as educationally and economically disadvantaged because of racial, ethnic, and class affiliations. He states, "Characteristics such as negative attitudes toward intellectual involvement, a poorly developed self concept, and deficiencies in basic perceptual experiences need to be recognized . . ." (p. 86). Descriptions of these students should emphasize their assets, rather than their deficiencies because they are self defeating, according to Silverman. These students should also be regarded as possessing different cultural traits (Lanier, 1973). Because of the tremendous influx of diverse cultural groups since the 1970s, schools have begun to develop different ways to teach these students. Furthermore, multi-cultural teaching focuses not just on ethnic groups, but also on those who are experiencing disabilities, such as deafness, because these individuals may have their own folkways and learning styles. Cusack (1987) finds that the instructional problem is not a matter of adjusting language deficiencies and content alone, but also of developing new teaching strategies. Art teachers need to prepare teaching alternatives for these students.

In the past, art educators used special lessons on ethnic art to help students of minority cultures appreciate their heritages (Grigsby, 1977). Grigsby (1986) reports on community art programs in Phoenix that created bonds between people and teachers, all of whom lived together in one building complex, by promoting understanding of their cultural heritages and celebrating holidays through art. Researchers also conducted programs to improve the learning of students from minority cultures, such as The New York State Department of Education's program, *Reading Improvement Through Art* (Corwin, 1975-76) and Silverman, Hoepfner, & Hendricks' (1969) in-depth study of how art was taught to educationally and economically disadvantaged seventh graders in Los Angeles. Silverman, Hoepfner, and Hendricks conclude from their experimental study that art teachers who are the most experienced, have the most education, have well-planned and specific lessons, and do not rely on the teaching devices of others play significant roles in the art learning and behavior changes of their disadvantaged students (p. 33). While these factors are important in and of themselves, they lead to the question of what instructional aspects are important when teaching art to children from minority cultures.

A review of the literature on multi-cultural teaching, featuring the findings of Black educators, reveals that minority students' learning can be facilitated by manipulation of four instructional aspects: motivation, classroom behavior, interaction, and evaluation (Brown, 1986). The purpose of this paper is to discuss these teaching variables as they relate to discipline-based art education and to provide examples of their implementation gathered from published research and several participant observation studies conducted by this researcher over the past six years.[1] These studies concentrate mainly on the teaching of art to Black and Hispanic inner-city youth in the Cleveland schools.

Motivation

Motivation is a process in which students are inspired and nurtured to learn. Many art teachers motivate children in the way they were taught—from a predominantly white, middle-class point of view, which also dominates the discipline-based art education case studies (Day, Eisner, Stake, Wilson & Wilson, 1984). Some art teachers believe that motivation is achieved with audio-visual devices and gimmicks. This kind of motivation, however, may be minimally rewarding to students of minority cultures, who often prefer a more interactive approach (Akolo, 1987; Stokrocki, 1988b).

At introductory stages, some young children of minority cultures are motivated to learn by patterning. According to Feldenkrais, patterning is the direct repetitive exercise of an action, such as walking, so that the entire mind-body remembers the skills (Rosenfeld, 1981). In Bali, Mead and MacGregor (1951) documented how parents taught their children to dance and to play drums by taking their children's hands and moving with them. Similarly, parents and teachers in America guide children's hands when learning to operate new tools.

Art education with students who do not speak English can begin nonverbally in a similar way. One case reveals how Australian Aborigine children developed remarkable art skills through the use of patterned teaching (Miller & Rutter, 1952). In the native settlement of Carrolup, a British schoolmaster named White began with spontaneous scribble lessons, in which the children filled in the spaces of their scribbles with different colors. White found the children's patterns exceptional compared to those of the English children he taught. Next, he asked them to record their observations through nature study by drawing animals from different viewpoints. By drawing one animal many times, a repetitive pattern occurred and the child learned to perfect this basic configuration. The represented bush animals were the children's favorites. Later, White demonstrated such simple skills as how to use a brush and how to make a graded wash. A graded wash is the repetitive brush stroking of one color fading into another. Such patterned task analysis is necessary in training new students who learn primarily through demonstration. Children also learned to make simple silhouetted shapes like a skeleton tree, which overlapped their graded backgrounds. The children's pictures revealed much about their folk stories, the hunting ceremonies, and body decorations.

The resulting style was a hybrid of the old and new, a love of emotional color and realistic images. The children were further exposed to their native tribal decorations and artifacts through books and the city museum. The boomerang motif and totem body decoration were common in their work. For ethical reasons, many British educational critics felt that the children never should have been taught such patterns and skills. However, White believed that left alone or given a less patient teacher, the children never would have achieved such expression. Even though White claims not to have influenced the children's work, he nonetheless did so by his patterned teaching style: the creation of spontaneous scribbles, the repetition of simple forms, use of art history models from their own culture, and the demonstration of repetitive skills.

Early and intense socialization is significant in many minority cultures, where siblings often teach each other (Hale, 1982; Green, 1971). Thus, art teachers may need to motivate more via peer teaching and cooperative learning strategies in contrast to the instructor-dominated approach evident in the discipline-based art education models. For instance, in one inner-city middle school of bilingual students, the art teacher used his students as aides when demonstrating how to build papier-mâché armatures for dinosaur sculptures (Stokrocki, 1989). Not only did these students translate instructions for those who did not speak English, but they all worked together later on painting the dinosaurs and on a prehistoric mural. Such cooperative practices are common in some cultures due to early socialization practices (Hale, 1982). Cohen (1969) indicates that this relational learning style is conditioned early in certain cultures, and students function better when in a shared learning group.

Research suggests that cooperative learning at times improves race relations (Sharan, 1980); therefore, art projects that call for cooperative planning and execution among students from different racial backgrounds may be beneficial. For example, one art teacher invited his students to act like art historians and critics in teams by writing and reporting about noted artists of their choice (Stokrocki, 1988b). Students enjoyed playing the roles of artist and interviewers.

One student represented the art teacher of Jackson Pollock, whom she called "the big drip" on her radio show, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Art."

Whereas the learning of middle-class white students is perhaps more achievement-oriented and reinforced at an early stage, the learning of students from minority cultures is often shaped by real and immediate needs. The failure of these students to respond enthusiastically to many learning tasks is often misconstrued as their lack of motivation. However, the disharmony between curriculum offerings and their perceived needs is often at the root of the problem (Brown, 1986). An art teacher therefore may need to introduce a lesson to older students with a discussion of its purpose and its significant effect on the quality of their lives. For example, at the beginning of a portrait drawing unit, an art teacher with a class of mixed minority students generated her students' recall of experiences, concerns, curiosity, and questions related to the unit. Since students already were familiar with graffiti lettering and cartooning, she expanded these skills in her portrait drawing unit. Later, she provided models of works by well-known Black artists. Effective art teachers therefore unify what students already know with what teachers are trying to impart. This means that art teachers need to assess students' interests and abilities to determine their readiness (McFee & Degge, 1977/1980), listen to their complaints, devise tasks to help them succeed, and read about and experience the values of minority communities.

In Western culture and in the discipline-based art education model advocated by The Getty Center for Education in the Arts, educators deal mainly with logical and analytical learning skills (Day, Eisner, Stake, Wilson, & Wilson, 1984). In contrast, learning for students of minority cultures, such as Hispanic and African-American groups, is concrete and polymodal (McFee & Degge, 1977/1980). In order to accommodate her minority students' learning styles, one art teacher arranged her bulletin boards with visual and verbal instructions and examples of different art forms and styles, from which she played trivia games with her students (Stokrocki, 1987). When students complained that they couldn't do something in art, she mounted a display of examples of their previous work and called it the "I Can" exhibit. In addition, for those students who needed constant review, she provided audio-taped instructions. She allowed her kinesthetic learners to move and permitted music in the classroom. Students who preferred to be alone could choose their own work areas, and slow learners could finish their art work during lunch time.

In another inner-city school (Stokrocki, 1988b), the art teacher invited a Black cowboy artist to visit and show his paintings on leather after her junior high students became bored with art appreciation readings and films. Students related well to the cowboy's easy-going nature and seemed to prefer this interactive style of art appreciation activity with a non-conventional art form.

In contrast to the discipline-based art education emphasis on the written word, many minority cultures feature education in the oral tradition, such as West African chanting (Bellman & Jules-Rosette, 1977). Students from minority cultures may need to hear language before they can read it. Art teachers could read selections to students and develop repetitive rhythms (or "rap" songs, as in the case of the African-American) to help students remember concepts and skills. Student collages and visual narratives (Wilson & Wilson, 1982) also may incorporate writing and reading skills, featuring a story without a beginning, middle, and end. In one situation where instruction in reading/writing was mandated by the school system, the art teacher first assessed her students' art preferences by asking them to select art works they liked and disliked and then to defend orally their choices. Later activities included art criticism writing, reading in small groups, and discussions with the entire class.

Classroom Behavior

Behavior involves voluntary and involuntary responses or acts. Voluntary or operant behaviors are those that are subject to control (Jenson, Sloane, & Young, 1979/1988). One purpose of controlling behavior is the facilitation of dialogue that enhances learning via the establishment of regulations. Children may submit to rules in an atmosphere of mutual respect, although teachers need to avoid moralizing about student behaviors, because many behaviors extend from family lifestyles. Moralizing indicates judgment of students' families, social, and value structures.

Organized art teachers set clear classroom rules and expectations at the beginning of the year and praise appropriate behavior. A reasonable regulatory device is to explain the rules and natural consequences and to review them when a student commits an infraction. For instance, in one inner-city school observation, the art teacher referred to the posted class rules, reminded her bilingual students they were talking too loudly, and later praised them for lowering their voices (Stokrocki, 1987). Frequently, students must be reminded of the reciprocal relationship between individual rights and individual responsibilities. At certain stages of their development, some minority students may need to learn the discipline of control before learning the content of the disciplines of art education.

Student/Teacher Interaction

Effective art teaching is related to the quality of verbal and nonverbal interaction between students and teachers. Interaction is mutual exchange. To encourage quality interaction, teachers may allow spontaneous questions and pidgin responses from students of minority cultures. Art teachers can then first compliment their students' responses and later emphasize society's dominant language. In turn, art teachers can learn the ethnic and dialect's slang key phrases of their students' languages.

Lack of verbal responses by minority children may be due to differences in speaking, listening, and turn-taking. These children often will not respond in situations where they have been asked individually to read or talk. This pattern is noted in the work of Boggs (1972) with native Hawaiians, Dumont (1972) with Cherokee and Sioux tribes, and Erickson and Mohatt (1977) with the Odawa Indians. Labov (1970) found that Black children preferred informal interaction to formal interview.

Au (1980) discovered that a reading program emphasizing co-narration and comprehension was more successful than one focusing on phonics and singular responses. Au's Hawaiian students had a greater understanding of textual information when it was related to their personal experience and existing knowledge. Her lessons began with a leading question about the topic, followed by silent reading. Next, she questioned students about the text and then related the children's accounts of their own experiences to the material. The lessons in Au's reading program are similar to the Hawaiian talk story, "a rambling personal experience narrative mixed with folk materials" (p. 95). The teacher becomes the director of turns by using verbal or nonverbal clues, while the children as a chorus or singly build on each other's oral contributions about the meaning of the story. This example illustrates how cooperative discussion may be more appropriate for students of minority cultures than an emphasis on individual reactions. It further suggests that discipline-based art educators may need to adjust their reading and discussion methods in art history, criticism, or aesthetics, especially with younger students from minority cultures.

At times, nonverbal communication has greater impact on students from minority cultures than verbal communication in revealing emotions, attitudes, and expressing degrees of warmth or coldness (Gazda, 1973). The dominant American culture is generally monochronic in that it tends to deal with one problem and person at a time (Hall, 1976); however, several people interact at once in polychronic cultures. Montagu (1971) points out that some cultures are more tactile, gestural, and closer-spaced than others. He also suggests that interpersonal tactile contact diminishes as social strata increase. (Also see Baxter, 1970.) Szekly (1976) found that using nonverbal communication and interaction skills was superior to traditional lecture and demonstration methods for teaching art to non-English speaking children.

Erickson (1979) found certain cultures differed in listening and speaking styles when kinesic activity, such as eye contact and head nods, was measured. In fact, cultures use different nonverbal signals when interrelating with foreigners. West Indian students, for example, use certain signals to gain attention with authority figures (Wolfgang, 1979). Inactivity often signifies that West Indian children are finished. Some children, such as the Vietnamese, will not look directly at a teacher when being addressed as a sign of respect. In other cultures, to stare is impolite. Art teachers may need to become aware of these nonverbal signals and make students more comfortable with a smile, a sense of humor, greater patience, more concern for them as persons, and increased involvement with their community cultural events. When relating to students of minority cultures, these intrinsic human teaching qualities may be more significant than racial aspects, such as being the same color (Backner, 1970), or even intellectual qualities, such as knowledge of art content, even in discipline-based art education.

Evaluation

Evaluation denotes a judgment about learning ability or achievement, and behavior problems need to be appraised separately. The predominant method of evaluating students in American schools is formal grading, but informal evaluation may be more effective with students of minority cultures. For example, Westerners prefer linearity and closure while Africans value circularity as in their speech, music, and movement (Abrahams, 1970). Art teachers may need to utilize in-process or formative appraisal more frequently. In-process appraisal is the everyday guiding and modifying of art skills or concepts (Sevigny, 1978).

Informal evaluation strategies act as trials for student learning. When these informal strategies are graded cooperatively with students, they may be more effective than traditional methods of grading (Grigsby, 1954). One art teacher critiqued art projects with his preadolescents of minority cultures towards the end of the term

(Stokrocki, 1988b). This enabled students to alter their work as well as benefit from the recommended criticism. Later, he evaluated their completed work.

Ungraded quizzes are another form of formative evaluation. One teacher informed her minority students that the purpose of a quiz was for them to discover what they did not know about a concept and to show her what they did know (Stokrocki, 1987). She occasionally allowed students to evaluate themselves through a self-evaluation questionnaire. In this way, she discovered whether or not the students understood the lesson, even if they didn't finish it. Discipline-based art educators may need to employ similar appraisal methods to accommodate the evaluation preferences of students from minority cultures.

Conclusions

Motivation, classroom behavior, interaction, and evaluation are four instructional aspects in art teaching. However, when they are related to students of minority cultures, the following considerations are crucial: polymodal, concrete, and shared motivation; firm and fair management based on mutual respect; verbal/nonverbal communication which allows spontaneous, pidgin, and cooperative responses while encouraging proper grammar; and informal, in-process, and private appraisal. In this paper, emphasis is placed on these instructional behaviors as opposed to student learning modes (McFee & Degge, 1977/1980). Discipline-based art teachers may need to modify their current understandings and behaviors to meet the needs and preferences of these children.

By making art content relevant to minority students and by assessing their existing knowledge about art and interests in art, motivation becomes the most important aspect. At introductory stages, the patterning of student performance, peer teaching and cooperative learning, and conceptual and skill review are important. Instructional strategies that accommodate a variety of individual learning styles need to be determined and utilized. Art appreciation, the encouragement of students to find and to discuss personal meanings in art works, first needs to relate to minority students' popular interests and artistic preferences. Art teachers can use this interaction model and move out to the content, which should include art forms and artists from the students' locale and cultural backgrounds. Art history, aesthetics, or art criticism may be introduced to students of minority cultures in a rudimentary, exploratory way. In the past, these areas have been dominated by white, elitist, and Western preferences, and the interests of students from minority cultures were neglected.

Teacher expectations need to be clear and consequences reviewed in relation to rules. Behavior management that maintains cultural dignity through praise and encouragement of "appropriate school behavior" without moralizations, may be more effective than emphasis on negative behaviors. Learning the discipline of control may be more crucial for some minority students at certain stages of their development, as opposed to learning the content of the disciplines of art education. McFee and Degge (1977/1980) stress cooperative evaluation between students and teachers, but my research suggests that cooperative efforts must be informal. Students of minority cultures may prefer individual and in-process appraisal—teacher evaluation of their work as they are doing it with no public critiques—over traditional summative evaluation.

Finally, there is not enough emphasis on the importance of dialogue, especially the role of nonverbal communication, with students of minority cultures (Freire, 1973). Dialogue denotes an exchange of ideas where teachers, as well as students, learn each other's languages, needs, interests, tactile and gestural motions, narrative preferences, non-verbal signals, and lifestyles. The idea of intercultural education, in which all students and teachers benefit and learn from exposure to different groups in a given society, also needs to be explored (Ligvoet, 1987). Although this paper deals mainly with Black and Hispanic inner-city populations, more research is needed on teaching students from other minority cultures, such as the Appalachian, Indian, Arabic, and Vietnamese.

Teaching art is a process of human interaction based on communication to enhance art learning. When art teaching mainly emphasizes discipline or content, as in discipline-based art education, the human processes of interaction and socialization may be ignored. These processes can be vitally important to children of minority cultures.

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Footnote

[1] Participant observation is a research method that is multi-modal, multi-perspectival, multi-variable, and multi-dimensional. In so doing, the daily life of the classroom is described, analyzed, and interpreted in order to generate recommendations, not generalizations, for improving teaching.

Native Art History and DBAE: An Analysis of Key Concepts

Ann E. Calvert

Historical art of native groups should be included in art curriculum. Discipline-based models of art education, like those supported by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts, provide descriptions of art history, but that discipline traditionally has based both this methodology and its subjects of study on the art of European-based cultures. Analysis of the DBAE art history component reveals eight key concepts: (a) landmark works, (b) style categorization or style development, (c) attribution or authentication, (d) iconography, (e) function, (f) restoration, (g) socio-cultural interpretation, and (h) provenance. Five of these concepts were selected as appropriate for studying historical native art within discipline-based art education (DBAE). Socio-cultural interpretation incorporating iconography and function was seen as the primary mode of analysis. Concepts of provenance and style development were specifically limited to account for certain aspects of native art history. Ideas of attribution, or authentication, and restoration were deemed not applicable to the study of historical native art forms.

Canadian art curriculum developers have been encouraged in a curriculum policy statement by their national organization to create programs that reflect the multi-cultural character of Canadian society in the range of educational experiences available to students (National Policy for Art Education, 1987). The historical art of native groups is an aspect of Canadian cultural heritage that should be represented in the art studies of all levels; but if this inclusion is to take place, the framework for studying art history proposed for discipline-based art education requires further examination. This paper will identify some of the considerations of cross-cultural interpretation that might arise when the historical art works of indigenous people are treated with the art history component of the Discipline-Based Art Education (DBAE) model supported by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts.

A major exhibition of Canadian native artifacts was held in conjunction with the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary. The exhibition, "The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples," included more than 500 objects of Native Canadian origin, borrowed from national and international collections. "Some of the finest objects collected in the early contact period of Canadian history were exhibited together in celebration of the native spirit, both communal and individual, from which flows the inspiration to create such objects" (Harrison, 1987, p. 10). A basic theme of the exhibition was the idea that there are important collections of indigenous artifacts held in museums and private collections around the world: The international atmosphere of the Olympics would create an appropriate occasion to study and display a large portion of the artistic heritage of Canada's native culture that is otherwise unavailable to Canadians.

Differing aesthetic traditions between native groups were emphasized, particularly as they existed at the time of first European contact. The exhibition provided a rich variety of art historical information that could be used in teaching about native art. Certain concepts ran through the exhibition and its support materials: (a) the difference between native art of the early contact period and contemporary native expression; (b) adaptations that were made to accommodate European trading tastes; (c) the incorporation of new materials and motifs introduced by newcomers; (d) the history of ownership and use of the artifacts after their acquisition by collectors; (e) and the rich variety of aesthetic sensibilities, materials, and art forms that constitute native art history.

Can this wealth of information be organized and presented as art history curriculum within the theoretical framework of DBAE? It has been stated that discipline-based art education bases its approach on the Western world view and concept of fine art (Hamblen, 1987). Art educators (Chalmers, 1978; Feldman, 1980) and art historians (Alpers, 1979; McCorkel, 1975; Zerner, 1982) have pointed out that the traditional vocabulary and research tools of art history, developed in the study of Renaissance and Western art forms, may not be appropriate for the analysis of art from non-Western and pre-Renaissance cultures. McCorkel (1975) wrote:

> Our vocabulary and conceptual tools, and even the notion of the historical pattern that is our ultimate subject, are in large measure the products of our experience with Renaissance problems.... We explain that which we value, but we also value that which we can explain. (p. 48)

In studying native art forms of the past, problems arise because native concepts of what art is, what is preserved, and what is displayed do not necessarily satisfy the questions of art history methodology. For example, very few artifacts of native culture remain from the period before the eighteenth century, while large numbers of later artifacts were kept as curiosities of specimens of scientific study by early European explorers and tourists. These objects have continued to exist, preserved against time, not only as historical evidence of the cultures as they were found, but also as evidence of the phenomenon of European curiosity in exploring those cultures and comparing them with their own. Our glimpses of historical native cultures are shaped by the very concepts of collection and preservation that were applied to them fairly recently in history, but we have little evidence from the distant past that is viable in art historical perspective.

For cultures outside the Western tradition, evidence about their art is gathered with the methods of the archaeologist and anthropologist, in a more functional and less formal stylistic analysis, than that performed by art historians in the tradition of Wolfflin (1929) and Panofsky (1955). The resulting information is different, and must be organized and used differently. It is essential that students understand the value systems that give rise to such art forms, because the reasons for making and using them, according to native cultures, are important keys to understanding their significance. A sociological, contextual approach to the study of art, one that begins with the value structure of the culture examined, has been advocated by several art educators (Calvert, 1985; Chalmers, 1973; Feldman, 1980; Moffit, 1969).

A contextual approach to teaching art history enables students to consider the significance art works held for members of the society that created them. This approach helps students recognize that there are associations between a culture's values and its art (Hamblen, 1986). The value orientations of a given society become important issues in the study of art history. A further goal would be to develop a consciousness in students that their own aesthetic values are related to the assumptions they hold about the world, and that these in turn are related to their place in history and in a cultural milieu. In order for DBAE to allow the explanation and valuing of native art, such an approach must be compatible with its art history component. Curriculum development in a given discipline is a process of selecting and hierarchically organizing knowledge for transmission to students. Content that is selected for inclusion in an art history curriculum, and the way it is categorized, are determined by the notion of art history held by those preparing the curriculum (Hamblen & Jones, 1982). An analysis of the view of art history contained in the discipline-based model for art curriculum can determine its congruence with native art history, and provides implications for the development of art history curriculum based on collections of native art.

Components of DBAE Art History

Several key concepts characterize the art history component of the DBAE model. These concepts about what art historians do and the kind of knowledge they generate have been drawn from a survey of the writings of Greer (1987, 1988), Clark and Zimmerman (1978, 1981), and Smoke (1988). In their descriptions of the activities and content areas that form the structure of the discipline, the following concepts prevail: (a) landmark works, (b) style categorization or style development, (c) attribution or authentication, (d) iconography, (e) function, (f) restoration, (g) socio-cultural interpretation, and (h) provenance. These concepts arise from certain dominant assumptions within art history that correspond to modern social values about progress, change, and individuality that may not be compatible with a contextual analysis of native historical art.

Landmark Works

What are the landmark art works? The notion of landmark works refers to "those that mark major movements or those that stand as major exemplars of a style" (Greer, 1988, p. 119). The idea that certain art works are particularly worthy of attention and study is related to the assumption that change is progressive, the rejection of the traditional for the unique, and the concept of the uniqueness of the individual work. These are fundamental values of Western art that contrast sharply with the way traditional societies value replication of motifs and symbols that support continuity rather than change in a culture.

Style Categorization or Style Development

What are the distinguishing features that place a work within a style? (Greer, 1987, p. 231). This concept is difficult to examine objectively because it is so deeply embedded in the discipline of art history and so closely connected with the mainstream culture's idea of the individual personality. However, the concept of style is culture-specific insofar as it represents the value of functional rationality. According to theorists like Wolfflin (1929), there is a pattern or system of change that can be discerned by analysis, and this pattern allows categorization and identification of works at pioneering, mature, and late stages of style periods. Again, the emphasis is on explaining change and the influence of one artist on another. Style theories are predicated on the primacy of invention and the uniqueness of the individual work within an evolving series of art historical events. The term "style" is also used to refer to a common set of characteristics within the art products of a particular group in a given period of time.

For native art forms, personal or chronological style analyses may not be appropriate, although considerations of geographic associations of traits are often used by researchers. In native art, forms of expression were governed by strict ongoing traditions. The "rules of art [of Woodlands people] were the product of many generations of artistic activity" (Phillips, 1987, p. 92). Continuity, rather than change, was valued.

Attribution or Authentication

By whom was a work made? The accurate placement of works of art within an artist's oeuvre or within a specific period and location are closely related to style categorization concepts. In European-based art, the value of a work is in its association with a particular artist, as in "a Rembrandt" or "a Picasso." Therefore, connoisseurship, or the ability to recognize and accurately identify the characteristic manner of an individual artist, is an important skill of the art historian. Seldom in native art history are individual artists identified with objects. In this sense, attribution and the concept of style as characteristic of an individual artist are closely related.

Iconography

What symbols are present and what do they mean? (Greer, 1987, p. 231). In traditional art history, the primacy of language leads to the concept that all works of art have meanings that are formal, detached from the works, and can be explained in words. This tends to exclude the expressions of civilizations without literary documentation (Kubler, 1975). The idea also presumes a concept of art that is conscious of its separateness from everyday life. If art forms were made to be used, their meanings were probably taken for granted and did not require special characterization by the groups that made them.

In native art forms, the meaning is often embedded in the symbolic and metaphorical qualities of its materials and purpose for which it was made. For example, among the Copper Inuit, materials were often associated with supernatural powers:

> The ermine was a powerful amulet that guarded an individual against his enemies...the attachment of the ermine skin to the Copper dance hat, to the dance costume, and to men's hunting parkas may have been to protect the individual against unexpected attack by human or spiritual forces. (Driscoll, 1987, p. 191)

Symbolic meaning is often hidden—either deliberately, by shamans who were bound not to disclose the ritual meanings, or by the passage of time. Most native groups lacked a written language, and when rituals and artistic traditions were altered through integration with the newcomers' culture, some meanings were also lost. An art historian bent on recovering these meanings must conduct research that pieces together the evidence from many non-traditional contextual sources, such as legends and collectors' and explorers' accounts.

Function

What was the purpose for which the work was made? A dominant assumption in the history of Western fine art is that the art object is non-functional in the practical, usable sense. Objects of great artistic and symbolic value are precious, to be contemplated and protected from use in museums. In studying the art of native cultures, a study of function is central, because their meanings and values are interconnected with their various purposes.

Often the objects themselves have power. A shaman's ritual mask became the center of great controversy during "The Spirit Sings." The group whose ancestors created the artifact objected to its being displayed in the museum. Strong spiritual power was attributed to the mask that they said would be diminished when it was viewed by people who were not members of the secret society for which it was made. One serious consideration for the art history curriculum developer is whether it is appropriate to dispossess the ceremonial objects of another culture by treating them as museum art. In the case of the mask, its disconnection from the support of its original context and purpose has impeded its function within its own society and interfered with its meaning.

Restoration and Preservation

Has the work been returned to a facsimile of its original state? (Greer, 1987, p. 231). The Western concept of history and art assumes that evidence of historical societies must be preserved in a state as close as possible to the original. The preciousness of art objects is related to their age and rarity, and great pains are taken to protect and restore objects against the forces of nature, age, and change. This concept requires examination in terms of cultures whose concept of time is not linear, who believe that they are in unity rather than in opposition with nature, and who create objects for a wide range of specific purposes. Such cultures used their art forms and replaced them when they were worn or broken with others of similar material and design.

> For most native societies, there was no acquisition of objects in the heirloom sense: Athapaskans never produced a great number of "things." Most of what they made was needed for survival; when it had served its function it was abandoned, destroyed, or reworked into something else. An individual's material wealth was reckoned in beads and clothing, and these were frequently buried or cremated with him. (Thompson, 1987, p. 138)

Socio-cultural Interpretation

What was the influence of society and culture on artists and their works? (Clark & Zimmerman, 1981, p. 55). In a study of native art forms, this concept would be central to the analysis of their significance rather than a separate category of study as it is portrayed in the DBAE model. As stated by Feldman:

> The irony of much current art history as a discipline is that it so frequently employs historical evidence and historical methods to separate art objects from the processes of history. By "processes of history," I mean the economic, social, and political factors that attend the creation and use of works of art. (1978, p. 26)

An object created by a native artist was usually part of a complex of songs, dances, myths, and legends whose traditions governed its form and purpose. In studying native art forms, examining these extrinsic aspects becomes essential to revealing both their artistic and their cultural significance. Such examination requires greater attention to the purposes the works served as well as the ways those purposes were related to the creation, form, and subject matter of their images. The integrated nature of native culture, where spheres of values, beliefs, and behaviors overlapped and influenced one another and the art works to an extent much different from the mainstream cultural experience, requires that socio-cultural interpretation be the major element of analysis.

Provenance

What is the history of the work itself? (Greer, 1987, p. 231). This is the idea that works of art should be located specifically in both space and time. For many native artifacts, documentation as to why, when, where, and by whom they were made is unavailable; until the coming of the Europeans, the provenance of these works was not consequential to their value and was seldom recorded. This uneven quality of provenance information makes it hard to develop general theories about changes in native art forms in the manner of traditional art-historical methodology. However, individual histories of works as they have existed in European collections can reveal interesting changes in values, purposes, and interpretations of their collectors over the years.

To gain maximum insight into the cross-cultural significance of provenance, the history of the works since their creation includes a consideration of the circumstances under which the objects left native hands. Whether the artifacts were objects of trade, plunder, or gifts often affected their condition, form, and type. This information is useful for understanding the relationship of the objects to both their makers and collectors. Often native peoples make special kinds of objects, such as miniature replicas of canoes, as gifts to newcomers. They began to create objects specifically for sale as souvenirs, and they applied native motifs to European-styled objects such as candlesticks, tea cozies, and altarpieces. Understanding the motives and processes of these changes is important to gaining a knowledge of the work's history and should constitute the main focus of a study of the provenance aspect of historical native art.

The question of provenance for native art might better dwell on the value the work held at the time of its creation, whether this has changed, and what changes have occurred. When Julia Harrison, chief curator of "The Spirit Sings," found a richly beaded and embroidered Micmac tea cozy in a museum in Europe, it was labeled "Micmac chief's headdress" (Harrison, 1978, p. 15). Misinterpretations like this make interesting points of discussion regarding the history of non-native groups' perceptions of native peoples through time.

Implications for the DBAE Art History Model

From the above analysis, some components of the DBAE art history model can be selected for curriculum development in native art history. Socio-cultural interpretation can provide the connections between art works and the reasons for which they were made and used. Knowing the meaning or iconography of a work is important to understanding its significance. The functions of objects are closely connected with their meanings and provide further interpretive clues.

Style is an aspect of art historical analysis that is best applied in a more global sense. Rather than focus on the work of individual artists, a study of style constitutes the overall artistic characteristics of cultural groups or geographic regions that integrate use of symbols, materials, and processes with consideration of the physical and cultural environments in which their makers lived. Provenance, too, has limited application in the DBAE sense. A preferable alternative to the connoisseur's concept of creator and subsequent collectors would be to determine the histories of works as they have been interpreted by the cultures that acquired and analyzed them. Knowing how they have been valued, explained, and attributed outside of their own context could shed light on the ways that beliefs about art's creation, function, and meaning are tied to the society and times in which the observers lived.

The concepts of landmark works, attribution or authentication, and restoration and preservation have limited relevance in terms of historical native art, because they are associated with ideas of uniqueness, artistic individuality, and separation of the art object from everyday life. These ideas are incongruent with prevailing values of native art.

Curriculum Implications

A cross-cultural approach to curriculum about native art history must be devised that would allow students to understand the works of art as they pertain to the culture that created them. It would also acknowledge that the idea of studying art history has its roots in European culture, and that this shapes both the questions that are asked of the native culture and how we interpret the findings. The things that are labeled "art" and the content that is selected to be taught must reflect a critical awareness of the ways the belief systems of art history and DBAE shape our view of the art of other times and societies. The DBAE art history model requires alteration. Those aspects should be placed at the forefront that allow for sensitivity to complex interrelationships of art objects and social context, and that give credence to modes of knowing outside the hierarchical, chronological modes of curriculum systems (Bowers, 1980) and art-historical style development.

Such an adjustment of the DBAE art history model coincides with rather than violates the structure of the art history discipline as it has evolved in recent decades. That field has for some time been acknowledging the influence of the social sciences in its methods of dealing with art forms, particularly those that fall outside the European post-Renaissance frame (Alpers, 1977; Baxandall, 1980). Integrating and re-ordering key art history concepts under the heading of socio-cultural interpretation relates the DBAE art history component to other fields, such as anthropology and sociology. These are disciplines that some art educators have proposed as additional components to be included in the DBAE model (Chalmers, 1987;

McFee, 1988). One component of the DBAE art history model would take precedence in building a curriculum about native art history. Socio-cultural interpretation would be expanded to become the primary mode of analysis. Prevailing cultural assumptions or value themes, identified from stories, legends, and museum data, could provide topics around which to group objects as examples. Within this process, elements of function, iconography, and provenance would be treated as they pertained to studies of particular groups, themes, or objects.

A thematic approach has the following advantages: It allows many different kinds of works to be included in a segment of the curriculum; it allows for different kinds and levels of information to be integrated in ways that correspond to the place of art in the life of native societies, and it allows for the in-depth study of individual works for which there is abundant information in both native and modern Western societies. Such an approach does not strive for a seamless, chronological explanation of style changes, but builds on the uneven quantities of information about native art forms. Works of art can be analyzed for their significance within the way of life of people, without necessarily needing to categorize them or place them in a series of art-historical events. This alteration of the art history component permits an integration of several aspects of the art history discipline, allowing the most important elements of native art history to come forward.

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Commentary: Meditations on Titles and Other Verbal Mischiefs

Kenneth Marantz

We have recently suffered through a presidential election campaign noted primarily for its exploitation of nine-second TV sound bites and bumper sticker slogans, where the winner was the man whose team produced the meanest (therefore the most popular!) set of captions. The basic technique employed was to juxtapose the opponent's image with a revolting concept: a fouled body of water, a furloughed black killer, a bucket of aborted fetuses. The obverse technique was also used: Show the candidate with spit-'n'-polish policeman, or surrounded by American flags, or shaking hands with the crew of a returned space shuttle. The ancient advertising is based on a sort of psychological truth that points out the infectiousness of adjacent qualities, like catching a disease by being too close to a sick person. Through a variant of syllogistic reasoning we have:

1. Major premise: X is an evil person;

2. Minor premise: Y lets this person loose on society—a bad deal;

3. Conclusion: Y is a bad person.

The talent involved in creating such potent associations is rooted in the maker's knowledge of human psychology and the limits of the intended audience's willingness to resist the insidious infection.

Although politicians and salespeople make use of the juxtaposed ideas or images to persuade their audiences to behave in certain ways, others use the literary device for other reasons. Poetry depends on a variety of literary devices to compress thought and feeling into small packages. The simile and the metaphor help deliver a message more succinctly by demanding that readers mine their own ore when creating meaning from baldly presented ideas. (Rather than write pages of character description about King Richard, the writer nicknames him the Lion-Hearted so that we must surface everything we know about the character and behavior of lions and attribute this information to the king.) Of course, poetry is a form of make-believe so that, given the references, we might discover a more appropriate metaphor might be Chicken-Hearted. In other words, juxtapositions don't guarantee logic, a proper match between things juxtaposed.

Indeed, some humor depends on the mismatching of things, in the incongruities of pairing. Jack Spratt could eat no fat (skinny as a rail); his wife could eat no lean (the blimp). We are amused by the concept and even more when we respond to some visual artist's interpretation of this happy couple. The owl and the pussycat are, by their genetic natures, an ill-matched pair whose adventures can only be made more amusing by Lear's surrealistic imagination. In poetry and humor (think of the clichéd man and banana skin) we're set up to expect either a metaphoric or incongruous situation, to be on guard for the apparent disconnected connectedness (to expropriate a Kantian concept).

But what of the tone created by situating notions side-by-side? My rather simple-minded explication of the well-known qualities of our language, above, is meant only to set up an equally simplistic examination of the theme of this issue of our *Journal*. This is not a publication like *Punch*, noted for its humor, nor one devoted to poetry. Thus we are prepared to take at face value the two terms which have been juxtaposed. We have a right to expect a sort of parallel if not parity; that is, the terms separated by the "and" should be of the same order of stuff (so we're not comparing clichéd apples and oranges). In other words, there is, by implication, a sense that there is a logical (meaningful?) connection between the two terms, that the title is value neutral. *OR* is it meant, rather, to bring out our latent ironic sensibilities and tease us into pointing out the absurdity of the juxtaposition of notions? Neither term can be defined as a word like "red" or "cat" can. "Cultural pluralism" tends to be more of a battle cry evoked by a motley crew who, in one way or another, have felt less than adequately recognized by those who guard the mainstream of our business. It's a political slogan designed, first, to call our attention to the obvious: Not all Americans speak the same language, attend the same church, or house identical values. Then we are to act in such ways as to guarantee the arts a larger share of the pie controlled by the "ins" (frequently labeled elitists).[2]

Dealing with discipline-based art education (DBAE) can be equally frustrating if one seeks sharply defined characteristics. Listening to representatives of the alleged disciplines, it's quite clear that there is a great deal of slop-over of concepts among them, enough to question the educational utility of pretending that each represents a distinct domain of thought. But viewed as an approach that seeks to make the study of art more like the other (and more valued) subjects through intellectualizing instruction, we can perceive a rather positivistic stance. Authority determines what objects are worthy of study and in what sequence. The concept of relativism is outlawed. Despite protestations by some of the people employed by the Getty to carry the message to the masses, the approach can't shake the aura of elitism. Nor do I understand why those who desire to be leaders should want to rid themselves of a proper accolade. Populists they surely aren't!

What we are offered in the theme of this issue is a juxtaposition of a political slogan meant to rouse the populace (as the "Internationale" was designed to stir the peasants to revolt) and an instructional approach that is positivistic by design. If the editors had chosen "Educational Faddism" or "The Problem of Elitism" or "Cultural Monism" or even "The Politics of Art Education" to set up with DBAE, I might be less puzzled. Or if the "and" had been "versus," *perhaps* there would have been an issue. But our journal purports to be a vehicle for cultural matters, so why the extra qualifier in the theme? If USSEA fundamentally believes that the enormous press already devoted to DBAE is somehow still inadequate, why not simply call for any comments authors feel motivated to draft? I must question the motives of our editors. With what sort of shot have they loaded their guns? I have no doubt that the language of the theme is indeed loaded. But I'm in the dark about what or who the intended target is.

Footnotes

[1] Think of America's love affair with professional wrestling and the adoration given the actors who simulate the most unfair tactics. Or remember the popularity of TV's arch-villain, Big Brother Ewing from Dallas.

[2] Another more appealing interpretation grows out of Howard Gardner's notion of multiple intelligences. Using his identifiable "frames of mind" as a common base for a group, we might perceive any classroom as being an example of cultural pluralism.

[3] The relative vacuum of art education leadership has given the Getty a chance to buy it at bargain basement prices. And such leadership coming from the top is rightfully elitist.

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Correction

In the Fall 1987 issue, in an article by Judith Koroscik, Elizabeth Garber, and Laurie R. Baxter titled "Verbal Mediation Effects on Comprehending Works of Art in a Multi-cultural Educational Setting," a phrase was omitted on page 43, line 1. The sentence should read: "Wherever unequal groups resulted of less than 13 subjects, estimates were provided for missing values using procedures recommended by Linton and Gallo (1975)."

Guide to Authors

1. *The Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* will consider for publication articles on all aspects of multi-cultural and cross-cultural research in art education. Manuscripts should be addressed to: Dr. Rogena M. Degge, Editor, Department of Art Education, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97304

2. Although authors world-wide are encouraged to submit manuscripts for consideration, all communication and manuscripts must be in English.

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4. Reference style is that described in the American Psychological Association's *Publication Manual* (3rd ed. 1983, Rev. 1984). This publication also provides information relating to content, organization, and writing style.

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The *Ofamfa* is an Adinkera symbol meaning a measure of critical examination, taken from the Ashanti culture.

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Editorial

Rogena M. Degge

It was a tremendous pleasure to return from sabbatical and find an excellent, special theme volume of the journal completed by Doug Blandy, Paul Bolin, and Kristin Congdon. I compliment the guest editors for providing a forum for concerned scholars regarding discipline-based art education and its relationship to multicultural and cross-cultural issues. I thank all those who submitted papers on the topic and the review board for careful evaluation of the manuscripts. Any educational movement with large potential for influencing teachers and students should be critically examined from diverse perspectives in order that its values and limits can be more fully contemplated. As editor I welcome and encourage critical examination of all educational orientations toward advancing multicultural and cross-cultural goals in art education.

This volume of the journal has no preselected theme. However, this issue was an experiment in two ways. The first experiment was the broadening of style manual requirements to accept either APA or Chicago style. This has resulted in less reworking of manuscripts on the part of authors and editors. It has, however, meant giving more editorial attention to a wider range of style details. Consistency and accuracy can suffer under such experiments and we appreciate readership's patience.

The second experiment was having the journal benefit the students at the University of Oregon where it is being produced. As you may know, the costs for producing this journal once a year are far beyond the means of USSEA. Thus, it is necessary to house the journal in a university in order to cover the large majority of actual costs. Last year's volume of the journal cost $7,600. The approximate percentage paid by the university was 65%. While costs are an increasing problem, the university does benefit by being associated with the journal. Otherwise, current levels of support for the publication would not be available. However, fuller university benefit seemed possible. Thus, I created a Journal Publications class available to graduate students in and outside the art education department. This year eight master's and doctoral students enrolled and learned every phase of publishing the journal—from receipt of initial manuscripts, through the review process and several phases of editing, to facets of publication. They experienced blind review from the perspectives of writer and reviewer, read anonymous reviewers' comments, saw the transformation of manuscripts through author and editorial efforts (including their own editing), learned various writing and publication styles, and studied similarities and differences among academic journals.

What students gained from the class and what they gave to the process and the journal were expressed by two seminar participants. Victoria Saunders (niece of our current USSEA President) wrote,

> "The most rewarding part was the editing of manuscripts. It was exciting to work with a manuscript from the beginning, watching it become more developed and refined through the collaboration of editorial suggestions and the author's responses to them. It made me really appreciate the work that goes into a finished paper and I gained a feeling of accomplishment for those whose manuscripts I helped along. The focus that the seminar took, on the process of journal publication, assisted me in 'demystifying' an important aspect of the academic/professional world. I have a greater appreciation of the product because I've been an integral part of the process."

Liz Hoffman expanded on the collaborative elements and professional value:

> "The resource level in our group was high. Some of us had computer skills, some had advertising expertise, a few were proficient in graphic design and most had done previous editing. The richness of talent, diverse backgrounds and networking contacts were revealed in true collaborative work as people negotiated their perspectives into a finished product. As a doctoral student, I recognize how important knowledge of the publishing process is. Beyond editing skills, I've learned the sequence and etiquette of blind review, the diplomacy so critical in correspondence, the importance and frustration of working under deadlines, the biases inherently structured into our systems which may discourage foreign authors, and the satisfaction of melding so many unwieldy parts into a coherent, cohesive document. The publishing realm is no longer the clandestine operation I once pictured, but an accessible, vital and flexible communication system to which responsible art educators will contribute."

This volume, then, reflects collaboration among graduate students, myself, the authors and reviewers. Students' work on the journal was in addition to the normal work of reviewers and editor. Doctoral students felt the seminar should be a requirement in their program. Some want to repeat the experience. Students engaged in lively, ongoing debates over form and content throughout the term in a manner unlike other issue-based seminars. In addition, some created advertisements which you will find at the end of the journal. These ads are the result of an exchange with other journals or are included at no charge. Other students sought out journals to exchange ads with in the future. Still others worked to develop a computerized subscription system to better manage the growing diversity of individual and institutional subscribers. All the students' names are on the inside front cover.

This volume may not appear very different from previous ones as a final document, but I assure you that the manuscripts in this issue have had more scrutiny and debate on behalf of the author and content than I could have imagined when conceptualizing the seminar. With all this input, the process extended our deadline. I cannot apologize for delay under the circumstances, but next year we should be back on target.

In closing, I turn your attention to the articles and reviews which benefitted from this process. Luíz Errázuriz provides us with insight into Chilean art education while Mary Stokrocki takes us to Rotterdam in another example of her on-site research contributions to our field. Among the other articles, some come from what I thoughtfully regard as "younger" members of our field. Examples are Dorothy Heard as well as Kerry Freedman, Patricia Stuhr and Sandra Weinberg. Their writings are powerful and challenging in seeking to expose and examine premises for advancing culture based art education. Doug Blandy and Kristin Congdon treat us to aspects of a fishing paraphernalia folk art exhibition as an example of aesthetic valuing and inquiry that can inform art study. Peter Smith presents a piece of his growing body of work that has evolved out of his interests in Lowenfeld and Germanic contributions to art education. Karen Field, an anthropology professor, offers a study completed several years ago on the schooling, work roles and values of some west coast artists. A usefulness of her paper is to ponder its relevancy for today. Have schooling and values of artists changed? Have artists' views of themselves as cultural deviants altered? Seminar students ask readers to compare her paper to Heard's.

Reviews are also part of this volume and I encourage more of our several hundred subscribers to send manuscripts and reviews for upcoming issues. The deadline for the next volume is September 15, 1990.

I am indebted to our department office coordinator, Lisa DeLeón, for her tireless word processing efforts and to associate editor, Liz Hoffman. I am delighted that Liz will remain in this role next year. I could not have accomplished the work without her talents and patience.

Final thanks go to the seminar students who have provided me with the most interesting editorial experience of my career.

A Pedagogy for Multiculturalizing Art Education

Dorothy Heard

Liberatory pedagogy, the critical examination of how knowledge is produced and used, is presented in this essay as a strategy for multiculturalizing art education. This process requires active participation of teacher and students to determine their curricula and teaching/learning strategies. Multiple cultural views are essential if we recognize the culturally pluralistic nature of American society. The ability to de-construct one's point of view is crucial for a contextual understanding of multiple cultural experiences. This essay examines the dialogic method for pedagogy as a means for multiculturalizing art education, and recommends that teachers draw upon Jung's notion of archetype as a thematic resource for problem-posing.

Introduction

Dominant approaches to art education have not addressed the issue of providing multicultural education to school-age children. Although few in number, less widespread approaches to art learning have made multicultural education a central program issue.[1] Such approaches have attempted to combine schooling reforms recommended by proponents of multicultural education with some aspects of popular art education theory and practice. These approaches have also suggested possible models for selecting and structuring appropriate curricular content. They have not, however, dealt with issues pertinent to creating or adapting pedagogic methodology for multiculturalizing art education.

This proposes using a liberatory pedagogy as a strategy for multiculturalizing art education. Liberatory pedagogy is in part characterized by the mutual engagement of students and teacher in the creation of knowledge. Critical examination of how knowledge is produced and used is an essential feature of liberatory pedagogy. Liberatory pedagogy can be used to illuminate historical, existing, as well as possible relationships among individuals, cultures, and societies in relation to the creation and appreciation of art. Issues relevant to liberatory pedagogical strategies and art education are examined in this essay. Section one examines some of the historical, social, and political aspects of American educational practices. Section two defines multicultural education and briefly comments on the nature of ethnocentricity. Section three contains an overview of some of the work done by art educators in the area of multicultural education. Section four suggests that a position be considered which takes seriously the need to educate students in art through self-reflection, dialogical discourse of art in society and culture, and dialogical discourse of the possibilities of art in action. Section five recommends the selection of themes for situated problem-posing in school classrooms. Section six concludes with a brief summary of the three areas discussed at greater length in the body of the essay—multicultural education, art education, and liberatory pedagogy.

Socio-political Aspects of Education

Approaches to education partly reflect socio-political conditions of the time of their inception or rise to prominence. This means of determining or developing the most timely approach to teaching is acceptable when based on the belief that value changes in society and culture should dictate educational goals.[2]

In societies composed of multiple cultures, as in American society, our beliefs and actions are guided by complex, change-inspiring events. Multiple cultures and multiple political and economic realities may require pedagogies capable of handling multiple perspectives. As a democratic society, we believe in individual self-fulfillment and equality for all.[3] Thus, while the concepts of self-fulfillment and equality are not mutually exclusive, forces endemic to U. S. American capitalist democracy nevertheless make their simultaneous expression a challenge.[4]

Social life requires rules for equal and just human interaction. At the same time, however, personal individual liberty is an essential condition for creativity, without which there is no human achievement. Hence, a fundamental characteristic of society is the articulation of some mixture of social life and personal liberty.[5] Basing educational outcomes upon a definition of democratic society that sweeps quickly past the tensions that exist between the articulations of individuality and social equality insure that neither the self nor society will be informed, nor will they grow. A free-self in an equal society is the fundamental element of social progress, and as such is an educational objective worthy of transmittal. The individual's freedom to create helps societies move forward. Nevertheless, individual, aesthetic, economic, and cultural freedom is often challenged by the biases or self-interests of dominant groups.

Cultural bias in American education has been present since the inception of formal education in this country.[6] For early American settlers, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethos became the model of behavior for economic success and social empowerment. The schooling of some of our early European settlers who were not of the Anglo-Saxon tradition and non-Europeans can be accurately described as cultural indoctrination.[7] From its very beginnings, American society has been composed of various cultures. However, our legacy of continued growth in cultural diversity has a comparatively shorter socio-educational history and has received only minimal attention from some educational planners. Educators must cease implying that they are academic transmitters of a singular culture.[8] Educators must not only recognize the culturally pluralistic nature of U. S. American society, but they must also utilize procedures for transmitting multiple cultural views.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has at times been wrongly interpreted by some as education specifically meant to teach certain ethnic groups with the goal of addressing only their particular needs. Such approaches result in fractured isolationism. Multicultural education should not signify or be synonymous with "minority" education.

Since the early 1960s, a variety of concepts, and consequently their aims in educational reform, have come under the heading of "multicultural education." At times, numerous terms have been used to refer to the same concept. Banks[9] and Baker[10] have elaborated on this point in their attempts to synthesize conceptualizations, goals, and terms related to multicultural education. For a historical overview, the reader is referred to Gay,[11] who discusses what multicultural education meant, and was, during the '60s, '70s, and '80s.

In this essay, multicultural education will refer to classroom and non-classroom programs, discipline content, curricula, pedagogy, ideologies, and policies aimed at exposing individuals to numerous historical and contemporary cultures in this and other countries so they can participate fully in the transformation of the relationship between the individual and society.

Taba[12] has suggested that education becomes a legitimate enterprise when it seeks to know what our social environmental concerns are and to plan and implement the means for addressing the issues involved in the dynamics of the human environment. Not only would it be unreasonable, but it would also be inappropriate for education as one of many socializing forces to assume sole responsibility for the sociocultural environment. However, increasing students' multicultural awareness and understanding may be an area where education can take a leadership role by providing the tools for a discourse aimed at assessing, shaping, and developing the potentialities of our social environment. A large portion of children's information about other cultures is obtained in schoolrooms. This is particularly true in communities that are primarily of one race, one language, and/or one religion. They may represent a handful of distilled models for aspirations and coalesced beliefs about human nature and the natural environment; communities that would otherwise be termed "isolated" but for the modern technological and economical devices they possess or deploy.[13]

Few would dispute the claim that highly unified or culturally homogeneous communities provide an inexorable amount of security to its individuals. The primary objective of ethnocentricity is, after all, to perpetuate a *status quo* of beliefs, feelings, and behaviors that were held by the individuals that made up the community at its inception. But this security does not come cheaply; it is paid for on both individual and societal levels. At the same time that the ethnocentricity of the community is providing behavioral guidance and physical comfort, it is also developing within each member strong cultural biases and prejudices.

Assuming that greater multicultural awareness is a necessary and desirable goal, and that homogeneous cultures have no built-in means for acquiring intercultural sensibilities, it then becomes one of the tasks of education, as an agent of possibilities, to develop pluralistic understandings "if it desires to prepare people to live in a vastly expanded world with interdependent heterogeneous cultures."[14] In culturally bounded communities and nations, however, ethnocentricity is thorough and pervasive, thus affecting both psychological and social concepts. This means that educational philosophies and goals can also be, and usually are, influenced by cultural beliefs. Insular communities are not the only breeding ground for the cultivation of ethnocentricity. In large and heterogeneously complex societies and communities, ethnocentricity often takes the form of "top-down" transfer of the dominant culture. The entire "English-only" syndrome is a prime example and is a manifestation of ethnocentricity.[15]

The covert nature of ethnocentricity is problematic when educational goals are aimed at developing students' multicultural sensibilities and perspectives. On the one hand, the problem rises out of deeply embedded needs and desires from which values are selected that articulate themselves as the cultural aspect within the character of each individual. Needs and desires in the form of values are perpetuated to assure the continuity of the culture. On the other hand, the ethnocentric acts of dominant cultures within pluralistic societies attempt, and quite often succeed, to become invisibly meshed in the daily activities of the domineering and the dominated. Instructional programming that aims to develop students' multicultural thinking and to deepen their sensitivities is seriously challenged to develop and/or adapt approaches to pedagogy that permit maximum flexibility in planning and freedom from cultural bias.

Multicultural Art Education

I have already demonstrated that educational institutions are (in fact, if not in principle) agencies of cultural and economic reproduction.[16] Chapman's brief review of eleven trends in art education from 1870 to 1978 draws heavily on the notion that socio-political conditions affect the periodic dominance of one curricular approach over others.[17]

Beliefs about the relationship between the individual and society influence and are reflected in educational philosophies and curricular goals and in teaching strategies. Educational philosophies based on a specific type of individual-social relationship or an attempted synthesis of various types of relationships may inadvertently reinforce some cultures and not others, and may therefore also run the risk of encouraging ethnocentric behavior or elitism. In this context, Elliot Eisner's[18] lament that "the diversity of aims and rationales for teaching art in schools is unfortunate and partly due to the size of the nation, cultural diversity among citizens, and lack of strict curricula control at the federal level" might lead some practitioners to implement homogenized curricula developed by a self-appointed few who would authorize themselves as sole determiners, producers, guardians, purveyors, and disseminators of art knowledge for all. The Civil Rights movement and other reformations of the '60s, '70s, and '80s have made it clear that a singular cultural voice is not a viable means for any discussion of the implementation of public arts education.[19] What we need instead are curricula and teaching strategies based on a multicultural philosophy of education which wholeheartedly reflect the principles of liberty, opportunity, and equality for all.

Recent popular conceptions of multicultural education among some art educators call for the development of learner identification with one's own cultural heritage and a respect for and understanding of the cultural heritages of others.[20]

The fact that art education must become culturally pluralistic in its expression of beliefs, goals, and objectives is not, however, a recent development. As a proponent of multicultural education, McFee[21] commented, in 1974, on the then growing recognition among educators of the pluralistic nature of American society and its implications for art education. Some of McFee's "big forces in social change [that impact upon educational policy]; kinds of judgments needed by individuals in a pluralistic society; and aesthetically based behaviors [that] should be considered in all art education"[22] continue to be important factors for today's educational decision-making. More recently, McFee noted that at the 1965 Penn State Seminar, "The diverse needs of students in multicultural society for art experience were considered.

This had not happened before, nor has it since."[23] Why art educators have not widely acknowledged the pluralistic nature of American society is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, the most effective means for multiculturalizing art education precludes origination of the hierarchical sort — i.e., from educational policymakers "down" to the classroom. A truly multicultural education is not possible without the active participation of teacher and student being among the determiners of curricula and teaching/learning strategies.[24] Multicultural art education is more than teaching and learning pre-organized knowledge, skills, and feelings; it requires critical, dialogical examination of knowledge sources in cultural contexts and of current artistic goals, developments, and processes.

A Pedagogy for Multiculturalizing Art Education

Curricular goals and discipline content are among the factors that have limited implementation of multicultural education in U. S. schools.[25] Indeed, "State and school authorities seek a standard curriculum that is 'teacher-proof'!"[26] Pedagogy and curricular content are not inextricably linked, and the individual teacher must not be legislated out of "knowledge-making."[27] Active participation by both teacher and student is essential to the implementation of the multiethnic component of multicultural education which has been described as "fundamentally an affective, experiential, and qualitative phenomenon that requires, if it is to be effective, a commitment to imagination, innovation, and change."[28]

A contextural treatment of art in education in a culturally pluralistic and globally oriented democratic society requires pedagogy that teaches dialogical skills for studying independently and interdependently — art-society-economy-culture-individuality. The ability to de-construct one's point of view is crucial for a contextural understanding of multiple cultural experiences. Studying a cultural art form from outside mainstream U.S. society in part requires the shedding of capitalist, western democratic norms if the observer's desire is to see the other culture in its own self-defined context.[29] Cultural and societal differences run deeper than the surface on which strokes are brushed.

The dialogic method[30] is at the heart of the pedagogy for multiculturalizing art education. As a way of delineating some of the features of dialogical discourse, I would like to briefly comment on the hegemonistic[31] character of two syllogistic propositions for conducting and developing art learning and teaching.

The first one of these propositions is an interpretation of discipline-based art education which uses analytical and dialogical discourse. As a proponent of discipline-based art education, Parrott says that the achievement of excellence, which she sees as "the development of an individual's uniqueness within a unified society" is possible in education through art.[32] Although recognizing the contributions popular and ethnic arts make to the child's "inspirational-well", Parrot believes "the fine arts ["high art"] should have a firm place in the experiences of all children, if excellence is the ultimate goal."[33] For her particular approach to arts curricula, Parrott co-opts Plato's philosophical model of disciplined thinking. She proposes an education through art in which aesthetic and analytical methods of studying art are used to achieve higher levels of cognitive development. Parrott's notion of using (1) "the fine arts" (i.e., non-ethnic, non-folk, non-popular arts) and (2) the roles of the artist, art historian, aesthetician, and art critic as models for acquiring a cognitive-aesthetic education that is "equitable and of a high standard of excellence"[34] goes beyond the goal of intellectual elitism — it clearly casts aesthetics in the role of instrument for cultural domination. The roles of artist, art historian, critic, and aesthetician are not culturally free, nor do they appear in all cultures.[35]

LaChapelle discusses the usefulness of viewing ideas about artists from a sociology of occupation viewpoint.[36] Sociology of occupation is an approach which is already resulting in a re-contexturalization of traditional notions about the artist/community relationship. The suggestion that sociological examination of arts processes may affect the "facts" of the art historian has important implications for classroom instruction. If, as Bird says, the "facts [surrounding cultural production] are not considered by some art historians or literary critics to be at all necessary for an understanding of the cultural product,"[37] then it should inspire us as art educators to develop inquiry and instruction strategies that allow for discourse on the nature of various arts roles and not merely adopt a role (artist, art historian, aesthetician, art critic) without knowledge of its operation within the fuller context of a culturally pluralistic society. Art making and art criticism should be taught as means by which culture and cultural change can be produced; they are not neutral processes or structures for presenting cultural values.

If we as educators in culturally pluralistic classrooms and "the global classroom" are to attempt to use various art roles as models for learning (notwithstanding our ultimate educational goals), then it becomes important for us to be informed about arts roles from a variety of cultures. Arts researchers should inquire into the types of arts roles available in various cultures. Without knowledge of the paradigms of arts roles/models of cultural communication and production, we are ill-equipped to provide children with an unbiased multicultural art education.

Like Parrott's interpretation of the discipline-based approach, other attempts have been made to bring order to various curricular rationales and teaching strategies in art education. For instance, Clark and Zimmerman[38] attempt to ideologically balance art education practices. These authors do this by defining what they see as the necessary relationship between four education components (content, student, teacher, setting) for successful implementation of three curricular orientations (society-centered, child-centered, subject matter-centered) to art education. Whether a complete and coherent art curriculum can be achieved through the "scotch plaid"[39] mixing and matching of components constructed from three separate philosophical orientations to the relationship between the individual and society is questionable. It seems more likely that a philosophical paradigm based on the integrity and the interrelationship of the components might provide greater completeness and coherence and be more appropriate.

While some art educators covertly (whether intended or not) cast the values of a dominant culture in the shadow of a cognitive-analytical model for learning, still others map "tartan" fields that invite ideological domination by shifting attention away from the ideological differences between (and among) educational components and curricular orientations.

The basis for understanding, examining, and exercising the principles of self-fulfillment in an equal society varies from one curricular point of view to another. It may even be that some approaches to education provide greater opportunities for self-fulfillment for some members of society through explicit denial of self-fulfillment for others. Indeed, implicit in an empirical-analytical world view which strives to control the environment, human beings, and objects, is the notion of hierarchy — the very antithesis of individuality, equality, and plurality.

Commenting on the importance of knowing one's paradigm, Pearse[40] briefly outlines Habermas' three orientations of knowing, adding that the empirical-analytic orientation (i.e., technical knowledge such as facts, theories, generalizations, and cause-effect laws) continues to dominate our research and teaching practices. Particularly relevant to the present discussion is Habermas' critical-theoretical orientation, which is described by Pearse as a "paradigm [that] takes meanings, the essences, and the understandings of multiple realities gained from the situational-interpretative orientation and adds the critical dimension."[41] In the critical-theoretic approach, reflection is essential for achieving meaningful transformation action. Roughly, the pattern of knowing in this approach is: (1) reflection upon (2) one's relation to one's self and the/one's world and one's self in the/one's world, and (3) subsequent acts of transformation. A way of knowing that emphasizes understanding through reflection, interactive relationships, and transformation provides a more fluid and less schismatic context for implementing a pluralistic art pedagogy than does an empirical-analytical orientation. The liberatory dialogical method of education[42] encourages the kind of illuminated knowing that I refer to here.

As a fundamental aspect of liberatory pedagogy, dialogical discourse is engaged in as a process for the acquisition and creation of knowledge. Three types of knowledge are acquired and produced through dialogic pedagogy: (1) knowledge of discipline, (2) knowledge of history, and (3) personal knowledge. And together, contexturally, these knowledges and action, transform individual and society.

In liberatory pedagogy the body-of-knowledge of a discipline is strategically presented and located in the larger context of education. For instance, information from the body-of-knowledge on art should be presented after the teacher poses a question to which students respond first to each other in small groups, then to the class as a whole. The body-of-knowledge is presented after students have begun their own authentic research using their personal experience as a knowledge base. Bowles and Gintis say that "the central prerequisite for personal development—be it physical, emotional, aesthetic, cognitive, or spiritual — lies in the capacity to control the conditions of one's life. Thus, a society can foster personal development roughly to the extent that it allows and requires personal interaction along the lines of equal, unified participatory and democratic cooperation and struggle."[43]

The notion of multicultural education is implicit in an education that takes as primary the integrity of the individual. Multicultural education becomes a possibility when the individual is seen as a carrier of culture and when educators recognize that culture resides in the individual.[44] To practice democratic multicultural education in the arts, the focus must in large part be on this type of approach to teaching wherein content choices are made jointly by students and teachers and based in the arts disciplines, lived experiences of students, and historical/contemporary art contexts. Shor's and Friere's[45] liberatory pedagogy satisfy these criteria.

The following comments highlight some of the characteristics of Shor's and Friere's notion of liberatory transformative education and dialogical pedagogy. "In liberatory education, we do not propose mere technique for gaining literacy, or expertise, or professional skills, or even critical thought. The methods of dialogical education draw us into the intimacy of the society, the *raison d'etre* of every object of study."[46]

Liberatory pedagogy is a creative pedagogy focused on student reinvention and creation of knowledge. For the students and teacher engaged in liberatory education, reflection and dialogue are key acts that transform the perception of reality. This establishes a dialectical rather than a manipulative or one-directional didactic relationship between the teacher and students. "Dialogue *seals* the relationship between the cognitive subjects, the subjects who know, and who try to know."[47] The dialectical relationship between teacher and students is supported by an epistemological cycle of knowing which involves two moments in knowing: (1) the production of new knowledge, and (2) coming to know or perceive knowledge that has already been produced.

In the classroom, dialogic methodology begins when the teacher poses a problem that students participate in shaping.[48] In the following section of this essay, I will discuss some issues related to, and recommend a means for, selecting themes for multiculturalizing art that teachers might use in the problem-posing process with their students.

A Recommendation for Problem-posing in a Liberatory Pedagogy for Multiculturalizing Art Education

As teachers and researchers, we must develop methods of discourse that lead students to examine the creation of meanings embodied in multicultural experiences and objects, and likewise to develop dialogue on the processes by which socially domineering proponents of world views preserve and perpetuate their views by producing very specific kinds of information and experiences.[49] The myth of value-free learning operates within a mechanism for domination and not liberation. Shor and Friere point out that "in schools and colleges, science, engineering, technology, business, and many social science courses generally present knowledge as value-free, free of ideology or politics. These falsely neutral curricula train students to observe things without judging, to see the world from the official consensus, to carry out orders without questioning, as if the given society is fixed and fine. Their courses emphasize technique, not critical contact with reality."[50]

A popular myth in U. S. arts education and practice is the belief that creative expression is independent of economic concepts. Some artists mistakenly believe that they are protecting their freedom of self-determination by insisting on the fundamental rightness of the separation of art from economic life. The links between art and money — artistic, social, and economic values — have been traced back to William Blake[51] and still further to the Medicis of Florence.[52] Ratcliff says that in western art, "the aesthetic is an aspect of the economic, as the economic is an aspect of the aesthetic."[53]

The aesthetic and economic value of art in contemporary U. S.

society is a complex formulation that involves the beliefs and perspectives of artists, collectors, dealers, critics, corporations, curators, state arts councils, art historians, gallery owners, and auction houses. At present, U. S. corporations exercise considerable influence in setting the combined aesthetics and economic value of art. According to Pears, corporate "sponsorship of the arts is part of an ideological belief in freedom and creativity."[54] While on the whole, corporations do not appear to dictate matters of aesthetics and self-expression, they do exercise their freedom to sponsor those artistic forms that they believe reinforce the corporate image they wish to project.

In the U. S., artists have the freedom to manipulate materials in nearly any manner, to employ any technique, and to express their views on any subject or theme. Indeed, for "every company like IBM which would never sponsor anything way out there are many, like Philip Morris, who say they are perfectly happy to be associated with *avant garde* exhibitions."[55]

Corporations control the monetary value of art, and they also control personal freedom to the extent that artists seek recognition and acceptance of their work. The desire for recognition and acceptance is a natural consequence of free artistic expression. Recognition and acceptance are, however, managed as scarce commodities, as the marketplace provides room for only a small number of artists.[56] Freedom to create must never be a commodity to be granted, sold, bought, or applied for; nor should it be short-circuited at the juncture of recognition and acceptance.

The institutional sanctioning of creative artistic freedom to children *vis à vis* the view of artist in the corporate power matrix presents a problem for a liberatory arts education. Liberatory or dialogic pedagogy promotes individual critical and contextual inquiry, and for this reason may not initially be recognized as different from the contained exploratory experimental atmosphere already granted within the context of the corporate aegis. We as art educators have to dialectically situate art within the lives of children and adults by making it relevant to the multiple realities of life and society.

The task of liberatory educators, together with their students, is to attempt to illuminate the realities of artistic experiences in our multicultural classrooms and society. Using Friere's and Shor's dialogic pedagogy, teachers and students may begin to understand how their values and behaviors toward art are shaped and controlled. The more they understand about the mechanisms of art production and distribution in our society, the better they may become at controlling and transforming the realities of their day-to-day aesthetic experiences. Liberatory arts education then, is an act of becoming illuminated (informed by critical examination) of social, cultural, political, and economic arts processes. Illumination is required, because many of the dominating aspects of arts practices in the U. S. are obscured by myth and misinformation.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the psycho-social history of the concept of dominance and its hidden nature in complex societies. The following comments and excerpts from Murray Bookchin, however, represent one scholar's thinking on at least one source of social domination, rule, hierarchy, the shifting of world-views and art imagery.

Bookchin, in his discourse on hierarchy and rule, contends that the role of the aged as "source of knowledge" is a role created by the aged to secure for themselves a place of prominence and to ensure their survival in society. Accordingly, the specific role of *shaman* was created by the aged as the mechanism by which power could be bestowed upon the aged. Bookchin writes that "they [the aged] have the most to gain by the institutionalization of society and the emergence of hierarchy, for it is within this realm and as a result of this process that they can retain powers that are denied to them by physical weakness and infirmity. Their need for social power, and for hierarchical power at that, is a function of their loss of biological power. The social sphere is the only realm in which this power can be created and, concomitantly, the only sphere that can cushion their vulnerability to natural forces. Thus, they are the architects 'par excellence' of social life, of social power, and of its institutionalization along hierarchical lines."[58]

In Bookchin's critical discourse on social rule, shamans and priests continually generate and re-define world views, including their own self-defined roles, in order to retain their power. Creations like the Sphinx and Minotaur reflect a compromise between animism and religion; the moment of shift from shaman to priestly rule.[59] However, for the psychoanalyst C. G. Jung, the conflict symbolized by the Sphinx is not only seen as a moment in a social transformative process, but also as an essential, repetitive universal phenomena. "Jung saw the Sphinx as the archetype Good Mother-Destroying Mother, a contrast deeply etched into the collective unconscious of all who must depend on parental care."[60] As such, the Good Mother-Destroying Mother finds articulation through innumerable cultural and individual creative attempts at conflict resolution. Within the parameters of the Jungian collective unconscious paradigm, it may be possible to develop a dialogue of understanding, recognition, questioning, and reflection on the creation of individual, cultural, and cross-cultural meanings.

The liberatory teacher begins by *seeking* generative themes that appear in the lives of the students. Generative themes are found in the dialogues of the students about their experiences, their lives. Generative themes are then codified by the teacher and presented back to the students in a structured and contexturally problematic way. Liberatory teachers may also begin by selecting an issue for students to reflect upon from within the context of their own experiences, and beyond, to its meaning in the lives of others.

Using the Jungian collective unconscious paradigm as at least one source for situationally posing questions for a discourse of interaction and possibility seems tenable, in light of its emphasis on patterns of meaning in multicultural and individual creations of reality. In some ways, Jung's theory of a collective unconscious might be seen as a paradigm that dissolves the boundaries between and combines the essentials of the common biological nature, the socialization needs, and the individuality of human experiences.

Customs, values, preferences, and daily habits differ from culture to culture due to physical environment, language, technology, sex roles, and traditional behaviors. Learning about cultures means acquiring culturally generated knowledge. Some cultures may, however, share some beliefs and behaviors with fundamental structures in the form of archetypes. In light of this, it seems possible that organizing learning experiences through Shor's and Friere's critical dialogue method aimed at uncovering the archetypal nature of motifs could give implementation of curricula (in all content areas) the kind of structure needed to develop students' multicultural sensibilities and knowledge.

The achievement of in-depth, meaningful multicultural understanding and self-knowledge are not mutually exclusive curricular goals. Plans for attaining these goals begin with recognition and acceptance of the child's inner knowledge as being equal to or substantially as important as formally presented classroom information.[61]

Art study and art-making can provide a framework within which children can come to know and examine the production of their own conscious aesthetic feelings and thoughts as well as begin to appreciate and understand the concerns that influence the production of aesthetic responses of other individuals and other cultures. Achieving a full sense of multicultural similarities and differences involves authentic experiencing, reflection, dialogical inquiry, and knowledge creation. Adapting, developing, and using a critical dialogic process can lead to greater multicultural understanding and a focus on art as a transformative act.

Summary

In this essay, I've proposed using a liberatory dialogic pedagogy to teach art multiculturally. I've also recommended that teachers draw upon Jung's notion of archetype as a thematic resource for the problem-posing phase of dialogical pedagogy precisely because of its dialectical nature. In support of my proposal and recommendation, I have focused attention upon those aspects of each domain (multicultural education, art education, liberatory pedagogy) which structurally interface with the others.

Multicultural education is a reformation committed to the recognition and delineation of numerous cultural similarities and differences. Multicultural education focuses on the potentially complex cultural differences in the classroom between students and teacher (teacher as both delegate of society and as delegate of one's own culture). Seen as such, multicultural education becomes an effective tool for the dialectical democratizing of self and society.

Since aesthetics is one aspect of self-development, it is important that teachers encourage idiomatic language through personal (cultural) illumination of the tensions between individual and society.

Friere says that "We change our understanding and our consciousness to the extent we are illuminated in real conflicts in history."[62] A dialogical pedagogy can provide strategies for illuminating processes for individuals and societies to explore the historical and dialectical relationships between and among the individual, the artist, art, culture, economics, and society. Multicultural art education can be achieved through a dialogical pedagogy that re-contexturalizes curricular content toward an examination and exploration of these relationships.

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Footnotes

1. McFee, J. K. and Degge, R. M. (1977). *Art, culture, and environment.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publ. Co.
2. Molnar, A. (1985). *Schools and their curriculum: A continuing controversy.* In *Current thought on curriculum* (pp. 1-29). Washington, DC: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Molnar comments on how U.S. schools are shaped by social and political currents. By his account, in the '50s the technological race for space between U.S. and Soviet governments caused a shift in educational goals. Curricular focus moved from progressivism toward intellectual training and the study of disciplines. In the '60s, the failure of urban schools resulted in a recognition of socio-economic differences. Experimental and alternative curricula attempted to address the different needs of multiethnic student bodies and communities. More recently, educational reform in the '70s and '80s have underscored U.S. economic turmoil by calling for a return to "basics" and the "privatization" of schools.

3. Chapman, L. H. (1978). *Approaches to art in education*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
4. Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education*. New York: The Macmillan Co. Democracy as defined by John Dewey is conjoint communication without regard for external authority. U.S. society functions as a capitalist society. It is unconscionable to live in a society based on capitalism and democracy and to ignore the overwhelming force with which capitalism shapes our daily lives and the lives of our students. Capitalism affects the lives of our students in that it affects how, what, when, and where our students and their families think about art.
5. Toynbee, A. J. (1946). *A study of history*. New York: Dell Publishing Co. Toynbee says that the United States calls its particular blend of personal liberty and social justice "democracy," a term that was borrowed from the Greeks; and that like the ancient Greeks, early American settlers institutionalized slavery and denied slaves, women, and aliens both personal and social power. Unlike ancient Greece, however, America has never embraced the notion of direct democracy of which Pericles spoke (Thucydides, The Peloponesian War. NY: Modern Library, 1944, pp. 121-22), but rather, democracy by governance. The operational premises of direct democracy and representative democracy have been clouded and as such aid the perpetuation of the myth of equal participation in governance. Hence, in U.S. democracy, "all" never share in the decision-making process.
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30. The dialogic method is participatory. It begins with reflection and mutual discussion between students and teacher about the extent and limits of their knowledge. In dialogic pedagogy, students and teacher engage in a cycle of critically discussing, knowing, and changing their realities.
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Factors Which May Contribute to the Marginal Status of Art Education in Chile

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The status of art in the Chilean school curriculum is examined in relation to attitudes toward art, toward education, and toward art education. The weakening of the position of art in school curricula is tied to the political impact of a military regime. A technological ethos, and an historically narrow and vulnerable conception of art in education are also seen as detrimental.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to throw some light on the main factors which may help to explain the marginal position of art in the Chilean school curriculum.[1] Bearing in mind that various elements contribute to the status of art in schools, this study considers three main ideas: attitudes toward art, attitudes toward education, and attitudes toward art education.

This paper represents a personal perspective and makes no claim to objectivity or to generalize. This exploration is based on my experience as an art teacher in schools through contact and interchange of ideas with children, teachers, educational authorities, and parents, as well as study and readings at the university level. Therefore, although there may be other factors affecting the status of art in education, the three issues stated are considered most relevant for the purposes of this study; that is, a personal, reflective view of the marginal position of art in Chilean schools.

This paper outlines the three chosen issues for methodological reasons. Some of these factors are closely related, and they should not be considered as separate issues. Rather, they constitute an organic whole.

Attitudes Toward Art

Art Perceived as Politically and Morally Subversive

The politically central function of art is well documented. The destruction of politically volatile works of art and persecution of twentieth-century artists are also well documented. However, art also serves official political regimes. These systems may establish control over dissident artists and prepare new aesthetic standards to support and propagate the official political ideology.

Repressive regimes may attempt to abolish artistic autonomy. Because schools are social institutions in which the function of art may be either critical or supportive, there may be official requirements to orient art education according to specified ideological conventions. This intervention, usually implemented by educational authorities, may be carried out in different ways. For example, they may emphasize the teaching of those areas of the art syllabus which may serve the official ideology, remove those teachers who are suspected of having contrary ideas to the regime, or change the curriculum plan so that art can become an optional subject or simply be eliminated from the school curriculum.

The critical function of art education is rarely recognized openly by authorities or parents. I am inclined to believe that in Chile it is not merely a coincidence that art became optional and was banned in some courses of the school curriculum under the military regime.[2] The decision to weaken the position of art in the curriculum was probably due not only to political considerations, but also to other factors described in this study.

Chile's democratic history is the longest in the whole of South America. However, it was interrupted in 1973 by a military regime. Prior to 1973, art was considered to be a compulsory subject of the curriculum and therefore enjoyed a better status in schools than it does today.

The teaching of art may be considered to be a threat because of the political implications of its critical function. There are also a variety of other reasons, among which the moral dimension seems to be very significant. From the beginning of the history of art education in Chile, "moral education" was closely associated with the teaching of art, partly because it was believed that the practice of geometrical line drawing would encourage children to have a sense of cleanliness and at the same time help to discipline their behavior in schools. However, during this century art history and the aim of self-expression were introduced in the art curriculum, giving children the opportunity to appreciate works of art and express their feelings, emotions, and ideas more freely.[3] As a consequence of this development, moral teaching through art, which in the past apparently had presented no problems, became more ambiguous and problematic. This was mainly because children had access to a broader concept of art, which introduced them to certain kinds of ideas and knowledge which caused concern among the educational authorities and parents. Maxine Greene describes this concern in the following terms:

> The arts are, for many persons, mysteriously subversive. Those who know little about the arts may fear that contact with art or artists will have an unwholesome effect on people's lives. For all the protestations about the joys, the uplifting

> qualities to be found in the arts, there is some fear (usually inarticulate) that the arts may tap regions of darkness, ambiguity, and strange kinds of spontaneity in human beings. This anxiety, often deep-rooted, must be combatted in the schools.[4]

Finally, another factor which may add to the vision of art education as a threat is that art teachers are perceived in a different way by the school community. In fact, as Malcolm Ross has pointed out, among the most damaging characteristics of art teachers (who could be termed "stereotyped") is their eccentricity of dress and manner which could cause people to think that they are socially disruptive and morally ambivalent.[5]

Art Regarded Mainly for Artists and the Elite

This view is based on the belief that art is essentially for those who have special talents, that is, it requires a mysterious capacity for producing works of art and a refined sensitivity in order to appreciate the artistic heritage.

The former attitude is, of course, closely related to the position given in contemporary society to art, which, according to Cross, may be thought of as:

(1) a respectable and relaxing hobby,
(2) a rather superior kind of interior decoration,
(3) an opportunity for eccentric self-expression,
(4) an excuse for adopting a freer lifestyle, or
(5) the prestigious product of a special kind of person (the "genius") for the delectation and admiration of all of us.[6]

Perhaps if we consider some of the above ideas, it may be possible to throw light on why art is mainly regarded for artists and the elite. For instance, to regard art merely as a respectable and relaxing hobby gives one the impression that it is not actually considered to be a form of work. In a modern society, as Janet Wolff says, the potential similarity between art and work has been lost:

The idea of the artist as an individual creative worker, engaged in some supra-human special task, emerged from the period of the Renaissance. Before that time in Europe, what we refer to as artistic work was performed by people working much more under conditions of other types of worker, and painting, designing, and building as artisans and craftsmen, with collective commitment and shared responsibility.[7]

In an educational system seen mainly from the perspective of social and economic mobility, the opposition between art and work may influence the status of the subject in the curriculum, making its place marginal. This may be due to the fact that it is not regarded by the vast majority of people as a legitimate economic vocation.

In other respects, the notion of the artist seen as a very special kind of person ("a genius") who is often considered to be eccentric and quite different from the average person, has contributed to the social isolation of artists and artistic creations. The history of Chile is rich in examples of the social discontinuity between artists and works of art and the rest of the community. For instance, in 1928 Carlota Manheimeir wrote:

> Some people say that children should not be encouraged while they are painting or scribbling, neither should they be given too much merit for what they do, as this attitude could lead children to believe that they could become artists in the future, without them having any aptitude for this kind of life.[8]

The following quotation refers to a working class woman who with others has produced patch work since the military coup of 1973 in order to earn some money for their homes and to carry a message to other parts of the world against the regime. I hope that this example will illustrate to what extent art and artists are perceived as separate from ordinary everyday life in Chilean society.

> Apart from all this, it's a great joy that people consider that we are making art, that we are artists in this. For us, as housewives, we've never been, or dreamt of being, artists or working in that sort of thing. In this there's some compensation for all that's happened. It gives us more strength to go on, to go on struggling to live. God willing, we'll be able to make them better every day.[9]

This reveals the perceived isolation of the artist from society of creation. Consequently, we may ask, how do these ideas about art and artists affect the status of art in the school curriculum?

The consequences of the above conception are primarily negative. If interest in art is limited to a very small minority, there is no logical justification for teaching a subject in the curriculum. It will be regarded as beneficial to only a small group of children. Furthermore, this conception of art as mainly for artists would seem to imply that art can only be generated and experienced by those who have special talents. It may also imply that art cannot be taught, that is, one cannot learn to be an artist; artists are born with special gifts.

Art Seen as a Useless Activity in a Culture Dominated by a Technological Ethos

It would be difficult to deny that one of the most distinctive features of our present world is the high level of scientific and technological development achieved in contemporary society. This feature has progressively permeated many aspects of human experience and the environment in which we live. This scientific and technological ethos which is shaping every dimension of our contemporary society cannot be seen merely as a forecast as to how these changes will affect humankind in the long term. Melvin Rader, referring to the impact of science and technology on our civilization, has said:

> Whether the changes on the whole will be good or bad hangs in the balance. No one will deny that there have been some improvements in human affairs, but the triple threat of the thermonuclear war, overpopulation, and ecological catastrophe is acute . . . aesthetically this is perhaps the most serious threat of all — the sweetness of nature, the very face of the land, is being glutted with ugliness and pollution.[10]

It is not clear either whether the changes will on the whole be good or bad for art education. What are the consequences of scientific and technological development for the status of art in schools? It is not easy to deal with this question, as the relationships between technology, art, and education are very far-reaching and complex. Hence, in an attempt to clarify this issue, I will focus on those points which could help to throw light on this question.

We have to begin with the recognition of the fact that the introduction of art in schools of many European and American countries was very much influenced by the needs of modern industry. This is one of the clearest reflections of the effects of the scientific and technological on art education. In this sense, the beginning of art education in Chile, and particularly its development during the first decades of the century, are closely related to industrial expansion. Consequently, this can be seen as a direct consequence of the impact of the scientific and technological ethos on Chilean society. Since the 1960s, there has been a growing tendency to put art in a marginal position in Chilean schools. It appears that the influence of scientific and technological development is negatively affecting the status of art education. That is one of the factors which is contributing to the marginal status of art in the education of children.

Several factors may explain why Chilean art education during the last decades has suffered adverse effects due to technological and scientific development. It seems that at present the teaching of art is not considered to be a key area in contributing to industrial and economic progress of the country as it was understood in the past. In scientific and technological fields, the traditional uses of drawing have been replaced by new techniques in the processes of research and production. Because the teaching of art is not regarded as a relevant contribution to the economic progress of the nation, neither is it considered to be a necessary subject of the curriculum.

Scientific and technological developments have increased the level of specialization required in various areas of knowledge. The contemporary school curriculum also reflects this. For Chilean art education, the consequences of this specialization have, of course, been negative. During this century, schools, particularly in secondary education, have increased the number of hours allocated to scientific areas (math, biology, chemistry, and physics) to the detriment of other subjects such as art and music.

Perhaps the most significant influence of scientific rationality on the present status of art education in Chile, has been the growing tendency to introduce a utilitarian and materialistic attitude into the society, aimed toward the creation of a technical culture in which art may be regarded as futile, irrelevant, and therefore peripheral to the vast majority of people. Victor Heyfron described the impact of this mentality on the curriculum and art education in the following way:

> In times of scarcity, when people's lives are dominated by the material concerns of earning a living, it is easy to view relevance in the curriculum as one of pragmatic instrumentality. In this kind of context art is typically considered a luxury and superfluous to the real business of living.[11]

Some of the more typical opinions of secondary school children, who believe that art is a futile activity or a minor subject of the curriculum, are as follows:

> Art is not useful and therefore it should not be taught. As it is not my intention to become an artist or to be involved in work connected with art in the future, I do not want to have the subject of art in the curriculum.[12]

This represents the view of many secondary school children that there is little sense, or no sense at all, in being taught a subject like art, as we are living in a scientific and technological world which mainly demands pragmatic and instrumental knowledge.

Attitudes Toward Education

Education Seen as Imparting Information and as Establishing Uniformity in Children

In this section, I shall attempt to describe in more depth those views and features of school education which may be considered to be adverse to the teaching of art.

If we observe what schools do and what schools are, we may come to the conclusion that these institutions are not the most suitable places in which to be taught art. The essential goal of the organization of contemporary educational systems and education in broader meanings of art in human experience may be seen as irreconcilable in the view of some art educators.

It would seem that schools, in many ways because of their historical background, make difficult the teaching of art. This is largely connected, in my opinion, to the fact that in Chile and probably in many other countries, modern schools emerged in order to develop a curriculum for mass education based on the teaching of language arts, math, science, and social studies. Art education, in the broader meaning of art in human experience, was not originally considered. In other words, schools were founded to develop an unbalanced curriculum. Schools were designed and built without considering the teaching of art and were mainly to provide instruction within an environment of discipline and conformity. It seems useful, therefore, to examine in some detail those attitudes embodied by schools in Chile, which seem to make work in art education difficult.

Schools: A World of Uniformity

Since during the 1960s and '70s a good deal of educational literature has been devoted to criticizing the schools' educational system (see, for instance, Holt, Illich, Freire), only a summary of the main ideas concerning the status of art in the curriculum will be considered in this section.

> If we look at formal education, we realize that the transmission of knowledge rests upon 26 letters and 10 numerals. These are merely tools to use in the pursuit of knowledge, and are not in themselves learning. These 36 abstract figures are manipulated and reshuffled from kindergarten through college.[14]

On the other hand, since the main purpose of schools is to provide instruction and qualifications by teaching children those subjects in which the "36 abstract figures are manipulated;" to be effective in achieving this purpose, the system as a whole is aimed toward this objective as if it were a factory or a regiment. Eisner has written:

> Schools, especially large ones, tend to have the character of factories. The need to process and control the movement of a large number of students resulted in a mode of school organization and the development of attitudes that pay little attention to individual wants and needs . . . . Thus a system of controls is established in schools that oftentimes contradicts the very values of independence, critical thinking ability, and perceptivity that schools say they would like to develop in the young.[15]

However, it is not only the way in which schools organize the "transmission of knowledge" which affects the status of art in the curriculum. The nature of the school environment often embodies anti-aesthetic features. For example, it often consists of architecture lacking in sensitive design and color and devoid of trees, flowers, and gardens. Malcolm Ross has written, "The way the learning or living environment looks and feels is of the most immediate concern to the idea of aesthetic in education."[16]

This enumeration of problems could be extended, but it is not my intention to overemphasize the negative aspects of Chilean schools. These criticisms may be applied to schools in other countries.

Education Seen Mainly from the Perspective of Social and Economic Mobility

During the last decades, various educators have focused their attention on the social functions that schools fulfill in society. For instance, Eisner has written:

> Schools are looked upon by most citizens as places to be used to get ahead in the world. Schools are the ladders (whether in actuality or in belief) up which one moves to achieve success. Economic mobility and social mobility are largely influenced by how well one does in school and how far one goes.[17]

Yet, in Chile and probably many other countries too, when middle and upper class parents select schools for their children's education, they usually do not care at all whether or not the school has a good reputation in teaching art. What actually matters to them, almost obsessively, is the school academic level in mathematics, Spanish, and sometimes in foreign languages. I am not attempting here to make judgments about the criteria which parents use to choose schools for their children, because obviously they try to look for the best educational system according to their values, financial resources, and so forth.

As a result of the situation described above, the following attitudes toward art are very often manifested, directly or indirectly, by parents:

- Although they tend to recognize that art may contribute to the education of their children, particularly in primary school, parents have a clear tendency to undervalue the subject in comparison with other areas of the curriculum, mainly because it does not offer economic and social security.
- This inclination to neglect art is frequently transmitted to their children. For example, parents complain when children dedicate extramural time to work in art, because this means that they are spending less time on learning those

subjects which are considered to be more important.

Consequently, children who feel a natural impulse to work on art during the first years of primary education are progressively inhibited in this area by social pressures from the family, school, mass media, and others.

Education Seen from a Narrow Conception of Knowledge

In the last point related to attitudes toward education, I wish to consider an issue which is of central importance and, according to several educators, may help to explain why art has a marginal status in the school curriculum.

It is believed that education is for intellectual development, while art is mainly concerned with feelings and emotions. Since feelings and emotions are not considered by many to be involved in intellectual development, art can only have a marginal status in schools.

This double misconception about the meaning of art and education, which was imported to South America from European countries, has been present within Chilean schools from the very beginning of their history. The creation of Chilean primary and secondary schools was mainly based on European educational models, which according to L. A. Reid have been largely identified with "discursive propositional forms of knowledge." Reid wrote:

> In the long history of Western culture, and in our educational curricula, knowledge has been identified with its discursive propositional forms, and the curriculum not only has been hugely dominated by them, but dominated largely to the exclusion of non-discursive knowledge and understanding, implying a separation of thinking and feeling. This divisiveness is, on any liberal view of education as concerned with whole persons, disastrously destructive. It is destructive in that the capacities for feeling and understanding required for the development of non-discursive awareness remain undeveloped and so wither and become atrophied.[18]

In order to better understand the misconception of knowledge currently adopted by schools and its influence on the status of art in the curriculum, it may be useful to examine in more depth why art has for a long time been considered a technical subject in Chilean primary and secondary education.

There is no simple answer. However, in my opinion, the fact that art was introduced in the curriculum as a skill in drawing, based on technical exercises and practiced for many years as such, has to a large extent determined the view of art as a "technical subject." On the other hand, although the art curriculum was extended to other areas such as modeling, painting, etc., the chief emphasis in the teaching of art has always been on activities which require practical work. Hence, within a school system mainly concentrating on theoretical instruction, it is not surprising that those few subjects which nearly always have been carried out through manual activities are seen as different from the rest of the curriculum. These technical areas are viewed as not requiring intellectual effort.

Art in schools tends to be identified with feelings and emotions and is chiefly regarded as a non-intellectual and subjective area. Consequently, it is seen as a subject which cannot be quantified through objective assessment. Yet, schools are urged more and more to give quantified accounts of what children do. Therefore, for the status of art in the curriculum, the combination of both factors is, of course, negative. Eisner has said the present trend in education is that "what is measurable is evaluated and what is evaluated is emphasized."[19]

Within the school community, there is a common misconception that art cannot be assessed. Consequently, the subject tends to be disregarded, devalued, and reduced to the status of a pastime. This is not difficult to explain. In my experience as an art teacher, one of the factors which children consider in order to discriminate between "important" and "non-important" subjects is the amount of work required by each area of the curriculum and its level of difficulty to pass examinations. In other words, hard work and arduous examination is usually thought of as "important," while a couple of hours per week of work which may be enjoyable and assessed in a relaxed environment suggests to children that this is "not important."

A school system may reduce the teaching of art to a mere technical and affective function because of its aim toward a limited conception of knowledge, and because it is increasingly dominated by the demand for accountability. In a system such as this, art can occupy only a marginal status.

Attitudes Toward Art Education

In this third section, I examine the relationship between the status of art in the curriculum and the way in which art is justified and taught in the schools.

It seems to me that the issues mentioned in "Attitudes Toward Art" and "Attitudes Toward Education" are perhaps the most relevant in order to understand why art has a marginal status. However, the points which will be considered in this section are also important. A holistic point of view is adapted to explicate this situation. The aforementioned attitudes may determine a position of art in the curriculum. However, there is nearly always a possibility to affect the status of the subject in schools through its teaching, that is, through the actual work that teachers and children do. Let me make this clear:

a. I do not believe that the position of art in the curriculum may be significantly advanced by improving the quality of its teaching alone.

b. As we shall see, for an allegedly peripheral subject like art, a poor standard of teaching may have more impact than in other subjects. Poor teaching may emphasize its marginal status or result in its elimination from the curriculum. Nevertheless, a better quality of art education might contribute to improve the concept that the school community has about art and could perhaps, in the long term, help to provide a better status for the subject in schools.

c. By improving the status of art in this context, I do not necessarily mean to increase the amount of time allocated to the subject. In the great majority of schools, the curriculum content and structure is dictated by the main educational authorities and cannot be easily changed. However, according to my experience as an art teacher, it may be possible to modify other aspects, such as allocation of resources (space, materials, etc.), because these are more directly controlled by local school authorities. The most important aspect may be a positive change of attitudes in the school community as a whole. This may effectively support the need of art in the education of children.

d. Bearing in mind the present Chilean context, it seems to me that if art teachers and others involved in art education want to improve the status of art in the curriculum, they have no better alternative than to attempt this change through their own work in schools illustrating that art is a worthwhile activity.

However, in my opinion, art teachers tend to neglect or ignore the influence that their work may play in determining the status of art in schools. It seems useful, therefore, to examine in detail some attitudes toward art education which are directly related to the art teacher's work.

Art Education for the Development of Manual Skills Mainly by Means of Drawing Exercises

One emphasis throughout the history of Chilean art education has been the teaching of drawing in order to develop skills and the ability to copy. There is evidence of this fact in the literature of art education. Testimonies of art teachers about their own experience on the subject of art when they were primary or secondary school children show that, until some decades ago, the teaching of drawing was still mainly focused toward the development of technical skills and the ability to copy.[20]

Bearing in mind this historical tendency of teaching drawing mainly to develop skills and the ability to copy, an important question is: What influence has the historical tendency to reduce the teaching of art to drawing had upon the status of the subject in the curriculum? This is a complex question which cannot be fully addressed in this study. However, it may be posited that the concept of art education for the development of manual skills, mainly by means of drawing exercises in Chilean schools, has contributed toward the marginal status of the subject. This is, of course, difficult to prove. This assumption is based on the view that a narrow experience of art during school education helps to generate a narrow conception of art in society. Schools play a significant role in shaping the concepts that the vast majority of people have about the various areas of knowledge. This view implies that the feelings, understandings, and attitudes that most people have toward science, philosophy, art, and so forth, are very much influenced by their own experience in these areas in primary and secondary education.

Hence, if the above view is true, the historical tendency in Chilean art education to reduce the teaching of art mainly to copy drawing exercises has contributed to a poor conception of art. This conception may be shared by ordinary people, and also those who achieve military, political, religious, and other kinds of power in society. Thus, the possible outcome of the above conception would result in little support, in indifference or in an oppositional attitude, to the value of teaching art in public education.

Art Education Inadequately or Insufficiently Justified in the Curriculum

In the last point of this section, I would like to examine how the ways in which the role of art has been justified in education may have influenced the present position of the subject in schools.

There is a close relationship between the status of a subject in schools and its need for justification. A subject with a lower status in the curriculum requires greater justification of its role in schools. Substantial evidence of this fact may be found in the history of Chilean art education, which is very often an account of justifications. This is not difficult to explain. From its introduction, art has been considered a vulnerable area within the curriculum. Its supporters have constantly searched for means of defending and promoting. The need for justification is present in art syllabi and in the literature of art education. There is nearly always a first chapter in texts devoted to the support of inclusion of art in schools. This often takes the form of discussions of the aims of art education.

The issue I want to consider now may be summarized as follows:

a. Among the justifications used to support art in Chilean schools, there are many slogans, myths, and vulnerable ideas which are therefore inappropriate and ineffective in persuading authorities, parents, and others of the need for art education.

b. Inappropriate or weak justification for art in the curriculum may be a significant factor which contributes to the marginal status of the subject.

Mary Louise Serafine, referring to persistent myths in the way in which art education is justified, has said:

> One finds in many answers to the question "Why do schools need the arts?" the triumph of myth and superstition over the sort of reasonable justifications which, though they may not be provable, would at least make sense and bear scrutiny. The certitude and confidence with which these beliefs are stated are indeed troubling. No doubt certitude is the symptom of our having fallen into the habit of using as justifications only that which is already ingrained in our thinking, taken for granted, and unquestioned.[21]

Let us consider some justifications within the Chilean art education literature, in order to illustrate the presence of myths and vulnerable ideas. For instance, Ramón Lopez in 1889 wrote: "It is not necessary to make a great effort in order to see clearly that, among all the school subjects, no one has more positive value and practical meaning than Drawing."[22]

This is, of course, a very personal assumption which is easy to refute. If it were so simple for the educational authorities to see clearly that drawing is the subject which has "more positive and practical value" in the curriculum, it would not have been in a marginal position in Chilean primary and secondary education for nearly one hundred years.

Guadalupe Matus in 1920 said: "The teaching of drawing contributes to educate honest men with good criteria and the ability to understand and sincerely interpret nature" [*sic*].[23]

I do not deny that the teaching of drawing could, eventually, contribute to moral education; especially if it is aimed toward this purpose. However, as Vincent Lanier has said:

> If the teaching of art makes people moral . . . then those who have been intimately involved in that making, artists, should be as a group, discernibly more moral in their general behavior than the rest of us. One does not have to be an art historian to refute that claim.[24]

Many other examples could be added to illustrate the presence of myths and slogans in art syllabi and in the written works of individuals concerned with art education. This is not to say, of course, that the vast majority of justifications are necessarily naïve or inadequately formulated. Neither am I trying to suggest that this is a particularly Chilean problem. According to literature from other American and European countries, this would seem to be an international tendency which we have inherited from Europe and the United States and then cultivated into our own style.

Perhaps one of the main features of our style in this matter has been to over-emphasize, through theoretical discourse, a magical conception of art in education, as if art were the fundamental means to make education a worthwhile and valuable experience for children. In Chilean education, one of the most influential foreign ideologists in this respect has been Herbert Read, who, according to Fraser Smith, "was the 'father' of present-day art education and perhaps the most well-known magician of all."[25] This is clear when Read suggests, for instance, that art should be the core of education and the main influence to improve the moral standards and create a world of peace.

After considering some examples in order to illustrate the tendency to justify art in the curriculum by using inappropriate and vulnerable statements, let us consider how this tendency may have influenced the present status of art in the curriculum.

According to Lanier: "We cannot do a first rate job of teaching with second rate conceptions of the value of art and the purposes of art education."[26]

Lanier's argument suggests that the issue about different ways of justifying art in the curriculum is relevant from theoretical and practical perspectives. It is significant due to the influence that justifications may affect content and process of teaching art in the schools. For instance, if the role of art in the curriculum is seen only as providing opportunities of personal expression or development of technical skills, then we provide insufficient theoretical foundations to justify art education. Children's education in art is also impoverished, resulting in a citizenry without a broad understanding of the role of art in human experience. A narrow and vulnerable conception of aims may be particularly dangerous for the status of a subject like art, since it is under constant threat of extinction and requires continual justification in the curriculum.

Summary and Conclusions

From the point of view of the attitudes toward art, the most important elements which would seem to determine the status of the subject may be summarized as follows:

- Art in society is perceived as politically and morally subversive. Therefore, its teaching is considered to have the potential of a critical function in schools, a potential which may be particularly dangerous in those countries which are governed by authoritarian and oppressive systems.

- Art tends to be regarded mainly for artists and the élite. As a result of this misconception, it would seem that there is no logical justification for its teaching in schools. On one hand, it is believed that art can only benefit a small group of children, and, on the other hand, that it cannot actually be taught.
- Art is seen as a futile activity in a culture dominated by a technological ethos. Thus, many children, particularly in secondary education, as well as parents and educational authorities, consider that if we are living in a world which mainly demands pragmatic and instrumental knowledge, there is little sense in teaching courses such as painting, sculpture, and drawing.

From the point of view of the attitudes toward education, three fundamental issues were addressed:

- Schools as social institutions chiefly aim to impart information and to educate children uniformly. Hence, these institutions do not seem to be the most suitable places to teach art, which by its very nature tends to encourage children to be original and to develop freedom of thought.
- The fact that education is mainly seen from the perspective of social and economic mobility deeply influences the structure of the curriculum and thus the status of art in schools. Because art from economical and social angles is not seen as a profitable activity for the majority, neither is it considered to be important within education.
- Education is regarded as being for "intellectual development," while art is mainly associated with feelings and emotions. Since feelings and emotions are not considered to be part of intellectual development by many, the subject of art can only aim for a minor status in the curriculum.

From the point of view of the attitudes toward art education, two main issues were examined:

- The historical tendency in Chilean art education has been to reduce the teaching of art mainly to drawing exercises in copying, aimed to develop technical skills. This has contributed to promote a narrow conception of art in schools and in society.
- Art education has been inadequately or insufficiently

justified in the curriculum. Hence, a narrow and vulnerable conception of the purposes of art in education has significantly influenced the way in which it is approached in schools. This is particularly dangerous for a subject like art, which is under constant threat of extinction.

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The Discourse of Culture and Art Education

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There has been increasing concern about the relationship between mainstream and "other" cultural knowledge in a pluralistic and democratic society. This paper addresses this concern and points to ways art educators need to rethink past theoretical stands and conceptions of culture in the contemporary world, where cross-cultural interactions dominate and boundaries between cultures become blurred. The paper is developed using examples of epistemology, educational policy, and cultural identity. Recent anthropological and discourse theory critiques of epistemological problems of culture are discussed. Historical policies of Indian education in the United States and the description of a field study of American Indian identity are summarized to illustrate complexities of conceptions of self and aesthetics in a disenfranchised culture. The paper includes historical, field study, and philosophical methodologies to further illustrate the importance of understanding various dimensions of traditional and contemporary culture. Cultural representation in art education is explored in relation to these dimensions.

In recent years, there have been debates about theories of culture in relation to art education (e.g., Chalmers, 1981, 1987; Freedman, 1989; Hamblen, 1986; Jagodzinski, 1982; Jones, 1988; Neperud & Stuhr, 1987; Smith, 1983). The debates have involved various issues of cross-cultural and multicultural education and have included, for example, questions concerning the appropriateness of applying a single aesthetic standard to all art.

There are various theoretical positions concerning culture, each containing a particular set of underlying values. An evolutionary approach, historically tied to colonialism, includes the assumption that less technologically or industrially developed societies (in other cultures or in the history of Western culture) are at lower stages of social progress than more developed societies (Shweder & Levine, 1984). From this perspective, judgments of quality in art are determined by what is considered progressive. A universalist perspective represents all art as fundamentally the same, regardless of the context of its production, and therefore as being appropriately judged by a universal standard of excellence. Art is valued based upon objective characteristics of exemplars as defined by mainstream Western aesthetic theory.

The evolutionary and universalist positions have been considered oppositional because the former is progressive and historical, while the latter is static and ahistorical (implying that aesthetic value transcends history). They both contain a single cultural perspective for judging art. In education, the evolutionary and universalist positions have resulted in various forms of an ethnocentric, male-dominated, and class-bound curriculum. The curriculum has been supported, because, regardless of heritage, children in the United States live within a Western culture. From these perspectives, school art is thought to provide the cultural capital assumed necessary for social mobility. While this may be the case at one level, at another level it helps maintain the social inequities it seeks to overcome (Freedman, 1989). A third perspective is relativism. Relativism promotes a form of pluralism in which each social group is looked at as if in isolation from one another (Booth, 1989). All are distinctive, but equal in value.

Seeing the difficulties of each of these perspectives for art education, Hamblen (1986) has promoted a perspective that places universalism and relativism on opposing ends of a continuum. For Hamblen, curriculum is to be located on the continuum by promoting both. This perspective focuses upon what are considered biophysical human attributes and nature, but also gives attention to differences in experience and local environment.

There are at least three difficulties with conceptualizing the theoretical perspectives of universalism and relativism as real oppositions. First, recent anthropological research contends that characteristics commonly thought of as universal and part of "human nature," such as emotions, may be culturally specific (Shweder & Levine, 1984).

Second, art educators from the "left" and from the "right" share a common concern about the presence of dogma and relativism in school. Both groups state that, as well as informing, school art in a pluralistic and democratic society should prepare students to critically assess their world and take action toward its improvement (Jagodzinski, 1982; Smith, 1983, 1986). However, what is to be criticized is not agreed upon. Those who seek to conserve traditional Western values in school worry that relativism is divisive and will not provide the critical tools necessary for combatting those things they believe undermine the moral and ethical foundations of great cultural achievement (Smith, 1983, 1986). From a more radical perspective, relativism reflected in, for example, the support of popular art in school should not be championed because it is bound by interests of capital and does not have a visionary or emancipatory quality (Jagodzinski, 1982). Each perspective views the other as dogmatic and destructive.

Third, while the opposition of universalism and relativism may have been helpful in theoretical discussions of the past, contemporary life has shifted toward a more complex view of culture. Beginning at least with Franz Boas' arguments for cultural relativism, and against the late nineteenth and early twentieth century comparative method of culture as an instrument of colonialist racism, this dichotomy has pervaded anthropology. Boas called attention to the importance of studying the interactions between cultures, as well as looking in-depth at cultures separately (Bohannan & Glazer, 1973). Since then, a reflexive extension of Boas' vision of cultural study has emerged, in part, from new types of cultural interaction. The interactions promoted by, for example, mass media, the world market, and conceptual and methodological shifts in social science, particularly since the 1960s, make it difficult to think of social groups as being isolated from each other. These interactions have produced an awareness of how conjunctures between history and culture and between culture and culture, such as the policies of colonialism, have shaped our notions of the world and ourselves (Clifford, 1988; Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

This third issue may be the most complex and is the focus of this paper. The paper responds to recent attempts to make the notion of culture problematic and carries the assumption that questions of culture should be looked at epistemologically and historically to find sites of contestation or areas of conjuncture and conflict. From this perspective, the ways we represent ourselves, others, and the artifacts we call art should not be looked at as simply taking an evolutionary (progressive), universal (consensus), or relativistic (isolationist) stand when constructing curriculum. Rather, culture and its representational forms are thought of here as interweaving sets of relations involving assimilation, appropriation, and negation.

To examine these sets of relations, we will discuss examples of epistemological influences, educational policy, and the interactions of art communities. First, recent anthropological and discourse theory critiques of epistemological problems of culture will be discussed. Second, historical policies of Indian education in the United States and a field of study of American Indian cultural representation in the context of an art exhibition will be summarized to illustrate the complexities of conceptions of art and self of a disenfranchised group. Recently, educational researchers have examined the importance of developing understanding in relation to multiple voices and methodologies (e.g., Lather, 1989). The inclusion of historical and ethnographic methods with the philosophical is to illustrate the importance of understanding the various dimensions of cultural tradition and contemporary life. Third, cultural representation in art education will be explored in relation to these dimensions.

Epistemology and the Notion of Culture

Epistemology, like the discipline of philosophy, as a notion separate from other areas of life, is a Western concept (Rorty, 1979). It assumes, and was constructed by, a professional community that is both produced and reproduced by a certain discourse of rules. Philosopher Richard Rorty (1979) argues that the philosophical community claimed the question of how and what we know, making it and their other concerns the meta-issues of intellectual life through historical incident and the creation of culture. Mainstream Western epistemology, and even the notion of knowing truth versus falsity, is only a fact in the social realm. That is, it is a fact because it has been constructed and controls much of what we believe and do, but it is not the only way to approach understanding.

As feminist and other recent critical theory has pointed out, one of the ways thinking has been shaped in relation to epistemology is in various representations of the world as dichotomous (e.g., Lauretis, 1987). Epistemology presents only certain oppositional possibilities for ways to think about culture. Anthropologist Paul Rabinow (1986) draws upon the work of Michel Foucault (e.g., 1970) in laying out recommendations for confronting epistemological problems of conceptions of culture:

1. Epistemology must be seen as a historical event — a distinctive social practice, one among many others, articulated in new ways in seventeenth century Europe.
2. We do not need a theory of indigenous epistemologies or a new epistemology of the other. We should be attentive to our historical practice of projecting our cultural practices onto the other; at best, the task is to show how and when and through what cultural and institutional means other people started claiming epistemology for themselves.
3. We need to anthropologize the West: show how exotic its constitution of reality has been; emphasize those domains most taken for granted as universal . . . make them seem as historically peculiar as possible; show how their claims to truth are linked to social practices.
4. We must pluralize and diversify our approaches: a basic move against either economic or philosophic hegemony is to diversify centers of resistance. (p. 241)

Rabinow reflects the discontent of anthropologists who have recently reconceptualized their field by focusing upon the ways in which culture is represented in academic discourse. The struggle to gain legitimacy by social groups previously excluded from academic discourse and intellectuals' growing consideration of the pluralism and fragmentation of postmodern consciousness, have contributed to the ways culture is now being studied and understood in academic circles. While it was generally assumed that the challenge for the anthropologist, as for the teacher, has been to try to accurately represent a culture, recent anthropological work has denied the possibility of research, even ethnographic research, ever giving a true (versus false) account of a culture (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). While rejecting the notion of accuracy, recent discussions in anthropology continue to struggle with the question of how best to describe the "other." Ethnographic study has become accepted as a means of understanding a culture, but writing ethnography is a matter of telling likely stories or constructing reasonable fictions that are but fragments of what happens in life (Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

Part of the problem of telling stories is that one can never actually replicate the conception of self of the people studied. The writing may reflect the writer's culture rather than the culture of the people written about. Therefore, in research, writing has been more fundamentally about the structure of what we accept as accurate, scientific reporting than about the identity of the "other."

Further, once one culture has been written about by another, there has been an interaction between them that changes both. The cultures we have had contact with have been influenced by the contact, just as knowledge of other cultures has influenced ours. Even in our definition of others, we define ourselves. So, the notion of separate cultures, while we struggle to maintain it for identity's sake, is becoming more and more difficult to think of as stable and real.

The new vision of anthropology includes at least two reconceptualizations of time. First, time is not thought of as linear. Rather, time is represented as a multidimensional space where various cultural and socioeconomic groups co-exist. Culture, as well as art, is shaped by crises that ensue when cultures, classes, and other social groups collide.[1]

Second, history is not conceived of as only being in the past. We continue to live in the space of a historical and cultural structure that conceptually locates and shapes us. The structure restricts the possibilities for change while being its medium.

The recent shift in anthropology has provided a new metaphor for thinking about the problem of representation in modern life. "Ethnographic surrealism" (Clifford, 1988) has been used to describe the ways that anthropologists come to understand culture. The surrealism is a matter of putting together fragments taken out of their context into a new context, a type of conceptual collage, where none of the pieces "fit" but are somehow organized to exist on a common surface in ways that provide them with new meanings and help to construct our notion of culture.

American Indian Identity and Influences of Education and Art

In the contemporary world, culture is a type of collage. The following sections reflect how this piecing together of fragments is played out in cultural identity. It will illustrate how federal educational policies and the dominant culture art community have contributed to conceptions of self and culture in American Indian society. It is vital to remember that the American Indian example is just that, an example; those of us who live predominantly in the dominant culture are also influenced by various cultures that become fragments of our identity.

A Brief History of Legislated American Indian Education

A brief survey of federal actions concerning Indian education provides an example of how assumptions about culture have historically been played out in the United States. This history has been shaped by certain national agendas that have reflected mainstream views of what was considered knowledge and how the "other" was defined. These policies have contained and reified fractured, internally inconsistent views of the ways of life of an indigenous people and their role in a new nation.

The nation's first Secretary of War under the constitutional government, Henry Knox, suggested in a letter to President Washington in 1789 that the federal government assume the responsibility for the education of Indian people. His following statement relays an economic agenda:

> Were it possible to introduce the Indian tribes to a love for exclusive property, it would be a happy commencement of business. (quoted in Jackson, 1974, p. 38)

In 1793, Congress passed an act that included a provision to promote "civilization" among tribes of Indians considered friendly.[2] However, the mainstream conception of civilization, which included particular views of political democracy and religion as well as capitalist economics, was inconsistent with tribal culture (Castaneda, et al., 1974).

In 1819, an elaboration of the federal mission to "civilize" Native Americans specifically through education was put to law. The act read, in part, that the education was:

> For the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes . . . and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization . . . the means of instruction can be introduced with their consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for

> teaching their children in reading, writing and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties (Jackson, 1974, p. 42).

These acts provided the historical foundations for a national Indian education policy that may have been one of benevolence in some people's minds, but was primarily a strategy for social control. Education was to adjust Indian thinking, to acculturate (Wax & Wax, 1971).

However, the policy contained dual messages. At one level, racist views promoted separation between Indians and Anglos. At another level, education was to make Native Americans internalize Western culture so that they would define themselves as members of the larger nation. It was assumed that if this were accomplished, Indians would no longer be a military threat or an economic burden.

The government funds for Indian education were originally channeled through religious organizations that had already established mission day schools and boarding schools to Christianize the Indians. The religious education was thought vital to the "civilizing" process. The mission school curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, farming, and homemaking. Education was free for the students, as was the food, clothing, and certain other necessities. The religious framework for Indian education was prevalent for almost a century; few Indians completed the mission school programs.

As publicly funded schools became increasingly more secularized, Indian education became more directed by federal bureaucratic agencies established to handle funds and implement policy. Educational policy came under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which was established in 1824 as part of the War Department, and transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1849, where it remains.

Secularization promoted a wider sphere of influence of mainstream culture on the Indians, including the influence of Western aesthetics. In the late 1800s, American Indians who entered school doing pictographic drawings common to their culture soon began to use Western content and stylistic forms, such as still life, in their art (Smith, 1988).

Life on Indian reservations reflected the emerging fragmentation of culture. While government reservation schools developed during the last half of the nineteenth century, off-reservation schools dominated the educational system from the Civil War until the 1930s. These schools dominated because Anglos believed that life on the reservations would counteract the "civilizing" process. This belief promoted a sense of conflict and alienation within tribes that is reflected in the following statement by a BIA official:

> On the reservation no school can be conducted as to remove the children from the influence of the idle and vicious who are everywhere present. Only by removing them beyond the reach of this influence can they be benefitted by the teaching of the schoolmaster. (Jackson, 1974, p. 48)

School helped to produce fragmentation within Native American culture in ways other than just through curriculum content and physical separation. As an adult, Robert Burnette, a leader of the Rosebud Sioux, described his first institutional experience at age five:

> As was the usual procedure then, I was placed in the Rosebud Boarding School in Mission, South Dakota. The school was organized along military lines; dress was a military uniform with a still collar. Severe punishments for trivial infractions were routine . . . . If a child entered the building with wet feet (no one had overshoes) or was late for roll call, his hands would be lashed with a brass-studded, two-foot long leather strap . . . and I came to fear not only the white men, but the Indians in their employ. (Burnette, 1971, p. 27)

A unified view of the government-sponsored schools was not held across American Indian tribes or within a single tribe (Wax, 1971; Weinberg, 1977). However, children feared being transported to boarding schools and often tried to run away. Punishment for attempting to escape from school included having to cut the grass with scissors wearing a sign that read "I ran away," and boys were to serve a term in the campus jail or be dressed up in girls' clothes (Weinberg, 1977).

In the 1920s, when the treaty ended, Indian tribes ceased to be considered as independent groups and became wards of the state. As such, they were identified in a manner similar to criminals, homeless children, and the mentally ill. As other sections of American society shifted from a largely agrarian, rural population to a technological, urban society, Indians received a medieval form of religious and moral training that had little practical value in helping them to meet the challenges of cultural change (Castaneda, James & Robbins, 1974).

A period of reorganization of Indian education began in 1934 that brought the 1928 Meriam Survey to public attention. The survey was the first policy-driven attempt to report on the conditions in Indian schools (Blauch, 1939). It focused attention on what was being taught, the methods of instruction, and the need for better instructors. The survey report stated that board school facilities were grossly inadequate with overcrowding, long work days, and poor diets for the students. It showed that the federal government accepted teachers in the Indian schools whose credentials would not be accepted in the state public school systems. The study also revealed that trades were still being taught in the Indian schools that were no longer commonly practiced, such as making a full suit of clothes or pair of shoes from scratch (Blauch, 1939). Also, the use of native languages was forbidden in school by law at the time; that law was revoked in 1934.

The termination of approximately 60 reservations was put into effect by the Eighty-Third Congress in 1953. In Eisenhower's bid for presidency, he pledged to diminish the role of the federal government in social affairs. Once in office, the new administration became cautious about cutting federal spending on services that resulted in public outcries from various pressure groups. However, Indians were relatively unorganized; and, as a result, their services were substantially reduced (Hagen, 1961). Indian drop-out rates escalated when the reservations were terminated and their schools closed.

While federally funded educational improvement programs were widely publicized when they were initiated, they had little effect on the schools (Cahn, 1969). Indian heritage was largely ignored. The BIA reported in 1972 to a Senate subcommittee that teacher education was one of the problems; it did not adequately prepare teachers for teaching Indian heritage in Indian schools (Weinberg, 1977). However, teacher education reflected larger attitudes about what knowledge was and which knowledge was important.

Recent investigations of the national policy approach to Indian education have been critical of the attempted eradication of first languages and cultural heritage. The studies, reports, and task forces made similar criticisms and recommendations. For example, in Minnesota the high school drop-out rates, the poor attendance records, and the low academic achievement of American Indian students have generally been attributed to the educational system's attempt to deny Indian children's cultural identity and reduce their self-concept (Minnesota Department of Education, 1980).

While school practices have changed historically, national policy on Indian education has been steered by continuing attitudes about what American Indians were and how they fit, or did not fit, into mainstream society. The discourse of policy was a partial reality for both Indians and non-Indians; it supported the establishment of new versions of cultural identity and shaped, in a piecemeal fashion, what it means to be American Indian. However, the internal contradictions of cultural attitudes and epistemology reflected in educational policy aided its failure to either assimilate Indians or to maintain their cultural heritage. The following section provides contemporary examples of the conjuncture of cultures in Indian life.

A Field Study of an Indian Arts Festival

To explore the collage-like qualities of culture and its relationship to art, a description of an event, the Sixth Annual Wisconsin Indian Arts Festival, will be reconstructed. The event was two days long and was held in December 1989. It was sponsored by a University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire (UW-EC) Extension outreach program. The event was selected as an example for this paper, because it illustrates the concepts of appropriation, negation, and assimilation of the dominant culture in relation to Indian aesthetic cultural identity.

Fifteen featured artists were invited to show their work by the festival coordinator, who was Indian. Any Indian artists who currently lived in Wisconsin could also display their work; a handful did. The work was not juried. Indian children's art was also exhibited, and vendor tables were set up with items for sale. The festival also included lectures, music, a fashion show, and a storyteller.

The festival began with an evening opening for the featured artists. The first sight attendees encountered when entering the room was an enormous, white, flocked Christmas tree decorated with burgundy velvet bows and Indian beadwork and cornhusk ornaments. A banner was suspended the width of the ceiling informing people about the festival. Refreshments with a holiday flavor were provided on a decorated table beside the tree. Most of the people in attendance were featured artists and their families; a few Anglos (non-Indians) were present. The artists were easy to spot, because they wore conspicuous name tags. While Indian artists in traditional situations do not always speak freely about their work and accept praise (Stuhr, 1987), in this situation they did.

Through various forms of representation, the festival was replete with examples of the integration of cultures. The festival coordinator opened the program by thanking the participants and staff and complimenting the artists. Her presentation, and the others that followed, contained comments that referred to and drew upon both mainstream and Indian cultures. For example, she remarked that it was helpful to have the festival just before Christmas so that people could buy gifts from the artists and craftspeople. She introduced the Indian artist who had been selected to design the festival poster which was then adapted for other promotional materials by the UW-EC Publications Office. The first year's recipient of the Veda Stone Indian Art Student Scholarship at UW-EC was also introduced and spoke.

Next, Walter Bresette was introduced as the Master of Ceremony for the festival. He is a former radio announcer for the Ojibwa station on the Lac Court Orielles Reservation. He now operates an Indian art shop in Bayfield near his tribal reservation, Redcliff. Bresette stressed the need for better understanding between the Indian and Anglo cultures, and suggested that festivals of this sort were excellent sources of communication exchange. He also "plugged" his store and told of a temporary Christmas shop he had opened in a mall in Duluth, Minnesota, selling Indian art products from around the Great Lakes area. He hoped all would consider it when they did their holiday shopping. After the opening, some of the prominent participants in the festival went to an Anglo restaurant for an Indian wild game dinner.

Anyone familiar with formal art openings would have been comfortable at the festival opening. The model for the occasion had been appropriated from the dominant culture. Wisconsin Indians historically never had words for art, much less a concept of an arts festival or opening.

The featured visual art forms were classified in the written program as either traditional or contemporary. The forms included corn-husk dolls, sweetgrass baskets and techniques such as quillwork, beadwork, wood carving, pastels, mixed media, watercolor, oil and acrylic painting, pencil drawing, and photography. Other forms were displayed by non-featured artists such as birch bark baskets and ceremonial headgear. The objects considered traditional were sweetgrass baskets, quillwork, and cornhusk dolls. These had been produced by the tribes indigenous to the area now known as Wisconsin in pre-historical times, before the arrival of Europeans in 1634. Beadwork started shortly after the European influence began.

The art forms displayed by the featured artists that were classified in the festival program as traditional are generally interpreted as such by both the dominant and the Indian cultures. Many of these forms were made out of the same materials as in prehistoric or early historic times, and the processes of production were learned in the same fashion. Yet, the objects had been acculturated and transformed in various ways. Most significantly, their inclusion in a formal art exhibition changed their cultural contexts and functions, placing emphasis on aesthetic contemplation.

Appropriation and the Forms of Art

Many of the traditional artists do not work individually; they learned how to produce the work in a traditional fashion and use the objects for traditional purposes as well as showing them in art exhibitions. For example, artists Adeline Noack and her daughter, Terri, make sweetgrass baskets together. Adeline was taught by her mother, and she has taught her daughter. Adeline makes the body of the basket out of sweetgrass, and Terri decorates the birch bark covers with symbols using porcupine quills. At home, Adeline has been observed using the baskets in the same fashion that they were used traditionally; to store her sewing needles and other small utility and precious objects.[3] She also uses the baskets to barter for other artifacts on the powwow circuit and in Indian museum gift shops. In the past and at the festival, Adeline has said that she makes the baskets because they give her and her family a pride in their Indian heritage.

The artists feel that their work can only be thoroughly understood and judged according to Indian aesthetic standards. For example, the symbolism of the porcupine quill designs and olfactory element of the baskets are vital for full appreciation. In an effort to help their customers understand their tradition and values, they placed handouts near the display that explained how to interpret their work.

Another example of the integration of cultures in what was categorized as traditional work can be seen in the writing of two artists who did beadwork: Tina Danforth and Sandra Orie. In a section of the festival program titled *Notes from the Artists*, Danforth explains:

> As a young child, I was inspired to be creative by my maternal aunt, Mary Lee Lemieux, who at the time was doing oil painting and acrylic painting . . . . As an adolescent, I became interested in beadwork by my mother's encouragement . . . . I was taught to bead by my mother's friend and another maternal aunt. My first real production was an Iroquois skirt designed by my mother. Since my mother has passed on, the skirt has become a family heirloom. My younger sister, Cathy Delagado-McLester, proudly wore it during her reign as Ms. Oneida in 1985-86.

Beadwork for me has become a means to express a part of my cultural heritage. Art in the form of beadwork encourages an understanding of both traditional and contemporary lifestyles. It allows us to symbolize the gifts of creation, to admire and appreciate the beauty of nature and to learn about who we are. Beadwork has become my cultural connection of the past and present.

The above comment illustrates the complexity of the relationship between the two cultures. At one level, the artist indicates that her work is a profound connection to her heritage. At a second level, she credits the dominant culture as a vital force in her work and draws upon its conceptual assumptions and discourse to represent what she does. The dominant culture, through such diverse influences as oil and acrylic painting and a beauty pageant, actually has become part of her heritage. Both of these levels work to form Indian identity.

Negation and Artifacts

Negation of the dominant culture by the Indians was illustrated by at least two forms of non-participation. First, in the art displayed, there was an obvious omission of traditional cultural objects that held social, ceremonial, or spiritual symbolic significance (i.e., common or ceremonial pipes and drums). The significance and symbolism of these forms developed historically and socially. They embody the highest values and beliefs of the Indian communities. Second, while it is common for older Indians to take part in any cultural event, the absence of elders participating in the festival was conspicuous.

These omissions may have occurred for several reasons: a) elders usually make the traditional artifacts, and they were not encouraged to participate; b) traveling in December is difficult; c) the festival was not widely advertised; d) those who make traditional objects do not see themselves as artists in the dominant culture's tradition; e) the producers of these cultural forms think that the meanings of their work would be transformed and denigrated displaying them in this context. While the above reasons are speculative, they are based on previous interviews with Indians who make cultural objects for traditional purposes and who negate the influence of the dominant culture art community on their work (Stuhr, 1987).

Assimilation and Contemporary Transformation

The rest of the featured artists' works displayed were of Western media (such as pastels, mixed media, and watercolors) and forms (such as painting, sculpture, and photography) that were influenced directly by dominant culture. Most of these art works did incorporate and reflect the artists' cultural background through subject matter or symbols. However, educating the white population about their tribal heritage was not a primary goal of these artists. Personal expression of individual perspectives on "Indian-ness" was important for some, as expressed by Marcella Zank, a Stockbridge-Munsee: "Expressing the beauty and dignity of Indian people through my painting has been my deepest pleasure .... It is my wish that sharing my art with others will help foster understanding and respect for my people — the American Indian."

Most of these artists were college educated and were interested in technical mastery of media, self-expression, and formal qualities in their work. In the program, Yolanda Treland said:

> I've been concerned with experimenting and researching various areas which would enable me to combine photography into a three-dimensional format involving structual pieces, ceramics, and fibers. I've found that my pieces transcend the purely photographic plane and enter into the realm of conveying to others an emotional or psychological state of being.

Some of these artists were philosophical and esoteric in explaining their art. One suggested that through art a soul is revealed and the world affirmed. Another quoted Aristotle, stating that all art and education are supplements to nature. Through formal education, these artists assimilated the discourse of the dominant culture's art community. Their work showed their cultural backgrounds but used personal, not tribal, symbols or forms to express their heritage.

Other Forms of Entertainment

Truman Lowe, an Indian professor in the Art Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, presented a slide lecture, "Native American Art and Design." He showed various historical forms of Indian art and analyzed them in a formalistic manner. The presentation began with paintings by Joan Miro. He continually referred to these throughout the talk and explained that Indians had been "abstracting and doing modern art" centuries before Europeans. He showed examples such as rock paintings, pictographs, totem poles, and basket designs. A socio-historical or cultural context through which to understand the artifacts was not presented. Professor Lowe is currently presenting this same sort of aesthetic information to Indian and non-Indian school children throughout the state.

There was also "A Native American Style Show" containing fashions designed and made in the home of an Indian woman. The fashion show was accompanied by soft Indian background music and a running commentary on the fashions modeled in a professional manner by young, attractive male and female Indian models. The fashions were based on traditional designs from various tribal cultures that were transformed into contemporary clothing.

A traditional winter storyteller recalled tales of the Lake Superior Anishinabeeg (aka, Chippewa). The native storyteller is employed at the university as a curriculum consultant, grant-writing specialist, youth coordinator, and language and culture instructor. From the time he took off his sneakers and put on his moccasins at the beginning of the presentation, he captivated the audience.

All of these activities took place according to a fixed schedule while vendors sold beaded jewelry, baskets, carved wooden bowls and ladles, costumes and dance paraphernalia, cards, books, and tapes of Indian music. There were also two educational booths set up. One booth distributed free curriculum materials provided by the Indian Education Department of the Minneapolis Public Schools. The other booth was set up by the University of Wisconsin system to dispense recruiting materials.

Comments made by various people attending the event indicated that they enjoyed the festival. Most of the participants questioned stated that the pluralistic complexities of contemporary Indian life were not a great concern to them. However, a few looked critically at the event and tried to understand their relationship to it as individuals.

The example of Indian culture illustrates how education and the art community have been avenues for negation, appropriation, and assimilation. The complexities of the overlapping and integration of Indian and Anglo cultures through historical national education policy and the dynamics of the art community have created a sense of crisis in the dominant culture as well as in the minority culture. Well-meaning people, trying to make power arrangements more equitable, disagree about how this should be done.

Fragments of Culture and Art Education

Recent arguments for a new cultural focus in education have been made largely to promote fairness and re-establish the traditional identity of disenfranchised groups as the minority populations in the United States increase. However, the recent calls for educational reform, including the national reports, may actually promote the same type of appropriation of disenfranchised groups as in the past by taking possession and making use of Indian culture to serve particular interests of schooling (Popkewitz, 1988). While people and governmental structures attempt to legislate equitable treatment, educational policy focuses on things being equal. This is not necessarily *equitable* treatment. For example, some school districts now require that each lesson taught contain examples from a certain number of cultures.[4]

As the question of culture is reformulated in art education, mainstream aesthetic theory and social science are drawn upon. In school, we often act as if this mainstream knowledge is common knowledge. For example, art is taught in school in the context of a discourse of artist intent and self-expression, without attending to the ethnocentrism of these ideas. However, the question of whether mainstream knowledge is common is complex, because while it is not always agreed upon, mainstream culture influences what teachers conceptualize as knowledge within other cultures. It also shapes, to some extent, what and how members of the other cultures think.

Some recent multicultural education literature is promising, because it suggests that the problem of culture in school is one of representation. Conceived of as a problem of representation, teaching, and learning about culture in school becomes an epistemological issue tied to interests and power, rather than appearing as simply an objective development of curriculum. The issue then results in questions of what knowledge about a culture *is*, what (or who's) knowledge is important, and how we appropriately represent cultural knowledge.

In curriculum, representation is necessarily fragmentary. Artifacts are decontextualized and transformed by their presentation in school. For example, while teachers genuinely try to represent other cultures with sincerity and dignity, children often encounter peculiar models of Indian life and art. The models are a collage of fragments of Indian and dominant culture that reduce the complexities of both, and further can disenfranchise the group they seek to promote. Strange combinations can result, such as beaded keychains, construction paper headbands, and yarn "god's eyes."

However, the fragmentation is a misrepresentation when the art is stereotypic and presented as historically static. While an object may be used to symbolically "stand for" a people, it cannot *represent* them. The fragmentary character of the presentation in school, and of contemporary culture in general, should be addressed as part of the curriculum.

Conclusion

The argument that the art, or any curriculum content, of other cultures should be included in school so that minority students can develop a sense of cultural identity is a vital one (Coles, 1977). However, there are other arguments to be made. The one focused upon in this paper is that such an education can be used to challenge what mainstream knowledge is in a pluralistic and democratic society. While there is pluralism, there is also a cultural unity; but one that becomes transformed by the influences of other cultures. The challenge is to question "our" conceptions of art and self and in that way make us rethink what the notion of culture means in a contemporary world where cross-cultural interactions dominate, and boundaries between cultures are blurred. To understand conceptions of knowledge and educational practice in relation to culture requires a critical look at the ways we come to know and think about our collective self, how we define "others," and how we act on these definitions through the construction, collection, and description of the artifacts we call art.

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Footnotes

1. For an interesting comparison of perspectives in relation to art and art education, see Clifford (1988), particularly Chapter 9, and Fatuyi (1986).
2. The act was titled "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes."
3. This artist was also interviewed in another study by Stuhr (1987).
4. This mandate illustrates how important the notion of a universal-relative continuum is to our thinking. Examples of the artifacts from different, but equal, cultures are assumed to be able to be used for teaching any concept in school. The concepts taught are assumed universal, but the examples are considered relative; that is, there is no particular discrimination between the quality of the artifacts, only between the quality of the examples in the context of a lesson.

THE ARTISTIC WORLDS OF SEVEN HOUSEWIVES

Cathy A. Mullen

This article describes and interprets the artistic activities of seven Canadian housewives who pursue art as a hobby. As students in a community center art class, these women posed a challenge to student teachers socialized to the art ideology of a university subculture. Using life history interview excerpts, the art activities and tastes of these women are presented and analyzed within a sociological framework, revealing aspects of their subculture. The disparate match of the educational needs of the hobbyists with the expectations of university-trained student teachers suggests the need for further research in this area.

Introduction

For three years, I placed student teachers in a community-based program that served older students pursuing art as a hobby. All began their teaching practica eager to share notions of art and artistic processes which they had learned in their university art courses. They became discouraged and confounded when many of the hobbyists showed little interest in artwork and lesson content modeled after the student teachers' own art education experiences. The student teachers dealt with the ensuing conflicts with varying success. Some student teachers were able to rethink their own assumptions and revise lesson goals and content by negotiating with the hobbyists. Others were unable to achieve such a solution, resulting in both the students and student teachers feeling disappointed. The hobbyists eventually decided against continued free instruction from the student teachers and hired instructors from their own ranks and from their local art community. Having witnessed this situation, I decided to learn more about the points of view of these hobbyists. Since women composed the majority of this group, they were my focus.

In this study, I have sought to understand the important determinants of artistic activity and tastes in art of seven hobbyists. The inquiry was based in sociological terms of education, age, class, and ethnic background, regional origin and place of residence, in addition to the gender role of homemaker. The purpose is to highlight the relationship between social organization and cultural practices, and the implications of that relationship for learning about and teaching art.

In the following discussion, I describe and interpret aspects of the artistic activities of seven women[1] At the time of the interviews, the women were members of an art club that held weekly drawing and painting classes in a Montreal-area community center. My guiding questions were: (1) what meaning does art have in the lives of these women? and (2) why have they chosen to be involved in arts and crafts? I have used interviews and photography to construct a life history of each woman to show how her art-making activities relate to various dimensions of her existence within a particular social context. Elsie, Fran, Isabelle, and Mary were interviewed in the community center. Because Jeannette, Stella, and Terry-Ann showed more involvement in art activity that the others, they were interviewed in their homes and their artworks were photographed. Two sociological perspectives—tastes and patterns of cultural participation (Gans, 1974; Bourdieu, 1984) and social organization of learning and practicing art within a particular "artworld" (Becker, 1982)—guided my interpretation of interview materials.

These women spoke about how they saw themselves, what they liked and did not like, and discussed their feelings, practical concerns, and memories. They gradually revealed specific artistic currents within the general flow of their lives and deeply felt meanings that were present for them as they engaged in a range of artistic activities.

Demographic Overview

The women ranged in age from 45 to 81. All had been married but were living alone as the result of being widowed, separated, or divorced at the time of the interviews. Six of the seven had children; of this group, most also had grandchildren. Four of the women were born and raised in Canada. The other three emigrated to Canada, one during childhood and two during adulthood. Their ethnic backgrounds included French and English Canadian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, French West Indian, and Irish. A few grew up in rural areas and small towns; others came from large cities. Only one of the women had completed high school. Most attended school until the sixth or seventh grade and then found a job or helped at home. Two noted that they took some additional schooling in their teenage years. One completed a secretarial course in lieu of attending high school, and the other studied English at night school to improve her job prospects.

All of the women held jobs before they married, beginning work as early as fourteen, in jobs that included waitress, store or bank clerk, skilled or semi-skilled factory worker, housemaid and mother's helper, hospital attendant, hotel desk clerk, secretary, and apprentice furrier. One woman briefly ran her own store.

After marrying, most women shifted into full-time roles of housewives, taking care of their homes, husbands, and children. Two women had further involvement in work outside the home. One woman, in addition to mothering and homemaking duties, owned and operated a motel and cafe for several years with her husband. Another woman, who had no children, cared for her aging mother while continuing her job outside the home.

Histories of Artistic Activity

Some of the women could trace their interest in art to childhood.[2] The extent of their artistic activities varied. Terry-Ann and Jeannette had the most extensive histories of activity, including drawing and painting as well as handicrafts. Terry-Ann recalled that "from a child, my favorite things were my colored pencils, my coloring books, my color paints." Art materials and making things were an integral part of her play during the ample free time she had as a child. Jeannette's interests in art also go back to her childhood. She recalled, "I loved art, music, dancing . . . anything to do with the arts." She drew at home, especially during adolescence, and was always doodling with pencils and crayons. She did well in anything that had to do with her hands, including sewing, cooking, and embroidery.

These women had knowledge and skill in a whole range of crafts, especially sewing and needlework, which they did not consider to be art. To them, crafts were valued, practical skills used in daily life. Stella didn't recall opportunities for picture-making during childhood: "You mean to color, to paint? Never thought of it." She did remember a full range of craft-making experiences such as sewing her own clothes, being taught by her brother to knit on meat skewers, and embroidering pillowcases as a wedding gift for her uncle.

Art instruction in school ranged from none to some. Isabelle recalled attending school in Europe during World War II when few subjects were offered and art instruction was considered a luxury: "We did not have colored pencils or anything like that." Terry-Ann's experience was very different. She took art in school four hours each week, every Friday afternoon: "Art was a very important class . . . everybody had to take it right through high school." The others remembered having a little art instruction on Friday afternoons or none at all. Examples of art projects they remembered included working with watercolor paints and colored pencils, copying pictures from books, and assignments on shading and perspective.

Memories of their artistic achievements in school also varied. Jeannette recalled she was good in art and was chosen to do classroom murals. In contrast, Fran's attempts were less successful: "The good ones would go up on the wall; mine never went up on the wall. It didn't make me feel badly because I enjoyed the class. I knew I was not good. I never was. I liked to do them, that sort of thing, but I could not draw a straight line or a figure . . . "

Priorities for the women during teen and early adult years were getting jobs, getting married, and becoming housewives. These priorities shaped the nature and extent of their art and craft involvement. Stella liked to embroider and make things for the house. She enjoyed "being a good mother to my son and a good wife to my husband and good friend to my sisters." She participated in knitting clubs with her sisters and friends.

Terry-Ann loved her life as a wife and mother: "I put a lot of effort into it — my whole life. My husband and children came before me; I never wanted to go out and work again. I was completely happy. I used to spend my time doing lots of crafts and artsy kind of things, usually." Her artistic activities included ceramics, knitting, crochet, decoupage, drawing, watercolor painting, and tole painting, all of which she learned from craft books and magazines. She remembered sewing clothes and embroidering them for her children, making a well in her front yard from found objects, creating a goldfish pond and grotto for St. Jude in her back yard, and building a doll house for her daughters. Terry-Ann thought of her home as a work of art. "I never sat doing nothing. Handicraft books were always a big thing with me. I was always wanting to do things myself. My days were not long enough. I arranged flowers, and I arranged furniture, and I did the nice things, you know, I really enjoyed that."

Jeannette was also immersed in her roles as wife and mother: "I got married and raised five sons and was too busy building houses and looking after five children. I didn't have much time for myself. I did a bit of sewing for the children. I did knitting for the children. But other than that, I didn't really have that much time for myself until they started to grow up."

These comments indicate that most of the women practiced their art as part of the role of homemaker. They situated their personal creative satisfaction within the context of "doing for others" and as part of their homemaking activities. As Jeannette's comment implies, making art required taking time for herself which often had to wait until she had satisfactorily attended to more pressing obligations. Only recently, as their life circumstances changed, had these women felt free to devote their time to personal interests such as art and craft (see Figure 1). For example, becoming widowed was the catalyst for some getting involved in art; it was a way to fill the void left by the loss of their spouses and to expand their self-identities beyond their roles as wives.

Looking at Art

Looking at art, especially paintings, was an experience all of the women enjoyed. As an activity, it occurred in diverse locations (e.g., boutiques, department stores, shopping malls, art museums), usually as a planned outing with a woman friend or relative. For example, Fran said she rarely visited the fine art museum downtown: "I did not learn my way to go to art museums or things like that, which I find solemn."[3] Like the rest of the women, she found it more convenient and enjoyable to frequent local boutiques, shopping malls, and art shops. She said: "I don't know when that started, but I used to shop at a little boutique and I drooled over their paintings . . . . When I first started painting on velvet, there was a painting over there of a girl and a tear coming down her face. I thought it was just beautiful."

All seven of the women preferred realism to abstract art. They disliked abstract art because it held no meaning for them and because it did not meet their expectation of what skilled, adult works should look like. Jeannette commented:

> I don't like abstract too much, except if it's something that's got a beautiful blend of colors, and sometimes you can look at it and see something in it. You can sort of make your own pictures out of it, and I don't mind that kind of thing. But to see just straight lines, and a dot here, or a big blank thing, or a canvas with a dot in the middle of it — it says absolutely nothing to me. Or disjointed things like Picasso (she laughs) — it doesn't say a thing to me.

Elsie also disliked Picasso's work: "To me, it doesn't make sense. I want something that you can tell what it is, you know . . . for me, it was like kid drawing-painting."

Within the category of realism, there was plenty of variation among the women in terms of favorite subject matter. Two examples indicate the diversity. Stella liked fall and winter scenes and pictures of water and rocks, but was not particularly fond of still lifes. Terry-Ann liked pictures with children and pictures of recognizable places.

By asking them to describe particular paintings which gave them especially memorable viewing experiences, I prompted them to put into words what they found meaningful about the artworks. Their style of response changed, becoming more reflective and hesitant. They were clearly struggling for words to describe their sensuous and emotional responses. Stella recalled a picture she saw once, many years ago:

> It was, like, a lot of buildings and then there was kids skating — it might have been maybe a street with all ice on it, you know. And I loved that picture. And I don't remember who the artist was. But there was so much in it — kids falling, girls and boys skating and all different colored costumes, and the reds and the blues and the browns, and it was just a beautiful painting. And there was other paintings, maybe

> even by better artists, but that's the one I liked . . . I found it moved.

Jeannette vividly remembers a painting she saw in a museum:

> I remember one exhibition that I went to that I was really, really, umm, how can I put it . . . oh, I just, it just did something to me. And there was one [painting] especially that I really, really loved. And I can still see it in my mind's eye. It's an open window, overlooking the sea, and on the window sill — it's an old stone window sill — and on the window sill there's a glass, and in the glass there's a rose. And I — I just looked at that, I just couldn't take my eyes off it. I just couldn't. It was so real, that drop of water. I felt as if I could put my finger right into it and it would move. And it was the most beautiful thing, it really was so beautiful . . .

Some were able to go further and generalize about what looking at art means to them. Jeannette gave this general perspective on what she gets from looking at paintings:

> Now, some pictures I look at, and they either make me feel really happy inside — if it's somebody running out in the grass or something like that — I feel as though I want to go running with them. You know, if it's a mother that's holding her baby, I can almost feel her holding the baby. You get wonderful feelings from looking at pictures. A picture can make you feel sad. It can make you feel happy. It can make you feel as if you want to get in that picture . . . so that's what art does for me.

The ability of some artworks to make one "feel good" was echoed in some of the other women's comments as well. Stella said:

> I just feel good about life, when I look [at certain pictures]. I just wish I had a big, big house and if I had the money, I would have the kind of things that *I* like . . . Because, you know, I just don't like a scene. There's something about a picture that I like that would be why I would buy it, not because it was by Picasso.

She bought a picture (Figure 2) that exemplifies something necessary to her aesthetic satisfaction. She explained: "I like something with character in it. Like, I find there's lots of character in that painting . . . in the walkers, in those little windows there. They look just sort of pasted on the building, that sort of thing. I like the sky in that, too. I just love that picture."

Without extensive aesthetic vocabulary or practice expressing such experiences, these women were able to describe their responses to particular artworks. Their accounts make evident the genuine pleasure and satisfaction they experience with a wide range of paintings. Their descriptions also indicate the standards by which they judge a work to be more or less worthwhile.[4]

Artistic Knowledge Worth Learning

Several women spoke of looking at artworks in order to learn from them. The kind of art they want to learn to make is the kind of art they already admire. They find exemplars in museums, boutiques and department stores, in art books, hobby and craft magazines, how-to-paint books, even in the set decorations of a television show. In their art classes, they learn from the demonstration examples of experts (visiting artists, instructors) and the work of more advanced or talented students. Both Fran and Elsie said they learn by carefully looking at pictures in boutiques and shopping centers. They try to determine how a particular effect is created so they can try it in their own work. Terry-Ann learns by copying, but in such a way that makes the process personal. "What I do is copy pictures — like I copy drawings and stuff, but what I try to do is copy two or three pictures so that I make it my picture." She regularly surveyed publications with "how-to" projects because "handicraft books are my biggest thing; I call them 'headache books' because they give me such ideas." When Mary went to an art museum with her granddaughter, she took pencils and art paper and made sketches of the artworks she liked. When she went home, she drew until two o'clock in the morning trying to duplicate the pictures she had seen. Jeannette copies master drawings in art books. She doesn't get a sense of technique from reproductions, but does it for practice and as a source of subject matter. She remarked that she usually interprets an image in her own way.

Each woman works on achieving technical competence and in conveying content. This approach to artistic knowledge parallels that of the *bricoleur* (Levi-Strauss, 1966/1962) who makes use of existing techniques and tools, as well as symbols and images, to make a work that suits the situation at hand. The bricoleur combines existing meanings and techniques to meet the ever-present need for fresh confirmations of established cultural content, unlike the artists who seek to alter the established language.[5] In each product the bricoleur makes, there is always something individually expressed through the process of surveying, selecting, and arranging.

These women strive to be bricoleurs in that their goal is to achieve competence in a range of established artistic conventions, both technical and iconographic. When Jeannette painted a mother and child, for example, she referred to an especially tender moment she had observed between her sister and infant niece. In making the painting, she used whatever technical and iconographic conventions she knew to communicate her personal experience (see Figure 3). Similarly, Terry-Ann's painting of Lake Louise resembles a familiar postcard view, but it also portrays how the overpowering and scary mountains affected her (see Figure 4). To others, each of these paintings is recognizable through extensive use of established conventions. To the woman who painted it, the painting also carries an important dimension of personal meaning.

Conclusion

Art has enhanced and enriched the lives of these women. It helped them express their visions of a good life and feel good about themselves. Many of their artistic pursuits are part of the "hiddenstream" of arts and crafts related to women's domestic roles. As housewives and hobbyists, their engagement in art differs from what is generally designated as "mainstream."[6] The art they chose for themselves and the kind of artworld in which they felt most comfortable is one which is consistent with the values, roles, and meanings of their subculture. Their aesthetic values included favoring items finely crafted and established canons of representation. Their purposes in making arts and crafts derived from identifying with symbols and meanings they and other members of their subculture valued, while diverging from the conventional role of homemaker. In taking an art course, and in taking time and attention for themselves and their artistic interests, these housewives are mavericks. As art students, they strive for competence in respected techniques and canons that will enable them to find personal satisfaction by actively participating in cultural production.

Many of the purposes and functions of the housewives' tastes and artistic production could also apply to the student teachers. However, differences are evident in the specific values, roles, and meanings held as worthwhile in the university art subculture. For example, the student teachers have learned techniques and canons that favor abstraction over representation. They emphasize personal expression over the finely crafted. They also tend to identify with the role of the artist as the general society's maverick, handed down from the conventions of Romanticism and the *avant garde*.

There is much to appreciate in the artistic worlds of these women, and of other housewives, amateur artists, and hobbyists. Art educators cannot take their own cultural assumptions for granted when choosing lesson goals and content. As the student teachers learned, respecting the values and meanings of a different subculture is essential to successful art teaching.

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Footnotes

1. Rose Montgomery-Whicher, Research Assistant, assisted in the fieldwork and data compilation of this study.
2. The women tended to use the word "art" in the restricted sense of drawing and painting pictures. In order to elicit conversation about a wider range of endeavors, I used the phrases "making things" and "arts and crafts" when asking about their activities.
3. Fran's comment indicates her perceived need for education to appropriately experience an art museum. She is self-conscious of her disadvantaged position in the distribution of cultural knowledge. See Bourdieu (1979, 1984) for a discussion of the relationship between education and "cultural capital".
4. Gans notes that the difference between high culture and popular culture publics is not in the presence or absence of aesthetic concern but in the amount of training in aesthetic vocabulary and of skills and resources that give voice to feelings. Both publics have standards and strive for beauty (1974, p. 118).
5. Becker's notion of "art becoming craft" is useful here. These women participate in an art world that is composed of firmly established definitions and canons. They do not especially seek to be creative. Rather, they are content with achieving established conventions, and in placing value on competence and virtuosity (1984, p. 288-89).
6. I have borrowed the terms "hiddenstream" and "mainstream" from Collins and Sandell (1987). Space does not allow more than a brief indication of feminist literature related to this topic. Besides the references cited by Collins and Sandell, I also refer the reader to F. Graeme Chalmers' (1977) "Women as art viewers: Sex differences and aesthetic preference" for a review of research on gender and class determinants of aesthetic tastes.

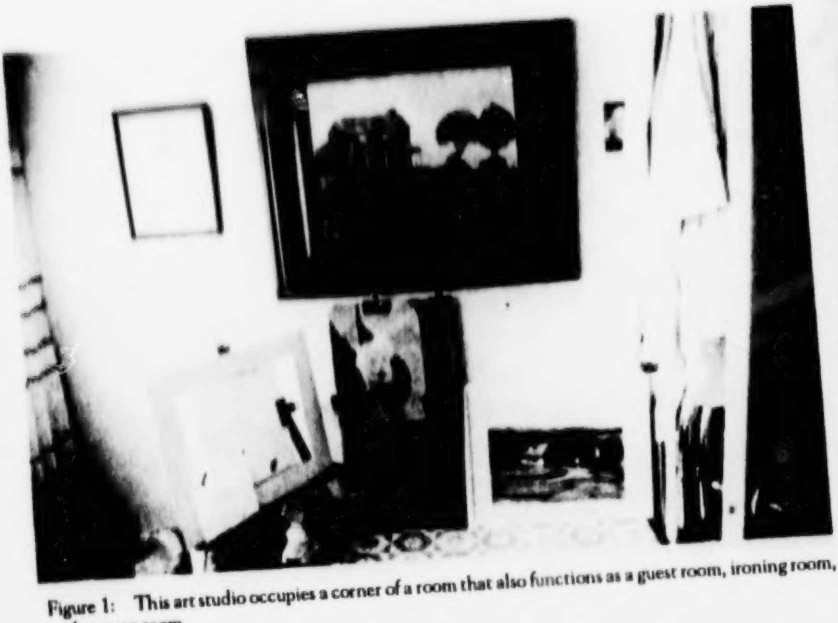

Figure 1: This art studio occupies a corner of a room that also functions as a guest room, ironing room, and storage room.

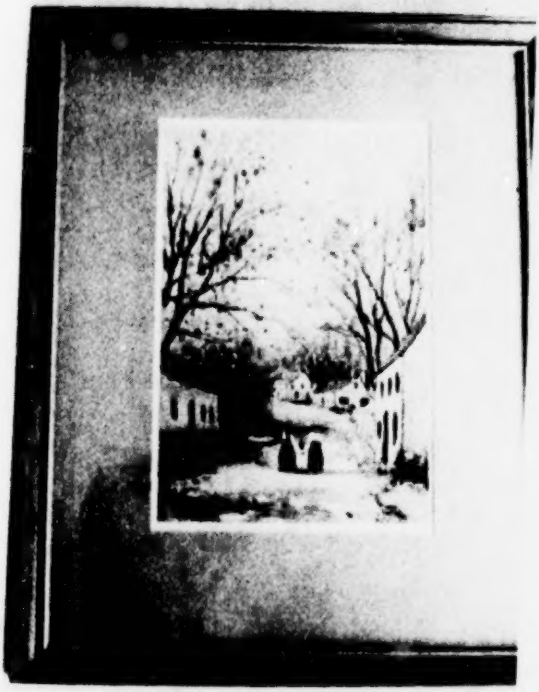

Figure 2: The picture Stella bought.

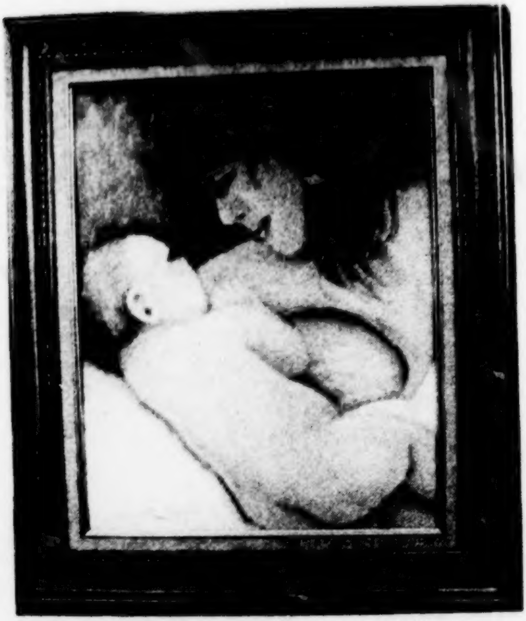

Figure 3: Jeannette's painting of a mother and child.

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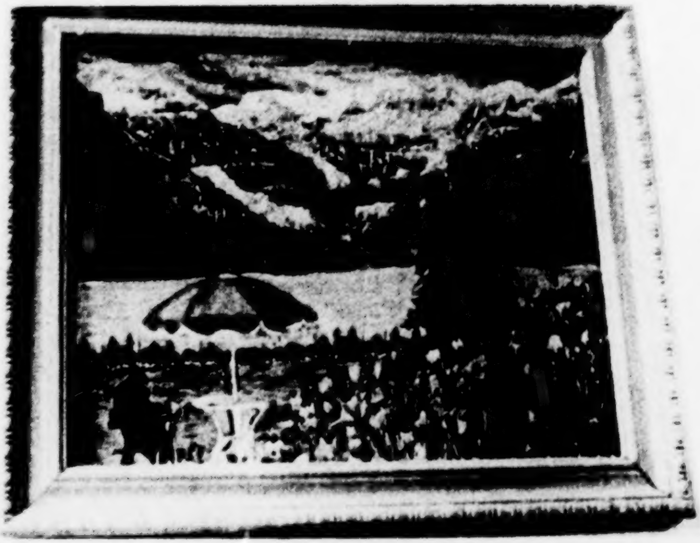

Figure 4: Terry-Ann's painting of Lake Louise.

An Interdisciplinary Response to a Folk Art Exhibition in a University Fine Arts Setting

Doug Blandy and Kristin G. Congdon

Interdisciplinary work within university settings can sometimes create academic controversy. One form that this controversy can take is evidenced in response to the interdisciplinary planning and execution of an exhibition of folk art titled "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia: A Local Folk Aesthetic" in the School of Art Gallery at Bowling Green State University. This exhibit confronted common, academically held beliefs about the nature of art and those who make it. This article will illuminate how separation and segregation of academic folk art studies underlay the controversy and how the coordinators and curators of this exhibit worked with the controversy in an attempt to achieve interdisciplinary and university/community cooperation.

> *When the wind is out of the east*
> *The fishing is the least;*
> *When the wind is out of the west*
> *Fishing is at its best.*
>
> Paul Yon & Sharon Ruffert

Many art education scholars, much like others who study art in academic institutions, focus their attention on historical and contemporary art work produced by professional and/or fine artists. Gallery and museum exhibitions tend also to follow this research direction by showing the work of these academically trained people.

Other groups of artists exist. These men and women are not trained in art schools nor are they necessarily influenced by museum and gallery art works. They are differently educated and their art is often referred to as "folk art" or "folk craft." This art work is intimately tied to specific cultural groups and everyday activities. Most academic disciplines do not value folk art as highly as "fine art." We believe that part of the reason for the devaluation of folk art is a lack of understanding of what it is, how it functions and how it is valued both inside and outside cultural groups.

In many regions the aesthetic preferences of the community are ignored and/or devalued by academics who live within the community. Their ideas about what can and cannot be defined as art are often confined to their fields of endeavor. Bowling Green State University in Bowling Green, Ohio, is no different in this regard. As members of the university's art faculty, we noted that exhibits at the School of Art Gallery were poorly attended by the community at large and many

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university faculty members in other departments expressed little or no interest in attending. We discovered this while in the midst of redefining our art education and art therapy programs, as well as developing a graduate program which would focus on community-based aesthetics. Our purpose was to recognize community art and expand on the methodologies, theories, and art categorization procedures of university-based art specialists.

For years many art educators have asked that the folk arts and the art of non-western cultures be seriously studied in a range of educational settings (McFee & Degge, 1977; Chalmers, 1978, 1981; Lanier, 1980, 1982; Congdon, 1987; Blandy & Congdon, 1987). Artists and other community members in decision-making positions have done comparatively little in a respectful and scholarly manner to realize these theorists' goals. This lack of recognition to the folk arts results, in large part, from the separation of academic disciplines and the myopic development of many areas of study. In an attempt to bring several disciplines together toward a better understanding of the study of folk art, we, as two university trained art educators, coordinated an exhibition entitled, "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia: A Local Folk Aesthetic." Experts from the fishing community, and individuals from studio art, design, art education, art therapy, folklore, American studies, and popular culture were involved in the presentation and development of this exhibit. The exhibit received considerable support from the community at large, however two of three faculty in art history wrote evaluations expressing their concerns over the existence and appropriateness of this endeavor. A few art studio faculty members also voiced discomfort, hesitation, confusion, and general displeasure with the exhibit.

In this article we will discuss: a) the difficulties and the support we encountered in executing "Boats, Bait and Fishing Paraphernalia," b) theoretical and practical reasons for the difficulties, c) the ways in which we attempted to identify and counteract the roadblocks we faced within the academic community and d) evaluations of the outcomes of our efforts to work in an interdisciplinary manner in order to achieve a better, more holistic understanding of folk art.

The Proposed Exhibit and the Response

In the Spring of 1986 we proposed an exhibit of art from the fishing culture of Northwest Ohio entitled "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia: A Local Folk Aesthetic." We envisioned that the exhibit might include handmade wooden boats, lures, poles, flies, ice fishing shelters, personalized clothing, taxidermy, and keepsakes such as snapshots and postcards. To insure that the exhibit would *not* be simply a reflection of our views on a fishing aesthetic we planned to identify exhibit curators from the local fishing community. As part of the exhibit we also wanted to include demonstrations by craftspersons involved in producing objects like those shown.

Our first encounter with strong opposition occurred when this exhibit was first proposed and a request was made to use the Bowling Green State University School of Art Gallery. The Gallery Committee, headed by the Director of the Gallery, refused to allow us to personally present our ideas. In response we prepared a detailed proposal with extensive documentation to demonstrate the need for the exhibition, to bring to the committee's attention other notable exhibition spaces which have had similar folk art shows, and to demonstrate that a research foundation existed for the justification of our project. Months passed before we received official approval from the committee members. Reasons for their reluctance to approve our project were never clearly specified. We pressured them to make a decision because our grant proposal deadline was near. When they reluctantly agreed, we wrote and received a grant from the Ohio Arts Council.

A questionnaire was distributed to all faculty, staff, and graduate students in an effort to better understand the reasons behind the lack of support. Fewer than half of the faculty returned these to us, and the majority of responses were anonymous. Several faculty members said they did not understand the purpose of the exhibit. Other responses included: "I doubt if this show would attract many if any fisher people," "Fishers like to fish," and "I like the concept." One faculty member wrote the following:

> I do not think you will reach/attract your target audience since you will be in competition against the boat/sportsman shows which feature professionals and the latest in equipment and techniques...there are professional fishing shows, demonstrations which would be a bitch to compete against...were I you, I would avoid anything that smacks of being "cute"...for me, telling fish stories falls into that category. I would never be presumptuous enough to attempt to tell fish stories anywhere but in a northwoods bar, late at night with a bunch of the good old boys...relative to the above..."fisherperson" is a word certain to alienate your target audience. hell I think it's silly and I like you two am aware of what you're attempting.

Despite the negative responses of the faculty to the project, few people came to us to ask questions or to discuss their concerns. It was seldom this faculty's way to openly discuss controversial subjects. In our opinion, these were people who wanted to be friendly, and most often felt it better not to engage in discussions that might offend or hurt people's feelings. On the other hand, we desperately wanted to tackle issues and debate ideas.

The distaste several art faculty had for the subject of the show is in many ways understandable and even predictable. We believe such a response might very well have occurred in a similar fashion in other university settings. We believe that the two main reasons for the non-supportive responses were a) the conflictual and condescending history of academic folk art study, and b) the degree to which specialization influences and alienates academic disciplines. We will now address these two issues and describe ways we attempted to solve the problems which resulted because of them.

History of Folk Art Study

A historical look at the study of folk art as it is now known in academic circles, begins in Europe. The term "folk art" probably came from European class-stratified societies. The arts and crafts of the lower economic classes in Europe, often non-literate, rural people who followed national as well as local traditions, came to be called "folk." In America, some writers feel that the "great" period of American folk art spans the second quarter of the seventeenth century to the third quarter of the nineteenth — over two hundred years (Cahill, 1932). Many scholars, however, including us, do not feel that folk art has diminished in quality or quantity. We do acknowledge that there is wide disagreement between those who state that it is dying and those who claim it continues to flourish.

Surprisingly, within the academic community, the first "discovery" of the worth of folk art came from members of the group we recognize as fine artists. Twentieth-century sculptors such as Robert Laurent and Elie Nadelman saw a similarity of purpose in folk art and their own art, because of its immediacy and directness. The choice of materials (wood and iron) was also of interest to them (Mainardi, 1976). Other "elite" artists who expressed an interest in folk art were the painters Alexander Brook, Yasua Kuniyoshi, Peggy Bacon, Charles Demuth, and the sculptor William Zorach (Lipman & Armstrong, 1980). Besides these artists, early collectors of American folk art included the Rockefellers, Kaplans, and Lipman (Davis, 1974). Edith Halpert and Holger Cahill are credited with initiating widespread public acceptance of folk art and sustaining recognition that the collecting of it was a "proper" artistic expression (Rumford, 1980). In the twentieth century, the aesthetic values of people changed and allowed for the appreciation of folk art. Mary Black, a museum director, explains the beginnings of folk art collecting:

> The rediscovery of folk painting and sculpture began in

> Maine in the late 1920s where artists, dealers, and collectors gathered like mayflies in summer, and there they began to see the simple paintings and carvings in a very new way. Portraits and landscapes, weather vanes, gravestones, ship and architectural carvings — these and many other objects were reappraised as aesthetic objects and as grass roots inspiration for the painters and sculptors who came there. (Bishop,1974)

Vast societal changes were also occurring in America at the beginning of the 1900s. With the expanding industrial culture, many people were interested in keeping the folk arts "alive," to look at the past rather than concentrate on the present (Hemphill, Jr. & Weissman, 1974). Since the country was changing so rapidly, this focus may have been comforting in terms of coping with all the newness of expansion. Despite the attraction, words like "primitive," "naive," and "unsophisticated" were used to describe folk art. It was seen as interesting, even pleasing, but not as serious or significant art.

For many years, *Art in America* and *Antiques* were the only periodicals which would publish articles about folk art (Frankenstein, 1974). Jean Lipman (editor of *Art in America* from 1940 to 1971) deserves credit for much of folk arts' recognition today (Alder, 1975). *Antiques* was established in 1922 by Homer Eaton Keyes and was edited for many years by Alice Winchester. This magazine was largely responsible for the pioneering efforts to stimulate and maintain interest in folk arts (Robacker, 1959). In 1950, an issue of *Antiques* was published which solicited definitions for the term "folk art" from people who had either written about it, collected it, or exhibited it. Most of the writers were art-oriented people (as opposed to folklore or history-oriented people), and they described folk art from an "art for art's sake" aesthetic viewpoint (Alder, 1975). There did not seem to be much agreement, however, even from members of similar disciplines.

Between 1918 and the 1929 stock market crash, there was a revival in American antique collecting perhaps from a sense of longing to relive "days gone by." Antique shops multiplied everywhere and attics, old homes, and outbuildings were searched by folk art collectors for objects of worth (Drepperd, 1942). The first widely acclaimed collection was begun in the 1920s by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and is now housed at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center in Williamsburg, Virginia. Many others, such as Electra Havemeyer, J. Stuart Halladay, Herrel George Thomas and Jean Lipman, Edgar William, and Bernice Chrysler also collected folk art in the early to mid 1900s and their collections are all exhibited in well-known museums. In these collections there was little, if any, attention paid to artists or contexts. For the most part, this kind of knowledge was not important to the

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collector. What was important were formal aesthetics, line, shape, color, etc., reflecting the art theory of the day. The isolation of objects prevailed.

Exhibiting and collecting increased and continued in the established fine art mode of presentation and appreciation. For example, the 1932 New York Museum of Modern Art exhibit was called "American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America, 1750-1900" (Alder, 1975). The majority of works for these shows came from New England (Cahill, 1932). In the thirties and forties, folk paintings were beginning to be called "folk" rather than "antique." In the fifties and sixties, publications, exhibitions, and research increased, and it was during this period that many of the great private collections were given to public museums or were established as the core works of new museums (Lipman & Armstrong, 1980). Researchers also began looking in the Southern and Western United States for folk art (Lipman and Winchester, 1950). The Museum of American Folk Art was founded in 1961. The founding trustees included Joseph Martinson, Marion Willard, Arthur Bullowa, Herbert Waide Hemphill, Cordelia Hamilton, and Adele Ernest (Museum of American Folk Art, personal communication, March 6, 1990). In 1970, Herbert Hemphill, Jr., organized the exhibition "Twentieth Century Folk Art and Artists" at the Museum of American Folk Art in New York. This show was notable because it appeared to be the first time twentieth-century American folk art (beyond the realm of painting) was broadly explored by a major institution. In 1974, another major show took place at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York. It was called "The Flowering of American Folk Art, 1776-1876," and is credited as the first exhibition to survey the entire range of American folk art.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, states began coordinating folk art shows representing their artists and identities. Most of these exhibitions were researched and organized by folklorists through state arts councils. These shows attempted to be more process-oriented (rather than object-oriented) and focused primarily on folk groups and the meanings and functions of objects in people's lives (Cannon, 1980).

There are several folk art museums which continue to research and further extend awareness and appreciation of folk art. The three most active in publications are the Museum of American Folk Art in New York City, the Cooperstown Complex in New York (run by the New York Historical Society), and the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. At the same time folklorists, material culture specialists and anthropologists write on folk art from a perspective which emphasizes tradition, context, and varying functions. Confusion and rivalry over the field of folk art study have been staged.

In 1977, the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum held a conference on American Folk Art with Scott Swank as chair. The conference was an attempt to have scholars from different areas (university professors, museum directors, collectors, and specialists in folklore and material culture) analyze traditional views on the study of folk art and look for new ideas. At the same time there was a folk art show, which took two years to coordinate, on display at the Brandywine River Museum. It was developed in conjunction with the Winterthur Museum and expressed some of the new directions its curators wished to pursue with folk art (Ames, 1977). Objects were presented within their historical and socio-cultural context. This exhibit contradicted the view that an object's history and function detract from its aesthetic value. The new perspectives, which were discussed at the conference and seen at the exhibit, stirred up great controversy among the participants. The debates were heated, with each group protecting their turf and their viewpoints. Most people left the conference frustrated and defensive.

In November of 1983 another meeting was held to discuss divergent viewpoints on the topic. It has been called "The Washington Meeting on Folk Art." Again diverse groups of scholars attended; again the differences were apparent, but this time people remained cordial and only moderately confrontational.

There remain marked differences in approaches to the study of folk art. Two fairly distinct camps can now be identified. There is the object-oriented, "art for art's sake" formal aesthetic approach and the humanistic-sociological-folkloric approach which stresses function and process within the folk context. Priorities for the main focus of study in each approach have been set. These priorities help to determine how folk art is defined, valued, categorized and exhibited.

We proposed "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia" be an exhibit that would take a functional approach and place the aesthetic choices of the local fisher on the same level as the aesthetic views of the art faculty. Several individuals among the art faculty could not abide by this equation. It is possible that if we had proposed an exhibit which would celebrate the formal qualities of the fishing material culture and provide examples from the fine art world which were influenced by these qualities, the exhibit might have received greater art faculty support.

Academic Specialization

Many members of the art faculty do not have a well-grounded background in the development of folk art study and knowledge of the diverse, conflicting approaches that can be taken to folk art. This lack of knowledge is largely a result of academic specialization and isolation. Alternative ways of approaching a topic are often unknown or are viewed as unacceptable. Academic specialization, therefore, in many instances worked against embracing "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia." Wendell Berry describes specialization as the "disease of the modern character" (Berry, 1977). People often adhere to the theories of their own specializations and lose perspective on their individual ability and the right and responsibility of others to involve themselves in aesthetic theories and critical judgements. This "disease of specialization" is characterized by the willingness of people to relinquish their personal responsibilities to govern, understand law, maintain health, engineer, educate, and define a personal aesthetic. People have relinquished these abilities to specialists who are trained in discrete areas of endeavor and who are perceived and who perceive themselves as being infallible by virtue of their chosen research methodologies and academic preparation. These specialists work to a great degree in isolation and consequently have difficulty in conceptualizing an expansive view of what is studied. Areas of agreement across specializations are few, and at least in art, contribute to narrow definitions of what is perceived as acceptable as art.

Because of the persuasive and pervasive influence of art specialists these narrow definitions of art have far reaching influence in cultural institutions. These institutions, in turn, strongly influence the views of citizens. In terms of "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia" we believe we encountered a situation in which academic and specialized definitions of art (generated, in this case, mostly from the field of art history) were in conflict with the view of art conceptualized by the community in the exhibition proposal. Art was not seen as being recognizable by the fisher and the aesthetic experiences of the fisher were discounted.

The Exhibit

Despite art faculty reservations, "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia: A Local Folk Aesthetic" opened on February 7, 1987 and displayed art from the fishing culture of the surrounding Northwest Ohio area. The exhibit included such items as a handmade wooden fishing boat, lures, poles, flies, an ice fishing shelter, model boats, personalized clothing, taxidermy, and keepsakes such as snapshots and postcards. As planned, local fishing experts were hired as curators to help choose items for exhibit and assist in the placement and presentation of objects. Photographs of local fishing activities were displayed for the purpose of putting the objects in their context. During the exhibit opening, artists demonstrated net making, rod wrapping, taxidermy, fly tying, and model boat building. Fishing stories were told in both formal and informal presentations, old fishing movies were shown, and fish were fried and served along with peanut butter sandwiches, baloney sandwiches, potato chips, pickles, beer and locally made wine. A recipe book was put together by several students and Mary Mabry, university faculty member, and sold during the course of the exhibit.

The exhibit continued for three weeks. A fisher-in-residence was available to gallery visitors. She told fish stories and explained the function of displayed objects, while describing their formal and contextual qualities. Attendance for the exhibit was conservatively estimated at 2,000 adults, youth, and children. There was consensus among long-term School of Art observers that this was the best attended exhibit in the history of the Gallery. The exhibit also attracted international news coverage, was featured in *USA Today*, and *Field and Stream* magazine, and was broadcast on CNN news. A WBGU-TV feature was aired on many university affiliated television stations.[1]

School of Art Faculty Response to the Exhibit

Within a month of the exhibit's closing we again distributed a questionnaire to the School of Art faculty. This questionnaire was designed to determine the number of faculty who attended the exhibit; their understanding of the exhibit's purpose; their opinion on the exhibit's congruency with the School of Art Gallery's goals; any change in thinking about art, artists, aesthetics, and gallery spaces that might have occurred; whether they liked the exhibit or not; their desire to see other exhibits of this type; and if they used the exhibit in their teaching.

Sixteen questionnaires were returned, constituting a 49% faculty response. Again, we were disappointed by lack of response from the faculty; however, information contained in the returned questionnaires was illuminating.

One-hundred percent of the respondents attended the exhibit, with 50% having attended the opening events. Eighty-eight percent indicated that they understood the purpose of the exhibit. However, the described purposes were wide ranging and non-consensual. Several respondents believed our purpose was to attract new audience to the School of Art Gallery. Others described our purpose as related to the aesthetic interests of the region or of fishing. One person saw no purpose in the exhibit other than embarrassing the School of Art. One respondent saw our purpose as being self promotion. When relating these stated purposes to the perceived goals of the Gallery, 63% of the respondents believed them to be congruent, with 31% believing them to be incongruent. One response was inconclusive. Those who believed the exhibit was incongruent with Gallery goals cited the Gallery's goals as being instructional, aesthetic and artistic. They did not believe the exhibit had any of these qualities.

The faculty responses to questions about changes in viewpoint were very revealing. Eighty-eight percent of the respondents did not change their opinion on art and artists. Eighty-one percent did not change their opinion on aesthetics. The only area where a significant change of opinion occurred was in relation to their views on gallery spaces. Thirty-one percent reported that their ideas about gallery spaces changed to the point that they could see future exhibits of this type.

Sixty-three percent of the respondents stated that they liked the exhibit. Though faculty had the opportunity to state reasons why they liked the exhibit, all but a very few chose not to. The same held true for the 13% who did not like the exhibit and the 25% who were inconclusive. Fifty-six percent of the respondents indicated that they would like to see more exhibits of this type. Thirteen percent did not want to see more exhibits of this type, and 25% were inconclusive.

Sixty-three percent of the faculty respondents indicated that they had encouraged their students to see the exhibit; however, only 38% of the faculty respondents incorporated the exhibit into their teaching.

Conclusions

The exhibit, "Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia: A Local Aesthetic," was a huge success in terms of community response. People who had never visited the University before came because the exhibition spoke to them about something they knew and understood. For the most part, non-university people and non-School of Art faculty thought the exhibit made perfect sense and they greatly appreciated that something they valued and aesthetically responded to was recognized by some members of academia. Furthermore, along with our students and some faculty members, they were able to bring art theory to objects used in their everyday lives. Many people stopped by our offices just to say thanks for this opportunity. We had succeeded in this regard.

On the other hand, it was more difficult to reach art faculty members who, we believe, were so isolated in their own fields of expertise that they lacked the ability and desire to utilize and appreciate art methodologies from other disciplines which were foreign to them. This exhibit did not encourage many art faculty to change their opinions about art and aesthetics. This was not a main purpose of the exhibit. We realized encouraging such a change would require more than one isolated exhibit of this kind. A look at the evolution of folk art study shows how differently it is approached by different fields of study. Because of the general disagreement which exists, it is not hard to understand why, on a smaller scale, our show received the response it did from the art faculty.

Despite the conflict, we believe this exhibit stirred up the type of controversy that is necessary and beneficial to a university setting. In today's academic settings these kinds of diverse reactions will often result from interdisciplinary work. We have no doubt that some faculty will be asking questions raised by the exhibit for years to come. We hope that we have set an example for more cross-discipline work and involvement with the non-university community in northwest Ohio. The fact that some members of the art faculty recognized that exhibits of this type will attract new audiences to a university gallery, and in so doing change opinions about the use of gallery spaces, makes us optimistic in this regard. We also hope that we have aesthetically validated one grouping of folk art, at least in the eyes and minds of some people.

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Footnote

1. Information on how to obtain a copy of the videotape can be received by writing Doug Blandy, Department of Art Education, University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97403, or Kristin G. Congdon, Department of Art, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-0990.

APPENDIX

Faculty/Staff/Graduate Student Questionnaire
"Boats, Bait, and Fishing Paraphernalia"

April 21, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO: All School of Art Faculty, Staff and Graduate Students

FROM: Doug and Kristin

We are in the process of compiling a report on the Fishing Show and would appreciate your responses to the following questions by Thursday, April 30th.

Please check one: Faculty_____ Staff_____ Graduate Student_____

Name (optional):____________________________________

1. Did you attend the exhibit? Yes____ No____
2. Did you attend the opening? Yes____ No____
3. Did you understand the purpose of the show? Yes____ No____
4. In your opinion what was the purpose of the show?________________________
5. Did you feel the exhibit was congruent with the School of Art Gallery goals?

   How or how not?
6. Did it change your thinking on:

   art Yes____ No____

   artists Yes____ No____

   gallery spaces Yes____ No____

   aesthetics Yes____ No____
7. Did you like the exhibition? Yes____ No____

   Why or why not?
8. Would you like to see other shows of this type? Yes____ No____

   Suggestions:
9. Did you encourage your students to see the show? Yes____ No____
10. Did you incorporate it into your teaching? Yes____ No____

    How?

Teaching Multicultural Students in Rotterdam: The Art Teacher as Intercultural Educator

Mary Stokrocki

This participant observation study is a description, analysis, and interpretation of the art philosophy; curriculum and content; multi-cultural strategies; student strategies and responses; and contextual considerations of one Indonesian/Dutch art teacher of multicultural secondary students in the Netherlands. Proposals for the future intercultural art educator to consider are offered.

Introduction

In the past, multicultural research was mostly of a theoretical and empirical nature, such as the cross-cultural psychological work of Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike (1973). They define multicultural research as "the empirical study of members of various cultures . . . groups who have had different experiences that lead to predictable and significant differences in behavior" (p. 5). As part of their work, these researchers searched for universal values. Child conducted several famous cross-cultural studies by comparing the aesthetic values of different cultures, such as those of Japanese potters and American high school students (Child & Iwao, 1968). Child and Iwao discovered that both groups had similar preferences regarding abstract painting. Anderson (1976) studied aesthetic evaluation in Australia, Pakistan, and Thailand. She states, "Cross-cultural studies should be collaborative efforts including researchers from each culture who then become a team" (Anderson, 1979, p. 19). She also suggests that different techniques be used for appraising aesthetic judgments because of their complex nature. Empirical researchers persist in their interest in theoretical generalization and prediction, as in the work of Koroscik, Osman, and DeSousa (1988). Some researchers are curious about the everyday means and problems of art teaching of multicultural students within different contexts (McFee & Degge, 1977). They use ethnographic research methods which stress participant observation techniques, including intensive daily documentation, interviewing, and content analysis for the purpose of theory building. Participant observation methods can help reveal unique insights on teaching that should be valued for their own sake (Knapp, 1979) as well as for use in generating propositions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Ettinger (1987) consequently presented a taxonomy of styles of descriptive research, including cross-cultural examples. Mason (1988) described and analyzed her interdisciplinary art teaching of Hindu and Muslim children in Leicester, England, by using a phenomenological approach. She reviewed her own teaching experience by analyzing her diary of events.

Multicultural research also involves the understanding of diverse subcultures in one's own country (Eisner, 1979), such as teaching inner-city students from the perspective of a working-class elementary art teacher (Stokrocki, 1986) and a Black inner-city art teacher (Stokrocki, 1987). What, however, can we discover about the everyday means and problems of teaching art to multicultural students in another country, such as The Netherlands, which has a large multicultural population?

Intercultural Education

A multicultural population has long been characteristic of The Netherlands, a seafaring and colonial nation at the crossroads of Europe. After World War II, waves of immigrants came for political or economic reasons from its colonies: Indonesia, the Moluccan Islands, Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles. In order to rebuild its industrial nation, Holland also invited workers from Turkey, Morocco, and Greece to work in Dutch factories. Many of these foreign workers remained (Ligtvoet, 1985). The education of these people eventually became problematic. Bicultural education, instruction in two or more languages and cultures, was the first solution. The concept of multicultural education developed, in which aspects or artifacts of different cultures were studied in school; the resulting practice, however, was criticized as superficial. Introduced in Europe in 1977, the idea of intercultural education was aimed at providing quality education for all, and emphasized the fact that the influence of minority cultures is beneficial for all children. Intercultural educators stressed that education is a process of enculturation, which provides students with cultural tools to explore their former and present cultures, to personally recreate them, and to know about, interact with, and appreciate others and their customs (Ligtvoet, 1987). Furthermore, the expansion of students' understanding of different cultures is a major goal.

To understand a culture is to comprehend the beliefs, conceptions, aesthetic values, standards, and practices of a group through that group's perspective. It requires a broader stance, beyond the study of mere behavior, and includes the examination of meanings and relationships to the broader cultural context, including ideological beliefs (Jagodzinski, 1982). Chambers (1981) notes that there are conflicting cultures in major urban centers of the world. He states, "Children and teenagers are caught in cultural conflict — not just because they are members of a particular ethnic group or class, but also because they are members of an adolescent subculture."

What, then, are the cultural contradictions that impede a teacher's efforts? What hidden messages are communicated in the visual culture? "What functions and roles of art are more important in the cultures and 'tribes' of our students?" (Kneller, 1965, p. 11).

The Structure of Education in The Netherlands

In The Netherlands, general secondary education consists of three forms: preuniversity, general secondary, and vocational education. The preuniversity school, consisting of six-year courses, leads to university entrance. A general secondary education school trains students for vocational jobs at a higher level for careers in commerce and industry (five-year courses), an intermediate level for more modest vocations (four-year courses), and lower levels for basic technical, domestic science, and industrial jobs (two-year courses). All programs may lead to a senior secondary vocational school. Vocational education is offered at the junior, senior, and higher levels and prepares students for self-employment in a technical trade, craft, or service industry. Students who need individual attention due to learning or social difficulties can receive further apprenticeship training (The Ministry of Education and Science, 1981).

The first year of the observed secondary school (MEAO) is considered "the transitional class," which prepares students for higher education or vocational/commercial schooling. This type of school emphasizes social participation in preparing students for economic and administrative vocations. Art education guidelines at this level, however, are vague and stress perception, plastic subjects, practical skills, and the study of man and society (Kuipers, 1981). Only in their first year do students attend art classes for 1 1/2 hours per week. During this time, art studies are prolonged and integrated with other subjects, because educators believe that students need more time to choose between general and vocational education.

Purpose and Limits of Study

The purpose of this study is to describe, analyze, and interpret the teaching of one multicultural educator of multicultural students in Holland. Propositions are offered on art philosophy, curriculum and content, multicultural strategies, and student strategies and responses for the future intercultural art educator to consider.

This study was limited to observation of one secondary art teacher. Mr. B (38 years old), an English-speaking veteran art teacher of 15 years, has taught at all educational levels and has the highest form of educational certification. He was recommended by a professor of art education at the Academy for Art Education in Tilburg because of his experience at different levels, his self-critical style of teaching, his openness to new developments, and his ethnic background which reflects his education and experience with multicultural populations. Born in Indonesia and educated in Holland, he is part Dutch and is married with two children. He teaches at two different schools and levels. The first in southwestern Holland is a senior secondary vocational [high] school for those who take more advanced courses, called an economical school (MEAO). The second school, located 50 miles away in southeastern Holland, is a junior vocational training school, called a technical school (ITO) for preadolescent boys who need more individualized learning. Mr. B teaches three days a week at the economical school and one day at the technical school. Due to lack of space, this study deals only with the economical school.

Context and Schedule

By Dutch standards, the economical school which is part of the Rotterdam metropolis is a large but overcrowded school (850 students, 9th-12th grade); and the art room, located in a formal kindergarten building, is of average size (32' x 30') but considered ample by the teacher.

As the only art teacher in the school, he teaches three 90-minute classes a day, four days a week, all at the same level. Although he considers this schedule boring, he manages to team-teach a special commercial art course on Friday afternoons to motivate himself as well as interested students. I observed six of his classes the first week of my study, then two Friday morning classes for five weeks, concentrating on one of them.

Student Characteristics and Expectations

This study concentrates on one class of 26 students of predominantly working-class backgrounds. Fifteen students are boys, and eleven are girls. Twelve students are of different racial origins: six from the Dutch Antilles, three from Surinam, two from Turkey, and one from Indonesia. In an initial questionnaire, translated by the instructor, students in the class generally like art (69%) and consider their teacher effective (100%), because he explains things well (38%) and is helpful (19%). Some students refer to him as "a good fellow" and "human." His multicultural students are particularly concerned that he is informed of, and open to, all types and styles of art (15%). Students define art as preferential (23%), paintings and sculptures (19%), and a created image or feeling (15%). Their favorite art projects are drawing (38%) and painting (15%); eleven students have few dislikes (42%).

Methodology

Participant observation case-study methods were used to describe, analyze, and interpret everyday teaching situations in this class of multiracial students. Phase one of the study began with data collection through daily notes, videotapes, document analysis, informal interviews of both students and teachers, and questionnaires. The instructor interpreted the student questionnaires and answers. Since Dutch students are required to learn English, some students acted as key informants. A Dutch graduate student (Ingrid) videotaped the sessions, and her insights are included. We also transcribed and interpreted the videotapes together at the end of the day. Interpretation in this case is dialogic — the questioning of an event/text in order to discover meanings of actions (Smith, 1983; Stokrocki, 1983).

Time sampling, a method of timed note-taking with a stop watch, was employed to record instructional behaviors and their frequency (Barker, 1968). Managerial, substantive, and appraisal behaviors were measured and explained (Schmid, 1980).

Substantive behavior is the formal teaching of a new art concept or skill; appraisal behavior is the process of evaluating student learning, and managerial behavior consists of distribution, clean-up, and discipline rites.

Phase Two of the study consisted of content and comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Content analysis involved searching for conceptual themes which arose from the teacher's understanding, such as teaching perception. Other themes evolved from intercultural education. Some themes also emerged from the everyday data, such as Dutch students' preferences for questioning. Comparative analysis involved the interrelation of conceptual themes to form insights on understanding effective instruction. Glaser and Strauss (1967) state that these insights may be compared to other situations in generating theory, not generalizing about it. The instructor clarified his behaviors and opinions throughout the study and at the different levels of reporting.

Findings: Mr. B's Framework for Understanding

The dominant paradigm of art education is the studio artist in Holland, and much controversy exists over the aims of art teachers and professional artists who promote the model of the artist-teacher (Haanstra, 1985). From this paradigm, questionnaires, interviews, observations, and time sampling, I developed findings about Mr. B's framework for understanding his teaching philosophy, unique content and curriculum, multicultural techniques, student strategies and responses, and contextual considerations. Each characteristic is presented separately with the descriptive account.

I. Teaching Philosophy

Mr. B's instruction is sometimes formal, but generally informal, and he believes his teaching methods provide a compatible atmosphere which is conducive to learning. At times his teaching is traditional, as when he started (his first lesson) with some of the art elements and principles of design; while at other times, he is flexible and even playful. He feels that a good art teacher is "knowledgeable, skillful, open-minded towards new developments, and has broad interests and contacts with other professionals in the field." He expresses a genuine interest in his students and sometimes orients assignments toward their interests. In the past, he allowed them to design record album covers.

Mr. B conceives of art as the communication of symbols or images and art education as the opening of windows to the world. Besides teaching the facts and skills of art, Mr. B believes in sharing social aspects of knowledge with its ambiguous norms and values. Relying on the work of Hodzelmans and Verbeek as presented by Dijkstra (1981), he outlines the essential components of his beliefs regarding art — art consists of symbols or images as cultural products with a physical and technical presence that also contain perceptual qualities, expressive meanings, and cultural values which underlie them. Perceptual development is his major art educational goal. "Students should know, recognize, and understand signs and symbols and communicate through them."

On the first class day, Mr. B began his lesson on "symbol-making" by asking the question, "What is an image?" He discussed with students different possibilities: dreams, statues, photographs, and artworks. Then he drew a simple chair sign "h" on the board and stated, "This is not a chair, but an image of a chair."

In contrast, he feels students value art for practical reasons — usefulness, craftsmanship, decoration, or social dictates usually based on personal tastes. Secondly, students fail to see the connection between art education and their general education. By referring to national policy, he often explains to them that there is room for the cultural, aesthetic, and social aspects of education as "windows to the world" within their vocational format.

II. Unique Curriculum and Content

No formal curriculum exists in writing, and school goals are vague; but Mr. B encourages students to explore their own interests and cultural backgrounds. Mr. B explained his first unit plans for students to design a passport. On the first page, students describe themselves using only symbols in black and white. Other classes are given a variation of this lesson. Two classes use their own handwriting to describe their hair and facial features in a calligraphic self portrait. All classes describe their roots — where they came from — in color on the second page. On the last page, they make a personal logo. Finally, he has students design posters of a country that they would like to visit in honor of the Olympic games, an event which will bring several cultures together. He hopes to delve more into his students' own cultural backgrounds. Gradually, he aims to have students express their feelings and later locate the origin of their styles.

Mr. B's substantive instruction mainly consists of studio work, some simple formal design concepts, perceptual awareness of details, and promoting respect for differences in his students' cultural expression. Substantive instruction (20%) mostly consists of studio instruction in graphic arts and begins with introduction of the concepts of line (*lign*), form (*vorm*), and pattern (*strukturen*) and their varieties through photocopied forms.

III. Multicultural Strategies

Personal sketches are solicited from students in order to assess their abilities, get to know them and their interests, and encourage them to learn about each other. He explained the first stage of the passport assignment — to sketch various personal images in black and white, based on the theme, "Who am I?" Another class received the motivation for members to draw their self-portraits using a simple head pattern with cut-out parts that he gave them to use as a model. Once they had finished tracing the head pattern, he told them to describe themselves by writing (filling in the shapes) in their self-portraits. Next, he asked them to write/draw their other features, like their hair in the direction it was combed. For instance, if it was curly, their lettering would curve. He gave a personal example of describing face parts. "My lips are broad or thin, my cheekbones are high." Photocopied examples with written instructions and some mirrors were also provided. Because he knew that they were afraid of drawing, he joked with them about it to ease apprehensions. Students listened attentively and laughed.

Motivating students' confidence in their ability to draw and express themselves is problematic due to their reliance on their expected criteria for realism. On the first day, he encouraged students to make only sketches and not worry about reality. One boy asked, "Do I have to show what I look like?" Mr. B replied, "That is one way to do it. You can also use symbols." Then he drew more symbols on the chalkboard and stated, "Each symbol is personal. A circle can be [represent] movement or softness. If you go on holiday, you can choose different things to do, like swimming and disco. Make it simple." In reviewing the video, my graduate assistant and I realized that Mr. B helped one girl in the front seat at least four times. He complimented her for her simple sketch of a person jumping over a pole. She started laughing because she felt it was not real. "You have a good sketching ability. Many artists work like that [in gesture]," he encouraged.

Mr. B alleviates students' fear of drawing by giving them a collage project with gradual media alternatives. In their next project, students are asked to find images used by others in magazines or travel brochures based on the themes: "Where do I come from?" or "Where will I be going?" He tells them that their first sketches lacked unity, and to achieve unity is difficult. Their assignment is to combine their selected pictures together in the form of a landscape (*landchap*), a cityscape (*stadsgezicht*), interior room, or floor plan. He wrote these alternatives on the chalkboard and the word "unity" as the lesson concept. He then pointed to a former student's cityscape example and showed how all the pictures fit together into a whole (rectangular) shape. Then he told them to work in groups of four (to promote social interaction), but not to glue their images down until he reviewed their ideas. At the beginning of the next week's continuing lesson in collage, he suggested that students use other materials like colored paper, pencils, and tracing paper for cut-out forms to complete their ideas.

Due to lack of resources, art historical examples are used occasionally, and art history/criticism is introduced in small doses and only when students are ready. Mr. B motivated students for creating their collage with a second example from a book — a semi-real landscape by a Surinamese painter (Meijer, 1985). He told the students that the artist used a lot of real [concrete] things and that this place didn't [actually] exist. "It's hard to convince them that abstraction is reality," he reflected, "the reality of the maker. I don't teach perspective anymore. It's too difficult, especially for students of different cultures. They have their own type of perspective."

Later, I asked him if he used larger masterpiece reproductions to motivate students, but he told me that they were expensive. He mostly uses photographs in magazines or art calendars for reference. Mr. B informed me that he augments this informal use of art history with more formal sessions once every six weeks — approximately three times during the year. He plans for students to later criticize their own work, compare it to others, and to criticize a professional advertisement, but he feels that , initially, they are not ready for this.

Mr. B's instruction mainly consists of informal, individual

attention, perceptual training, and in-process feedback. Appraisal, a process of evaluating student learning, is mostly informal, individual, and dominates class time (70%). Mr. B constantly appraises students' on-going work by offering simple models. On one occasion, a boy asked for help drawing a fox, and Mr. B explained how to make it from the bottom up by drawing on the side.

Training in perceptual differences is often used. In one lesson on calligraphic face drawing, students worried about their drawn facial features, and a few laughed about the teacher's model — the nose was too big. Mr. B playfully joked, "Then write in the space that this nose is too big." Mr. B used his face as a model and explained to a small group, "The Greek model of the nose is straight (while pointing to a Greek student), while my nose is sliding and broad." He told them to also describe their noses from the side. Later, he explained that the space from the top of the head to the nose was one half of the head, or in the middle of the face. Mr. B reflected on his student's multicultural perceptual differences. "In Holland, speed is preferred. Students want to hurry through the program. Their attention spans are shorter, their interests narrower. They consume information and then they forget about it. They are more attentive to concrete things." In comparison, Mr. B felt that in Indonesia life is much slower and students there are more attentive to detail and abstract things. All of these interactions are examples of in-process feedback, the informal introduction and modification of art skills or concepts (Sevigny, 1978).

Initially, Mr. B mostly works with the Dutch students, who demand his attention through questions. At the end of one class, I asked Mr. B why he was working individually with only the Dutch students. He responded:

> Most of the multicultural students work on their own and don't ask for help; others are doing well by themselves; and some don't fully understand yet. I will help them later. Most questions come from the Dutch students. Next week, I'll give the class more time and discuss the results, but I won't grade them yet.

Mr. B directs students' attention individually to ways of achieving unity and different compositional styles and more complex concepts. Mr. B helped one girl from Surinam arrange her collage scene more harmoniously by matching small rectangular pieces of blue and sand color. He constantly reiterated that unity is achieved through repeated shape, color, and/or pattern. Later he suggested that one Dutch boy repeat diagonal lines in his background to unify the triangle shapes that he had floating around his page.

IV. Student Strategies and Responses

Students are intrinsically attracted to art work reproduction examples due to media exposure and their cultural surroundings. One Dutch girl used a painting by Bosch, and I asked her if she knew who made it and why she had selected it. She didn't know that it was painted by a Dutchman and thought that it was of a French village. Another student arranged cut-out American masterpieces in a large, incomplete picture frame. I asked him if he knew who made the paintings and pointed to one, which his friend identified as [George] Washington. The boy who made the collage informed me that he would like to live in a castle [referring to the one in his collage] and visit England. He had used the frame, which he planned to continue, to unify the collage, a device used by several other students. Finally, one Indonesian boy arranged aspects of Holland, such as a landscape, large pieces of fruit, and decorated buses, with aspects of Indonesia, a landscape and shadow puppets. He even added a small reproduction of Rembrandt's self-portrait. When I asked him if he recognized the famous painter, he responded that he did.

Student collage results are rich in design variation and personal interests and memories. One student slit his pictures into staggered patterns, and another added diagonal stripes in his background to emphasize his pyramid-shaped building. Some students drew parts and added colored paper abstractions. One Dutch girl responded to her sailboat scene, "It's my favorite holiday. I like to go to this island with my boat, and you need money to do it. It is also neat and in strict order." Pictures were sequenced in her boat from large to small. One Turkish girl assembled memories of her country: Turkish mosques, food, costumes, and landscapes. When I asked her if she liked this project, she answered, "Why not? It's my country! The city of Istanbul, how beautiful; the food, how delicious; the landscape, so different than here."

Students naturally cooperate to solve problems. During the collage project, for instance, one Turkish girl, who finished early, helped her neighbor with color coordination. Another Dutch girl inserted a blue sky scene behind the collage of a boy from Surinam to help him fill up the area. At the end of class, two girls from Surinam helped each other glue down unfinished pieces. Mr. B reflected, "This group works well together, and I like the atmosphere."

Individual evaluation is formalized through a student self-evaluation sheet which indicates that students initially respond to contrasts and framing devices, not unity, in their artwork and life. When passing out questionnaires, Mr. B briefly explained the intentions of the self-critique to students — that they should understand how they solve their problems and improve their critical observation, especially concerning details. Later, he planned to evaluate their work. His questionnaire asked the following: What have you pictured? How have you arranged your subject? Why have you done it this way? What did you plan originally? Is your work neat? Before you began your work, did you have an idea how it would look? The majority of the students (10 randomly selected to also include multicultural students) responded that they pictured and arranged for contrasts: between their old and new city (of Rotterdam, which was being rebuilt), the busy city and the quiet country, their former country and their new one, and the gray Dutch weather as opposed to their love of the sun. Some student work suggests criticism of modern Dutch industrialization, such as the work entitled, "Western Ruler (supremacy)," while others suggest a longing for success. One Surinamese girl stated, "I come from the green trees, so very primitive, and I will going higher to the modern and luxury" [sic].

In order to show contrasts, some students used framing devices, such as a picture frame, a window, or a doorway. Only three students mentioned the word "unity," the lesson concept, but they showed that they inherently understood the idea by matching colors and scenery through cutting out parts and fitting them together. Perhaps the questionnaire should explicitly use the word unity as an indication of its importance. Mr. B responded to his students' results: "It [contrast] came naturally, and it is easier for them to understand. I will talk about it more in class, although students are tired of [teacher] lecturing."

Results from the post-questionnaire indicate that students like the collage project (78%) and understand the objective — to represent through images their homeland (65%). Some students suggest that the teacher limit his lecture and include more drawing in the assignment. Others find the project childish (26%) but discover that they can draw with pictures. One girl responds, "I could glue and cut already, but I learned a new way of gluing it [images] together."

V. *Contextual Considerations*

Mr. B finds his situation supportive because he is actively involved in the school's promotion. "The school is well-organized," he states, "and teachers work together as a team, which I find rare in The Netherlands." His superintendent thinks that art is important and is personally interested in the arts, especially photography. Mr. B designed attractive logos and a model of the new school building on display in the superintendent's office and indicated to me where his new room will be situated. Mr. B reflects, "I never thought that I could teach in such a conservative, well-disciplined place, but the conditions here are good. It's a school where I can share a drink with teachers on Fridays."

Conclusions

Ideally, an art educator should be a living model for the integration of different cultures, perspectives, and temperaments. Although at times formal, this person may need to develop a more relaxed, sensitive, flexible, and student-oriented teaching style. Insights developed from a comparative analysis of the findings suggest that the future intercultural art educator may need to consider the following proposals:

1. Art Teaching Philosophy: Emphasize art as a form of communication and an opening of windows to the world, especially in schools that are vocationally oriented and society-oriented. Explain art as a symbolic language based on substantive image-making (Arnheim, 1954; Gombrich, 1961).

2. Unique Curriculum and Content: Introduce and explain these related art theories through such art activities as passport design or poster collage. Encourage students to describe and share their backgrounds — countries of origin, heritage, and customs.

3. Start with such simple art concepts as unity and variety, reinforcing them through repetition. Seize the opportunity to discuss advanced concepts, such as contrast and color harmony, as they evolve naturally in students' works.

4. Multicultural Strategies: Provide patterns, art models, photocopied handouts, and student examples. Introduce alternative materials gradually, because students have different learning styles. Some students are conceptual, more abstract in thinking; while others are more relational, more concrete learners, and thus need abstract ideas to be connected to their experience (Cohen, 1969). Encourage relational learners to attend to details. Display student artwork and enlarged art examples, especially from the students' different cultural backgrounds, for motivation. Keep in mind that examples for some cultures may be too expensive and difficult to obtain.

5. Make art projects simple, personal, and open-ended in the beginning in order to assess students' interests, abilities, and their different cultural styles of representation, for example, realistic, gestural, or symbolic.

6. Provide students with the visual tools and skills for exploring and recreating their cultures, but consider their particular art preferences and cultural styles. Since adolescents seem to have great anxiety over realism, inhibiting artistic expression, adjust studio practices. When symbolic (sketches) or borrowed (collage) images are encouraged, expression seems to become more fluid. Some cultures, however,

do not emphasize expression, but the decorative and religious aspects of art, as Mason (1987) discovered when working with Muslim children in Leicester. When children are not introduced to the language and skills of art at an early age, then personal expression is limited to the popular or public images available. Art taught as the development of visual expression or perception alone does not lead to intercultural perception. The theory of art as expression is therefore questionable for use with multicultural students.

7. Appraise students' progress and work while in process — frequently, individually, and informally. In-process appraisal seems to be the dominant form of instruction at the secondary level, as well as the preadolescent (Stokrocki, 1990).

8. Structure a lesson in such a way that students choose the artworks to be appreciated and discussed, thus avoiding cultural stereotypes. While art history within a culture is indeed rich, the study of it may, at times, be neglected; however, a greater appreciation of a cultural and artistic heritage may be achieved if this more subtle, and thus more accessible, approach is taken. For example, when students are making a collage, arrange a variety of art reproductions of different countries from pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers for students to select. Engage students in natural conversation about the artworks, and later encourage them to research information about the works. Contrasts in values may be revealed naturally through such a lesson, which emphasizes student choice.

9. Student Strategies and Responses: Answer students' questions as they occur, but keep public questioning to a minimum. Whereas students in a Western-style education may need immediate attention to their questions — questioning being another learning preference — some multicultural students may need more time for exploration before seeking assistance. Labov (1970) points out that multicultural children may perceive some questions as unfair, unclear, irrevelant, and may fabricate answers that they perceive the questioner wants to hear. The dominance of questioning as a teaching methodology for motivation is therefore questionable to use with students of some cultures.

10. Respect students' differences in socialization, while promoting social interaction. Adapt teaching to class atmosphere in order to promote human relations. Encourage students to explore "ideas about their own lives, their schoolwork, and their relations with others" (Joyce & Weil, 1972/80). Although some students prefer to work alone, explore different group formations, such as cooperative work and peer teaching. Cooperative learning strategies can improve race relations (Sharan, 1980) and relate to more concrete and relational

learning styles (Cohen, 1969). Success with these styles suggests that the personal/social characteristics of teaching are extremely important at this introductory level and in this context.

11. Provide reflective tools for students to discriminate — to describe, analyze, interpret, and judge their own work (Feldman, 1970), both orally and in writing. Although the practice was not evident in the observed study, encourage students to examine further the hidden values in their drawn and collage images. These implied values, such as conspicuous consumption, dominate their subcultural world — in fashion and entertainment advertisements. These are the mythic and ludic dimensions of their intercultural tribal world. Aesthetic literacy, the study of the nature of art and how it is valued, then becomes a new dimension to investigate in teaching. Lanier (1981) believes that in order to develop knowledgeable and appreciative citizens, teachers need to have students first investigate the nature of their own art responses and preferences. Begin with students' understanding of their new and old cultural heritages. Art history and criticism are thus used to support intercultural understanding.

12. Contextual Considerations: Assume extra public relations duties and explain as well as demonstrate how art and its goals are important for developing intercultural education.

In view of increasing demands for vocational interests in The Netherlands and other countries, teaching cultural literacy is difficult, let alone teaching within the goals of multicultural literacy. The concept of intercultural education is a developing one and needs to be incorporated into the practice of curriculum. These proposals offer clues, obvious and hidden, as to what may be important in intercultural art teaching: the art teaching philosophies of teachers in multicultural settings, the teachers' unique curriculums and content, their multicultural strategies, their students' strategies and responses, and their contextual considerations. More field study time is needed to answer all the questions that this study raises about intercultural education in this context. More comparison is needed of art teaching in different countries and multicultural settings in order to develop such claims.

* Because of limited space, tables generated for this study are not included here. For a complete set of tables, researchers should write to: Dr. Mary Stokrocki, Art Department, Cleveland State University, Euclid at East 24th Street, Cleveland, OH 44118.

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The Germanic Contribution: Gift or Burden?

Peter Smith

This essay reviews the Germanic influence on American art education. The author asks the reader to consider the pervasiveness of Germanic thought in American art education and its incongruence with a French-dominated art world. The acceptance of Germanic theory by American art educators without consideration of conditions in American schools and society which differ from German culture is questioned.

The works of Arnheim, Lowenfeld, Schaefer-Simmern, and the Bauhaus are examples of the Germanic impact on American art education. However, these names are but part of a larger Germanic influence of extraordinary pervasiveness. This study goes beyond the naming of Germanic foundational figures (Smith, 1982a) to a discussion of the significance of their influence in American schools, especially how this influence has shaped the relationship of art education to general education and the American art world.

Related studies have explored the problem of unknown-because-untranslated foundational research and theory (Michael & Morris, 1985; 1986; Smith, 1982a; 1983) and focused on difficulties faced by Germanic art educators attempting to fit their cultural style to the American art scene (Smith, 1982b). However, no study was found that focuses on the weight of German art education notions in the history of American art education. Nor has there been much attention directed to understanding the usefulness of educational ideas that developed in a culture very different from the American scene, except in some passages in a study of Lowenfeld (Smith, 1989).

Before going on to problems of forgotten influences and cross-cultural dissonances, consider the three persons and one institution mentioned earlier and reflect on their power in this country's art education history. Arnheim's writings have been widely published and read. His direct and indirect influence is acknowledged by prominent art educators. For example, Korzenik (1985) cites Arnheim's influences in her Preface of *Drawn to Art*. A more direct influence was acknowledged by leaders in Harvard's Project Zero (Gardner, 1980), an association that is likely to carry Arnheim's influence well into the future. Schaefer-Simmern's ideas have continued to be explicated by Abrahamson, both in written form (1980a; 1980b) and in yearly presentations at the National Art Education Association Conferences throughout the 1980s. Abrahamson is also editing Shaefer-Simmern's last manuscript for future publication.[1] Lowenfeld's influence, of course, comes through his often-published *Creative and Mental Growth*. Three editions were produced during his lifetime (1947; 1952; 1957); and after Lowenfeld's death in 1960, five more variations were published under the co-authorship of Brittain. Also, Lowenfeld's leadership of the Pennsylvania State University art education program provided a base from which he guided many students who became national art education leaders (Eisner, 1972).

The scale of influence of the Bauhaus is so large and multiform that it defeats any attempt at a concise description. The power of that influence can be glimpsed in a description by H.P. Raleigh, then head of art education at Pratt Institute: "Today there is barely an art program at any level of education that does not, in greater or lesser degree, contain some remnant of the old Bauhaus' preliminary course (1968, p. 287)."

Wolfe (1981), in *From Bauhaus to Our House*, published a denunciation of the effects of Bauhaus theory. Although Wolfe considered the out-of-school physical evidence of Bauhaus theory, many students from kindergarten to graduate school attended classes in buildings designed according to Bauhaus-style dicta. If we believe that design influences our lives, Bauhaus influence lingers on.

Nineteenth Century American Art Education

Aside from sporadic attempts at persuading individual communities to sponsor art education in public schools, the first significant attempt at state-wide persuasion by a recognized education leader was Horace Mann's publication of Peter Schmid's system of drawing instruction in 1844 and 1845 (Saunders, 1961). Like the founders of the English schools of design, Mann was impressed by the Prussian pedagogical drawing system (MacDonald, 1970). Schmid received some, if rather dubious, academic training as an artist, but found the roles of artist and teacher incompatible in his own career (Ashwin, 1987). He devised a system of drawing for non-artists to teach students not planning to be artists. The exact relationship of Schmid's system to training designers is not clear.

Although Mann wanted drawing introduced in public schools, there is some question as to Mann's valuing of aesthetic experiences (Saunders, 1970). His attitude toward art is evident in his choice of a school training system, rather than a system of art instruction that would lead to the development of artistic talent.

MacDonald (1970) claimed the British chose the German system for the education of designers, despite ample evidence that the French system of design education (which followed the methods used in training artists) produced superior designers and better sales of their designed products. In 1893, according to Ashwin (1987), even Germans recognized the financial success France gained through attention to fine art. The British choice seemed to be made in part to reinforce a caste system, and the authorities seemed to dislike the superior status given artists in French society (MacDonald, 1970). Although the English schools of design were later taken over by Henry Cole, an astute political realist and a progressive figure in architecture (MacDonald, 1970), the Germanic basis of design education was not replaced by the more successful French system. Although the degree of success of the French system or failure of the British systems needs more thorough attention than can be given here, French design seems to have retained a higher status and financial success.

Walter Smith, a product of the British system, brought the German-derived system to the United States. Korzenik (1985) sketched the energetic, if not always straightforward, efforts of Smith to establish drawing instruction in Massachusetts schools. What Smith did not tell his Boston industrialist sponsors was that the South Kensington system did not succeed in producing sought-after textile designers (MacDonald, 1970). Instead, the system trained pedagogues needed for institutions created by bureaucratic machinations (MacDonald, 1970).

The drawing instruction methods of Schmid and Smith were two related German-influenced strands in nineteenth century American art education. Another German-influenced strand was the Froebelian Kingergarten movement. Elizabeth Peabody, Mann's sister-in-law, was one of the American leaders in that movement (Saunders, 1961).

Froebel and kindergarten are so widely associated with the notion of the laissez-faire teacher who allowed the child to unfold creatively (Weber, 1960) that it is illuminating to look at Froebel's *The Education of Human Nature* and the Froebel gifts illustrated in Saunders' dissertation (1961). The very structured elements in Froebel's work made him seem more akin to Schmid than to Cizek or Lowenfeld, both of whom were thought to be influenced by Froebel (Efland, 1976a). "Natural unfolding," or a variant of the phrase, appeared in the rhetoric of many American art educators in the first half of the twentieth century; but natural unfolding in the United States might have meant something quite different from natural unfolding in a Germanic culture.

Efland (1985) drew attention to a less widely known aspect of Froebel's theories, his notion of opposites. Froebel believed that opposites make up the world but have an essential unity. Gombrich (1963) mentioned the Germanic art historian's tendency to bring forward bipolar schemes. This construction of schemes, structured in contrasting pairs, seems characteristic of Germanic thought of all kinds; and it is evident in art education literature in Lowenfeld's haptic and visual theory (Lowenfeld, 1939).

Although German education did not respond to Froebel's more anti-authoritarian side until the twentieth century (Hearnden, 1976), Froebel's ideas not only entered America through the kindergarten movement, but also through the Oswego Normal School Movement. This movement brought the ideas of Pestalozzi, Froebel's intellectual mentor, to the United States through the work of Herman Krusi (Stark, 1986; Krusi, 1872). Describing the work of the American founder of the Oswego Movement, Stark wrote:

> By the time of his death in 1897, Sheldon has [sic] successfully incorporated the philosophies of Prussian normal schools, Pestalozzi (object drawing), Herbart (moral character and lesson planning), Froebel (kindergarten) . . .into the Oswego Normal School Training curriculum. (1985, p. 40)

The overwhelming prestige of Germanic systems in education are expressed in the autobiographical remarks of J. B. Welling, an American art educator who received her public school education before the First World War: "I grew up in an educational setting [in New York State] where German science, German rational thought, and German thoroughness were patterns for conduct." Welling continued: "If I had not been interested in art, I would never have known that German art was different from German science, and that it was mystical, often even sentimental, always charged with romantic feeling, and never 'rational' in the cold and purely scientific sense" (1939, p. 310).

In 1882, the publication of Wilhem Preger's *The Mind of the Child* ushered in the child study movement (Connell, 1980). The numerous German language child study reports that followed included many analyses of children's art which were later cited by Lowenfeld (1939) as the grounding for his theories. Some of these were also described by Viola (1944). Discussions of other German language child study reports are also available (Michael & Morris, 1985; 1986; Simons, 1968; Smith, 1983). How exhaustive these studies were is evident, for example, in Kerschensteiner's *Die Entwicklung der Zeicherishen Begabung*, a study of art work made by at least 48,000 Munich school children.[2]

These Germanic studies were highly influential in the work of educational planners. They provided rationales for many progressive education practices and laid foundations for various state theories of psychological development (Cornell, 1980), including those concerned with children's art work. This can be seen in Eng's *The Psychology of Children's Drawing* (1931), although as N. R. Smith (1983) points out, the translation from original study to art education theory sometimes produced errors that shaped practice.

The Germanic scholars were interested in school training, pedagogy, and psychology. Even in the case of Schmid, it is an exaggeration to claim he intended to teach art in any meaningful sense. He intended to teach school drawing as a tool for various utilitarian purposes, such as development of manual dexterity and use in technical drafting.

The South Kensington system attempted to teach design as other school subjects were taught at the time, as a drill which authority demanded that the child master. At least that was Walter Smith's variant of the system. The Prussian and South Kensington systems were totally divorced from art of their day, and MacDonald (1970) claimed they were even divorced from their stated goal of preparing students to do practical textile design work.

The child study proponents were interested in children's graphic work for purposes of obtaining evidence of psychological development. They were not immune to the purely artistic interest of this work (Sully, 1898). However, the scientific "hands-off" approach of psychologists were combined with some of Froebel's techniques:

> The child's education depends primarily on the divine self-activity within him . . . *the teacher is forbidden to interfere arbitrarily with spontaneous growth*. The teacher *presides* over growth, something like a gardener . . . going into action when an emergency arises (Weber, 1960, p. 290. Emphasis, Weber's).

Whether the source of school art activity was industrial drawing, Froebelian kindergarten activity, or activity with a child study rationale, these German-derived influences came from outside the art world. As Welling (1939) pointed out, in German culture there was a basic division between scientific system and art. The school art systems were school activities with tenuous, if any, connections to the art of the time.

The Twentieth Century

Certainly, the influence of Froebel and the child study movement continued and flourished in early twentieth-century American education. From Austria came another Germanic influence: psychoanalytic theory. Although a direct influence of individual psychoanalysts was not evident in public schools (Efland, 1985), it eventually lent support to the notion of self-expression. Curiously, Erickson, a leading psychoanalyst, was once an art teacher in Vienna (Coles, 1970), but his American career did not reflect this background. In American education, art as a vent for subconscious forces found its arena in such private schools as the Walden School, led by Margaret Naumburg, with art classes taught by Florence Naumburg Cane (Hartman & Schumaker, 1932).

Although the editors of *Creative Expression* (Hartman & Schumaker, 1932) referred to the *artist* entering the school, when psychoanalytic rationales for art in schools were presented in this book, it was again a case of a Germanic theory being used that had no direct link to the art world. Cremin (1962) claimed that progressive education was a form of expressionism. It is an interesting notion, but Cremin's evidence appears insufficient to substantiate a link between progressive education theory and expressionism as an art movement. It is easier to trace psychoanalytic influence in the 1920s' Walden School (Beck, 1959) and in the later writing of Florence Naumburg Cane (1951).

While the Walden School flourished in the 1920s, the work of Franz Cizek was publicized through traveling exhibitions, the publications of F. M. Wilson, (1921a; 1921b; 1921c), and a book edited by Dulac, a famed illustrator (1922). Cizek's work with children began at the end of the nineteenth century. Unlike Pestalozzi, Froebel, Walter Smith, and others previously mentioned, Cizek had been trained in an art academy (Viola, 1936) and for at least a time, practiced as an artist (Smith, 1985). He remained associated with artists involved in an important art movement of this century, the Vienna Secession (Schorske, 1980; Viola, 1936). Despite Cizek's laissez-faire rhetoric of non-imposition of adult styles (Viola,1936; 1944; Wilson, 1921c), the work of his Young Peoples' Class clearly reflected the art styles current in Vienna from Jugendstil through expressionism (Munro, 1956; Smith, 1985).

Cizek's Viennese milieu sometimes tempts writers into seeing psychoanalytic trends in his work. Schorske (1980) points out that Cizek phrases such as *sich ausprechen* (self-expression) sound like psychoanalytic jargon. But Cizek's expressed desire to retain the purity of child art (Viola, 1944) is an echo of the Viennese desire to discard historicism, artificiality, and falsifying cultural accretions, as expressed by Kraus in regard to language, Wittgenstein in philosophy, and Loos in architecture (Janik & Toulmin, 1973). Whatever the source of his rhetoric or its relationship to his teaching practice, Cizek's close relationship with artists and his art-saturated milieu contrast sharply with many other Germanic influences on American education.

One frequently overlooked phase of Cizek's career that indirectly influenced American art education was that Cizek was not just a teacher of children, but also a professor in Vienna's *Kunstgewerbeschule* (School of Applied Art). He was one of Kokoschka's teachers (Schorske, 1980) and taught a course mentioned by Munro (1956) and described by Rochowanski in *Der Formwille der Zeit in der angewandte Kunst* (1922). The first part of that title could be translated as "the form trends of the age." We get quite a different view of Cizek if we look at the illustrations, which have obvious Cubist, Expressionistic, and Futuristic elements, and if we consider that they were exercises for a course for students preparing for careers as artists and designers. Ordinarily, our view of his work is shaped by the rather sugary children's work selected for publication by F. M. Wilson (Dulac, 1922). Interestingly, the increasingly conservative Austrian education authorities suppressed this college class in the middle 1920s (Munro, 1956).

There is not a complete acceptance in the United States of the Germanic Viennese art world of Cizek's day. Kallir (1986) wrote of "the effective cultural blockade that two world wars imposed upon the Germanic tradition. Additionally, the body of critical literature that grew up around post-war America painting posited a theoretical dependence on French formal values" (p. 11).

An influential example of what Kallir referred to is found in Cheney's *Primer of Modern Art* (1945). Cheney did seem to like Kokoschka's work but ignored or was unacquainted with Schiele, Klimt, Kubin, and others. His only direct reference to Viennese art was to disparage a piece of decorative craft work for being merely charming. Some resistance to Viennese art persists to this day (Kuspit, 1986; Varnedoe, 1986).

There was a great shift from the type of nineteenth century Germanic influences previously described to Cizek and to the sources that will be discussed in the following sections of this study. The Schmid system, along with a number of other highly structured Germanic drawing systems (Ashwin, 1987), and their offspring, the South Kensington System, were devised by schoolmen for the schools. The relationship of these systems to any art world was decidedly marginal. Cizek was from an art scene of obvious richness. He was not devoted to the schools (Viola, 1936).

An American might feel mystified when Cizek, and later Lowenfeld, decried the emphasis on learning in schools. The following passage, from *Creative and Mental Growth* (1957), expressed this attitude:

> In our present educational system still everything points towards learning, which in most instances means acquiring knowledge. Our one-sided education with the emphasis on knowledge has neglected those attributes of growth which are responsible for the development of the individual's sensibilities, for his spiritual life, as well as for his ability to live cooperatively in society. (p.2)

In Germanic countries, this sort of rhetoric can be traced back to 1887. At that time, Alfred Lichtwark, the Hamburg museum art educator, condemned the German education system for much the same reason:

> German schools had concentrated [on the development of memorization or rote learning]. They had perfected the dreary process of stuffing the heads of German children with factual information rather than developing character. 'Knowledge and education have become almost synonymous with us,' [Lichtwark] charged. (Fishman, 1976, p. 10)

As well as echoing Lichtwark and his notion that art education should be central to life as a force for moral renewal, Lowenfeld's ideas were similar to those of the sculptor von Hildebrand (Franciscono, 1971). The type of schooling von Hildebrand, Lichtwark, Cizek, and Lowenfeld inveighed against was pictured in *Buddenbrooks* (Mann, 1924) and in *The World of Yesterday* (Zweig, 1943). The rigid intellectual demands and scarce concession to the affective or physical needs of childhood and youth brought about a response summarized in the following:

> Criticism of the sterility of academic training was part of the widespread reaction of the eighties and nineties in Germany and Austria against rigidity and over intellectualization in all fields of education. (Franciscono, 1971, p. 188)

The criticism of Germanic schools from many quarters, the depiction of that education in literature, and the reaction of youth to school shown in the *Wandervogel* movement (Mosse, 1947) all support a picture of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Germanic education as ferociously authoritarian and divorced from the needs of youth in an industrializing and urbanizing society. This divorce from needs included a divorce from art needs. The art education that existed in the schools in no way equipped the student to respond to the ferment in the European art world.

Whether this over-intellectualized Germanic system resembled the American school system, however, is open to question. The rhetoric of Cizek was a reaction to the system he saw in Austria before 1918. The very similar rhetoric of Lowenfeld, who underwent the Austrian system in his own education, is questionable in its applicability to American education. The duration and breadth of Lowenfeld's experiences in American schools prior to the first publication of *Creative and Mental Growth* (1947) were not extensive (Simons, 1968; Smith, 1983).

During the World War I years, while Cizek was teaching the Young Peoples' Class and Lowenfeld was still a schoolboy in Linz, Johannes Itten opened an art school in Vienna. He started the school after receiving training first as a teacher and then as an artist (Itten, 1975). Through Alma Mahler Gropius, he became acquainted with Walter Gropius and moved to the Bauhaus to become the first leader of the

Vorkurs (Itten, 1965). In the comparatively small world of Vienna 1916-1919, it is probable that Itten was acquainted with stories about Cizek's teaching and perhaps had direct contact with Cizek.

> As Franciscono (1971) explained, certain aspects of Itten's rhetoric and some of the exercises from the *Vorkurs* seemed to resemble Cizek's work, most noticeably in the work reproduced in *Der formwille der Zeit* (Rochowanski, 1922).
>
> Both Cizek and Itten had the pedagogical insight to recognize that with the decline of naturalism and the interest of the modern artist in subjective expression and in conceptual modes comparable to those used by children, the same approach and some of the same methods that were successful with children could also be relevant to the education of art students. Both men, further, were able to relate their teaching principles to the prevalent aesthetic doctrine of empathy, which as properly understood, tended to lead in works of art to an emphasis on rhythmical movements and kinetic forms as the means of expressing inner states and experience. (Franciscono, 1971, p. 191)

Itten used phraseology that brings to mind Cizek-Lowenfeld notions when he wrote, "at the Bauhaus I wished to build up the entire person as a creative being. This 'program' I expounded constantly at the meetings of the teachers' council" (Itten, 1965, p. 105).

Obviously, this adumbrates the "whole child" approach expressed in *Creative and Mental Growth*. Perhaps behind Itten, Cizek, Lowenfeld, and the Bauhaus lies the Froebelian kindergarten tradition. Logan (1950) suggested that the Bauhaus *Vorkurs* resembled the free exploration of materials seen in the kindergarten tradition. Although Logan's suggestion drew an angry rejection from Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, widow of a post-Itten *Vorkurs* teacher (Logan, 1955), this comparison is worthy of further research. Seemingly independent of Logan and Franciscono (who again brought up the issue in 1971), a publication of the *Institut for Auslands beziehungen* (Herzogenrath, 1955) advanced the notion of Itten's *Vorkurs* being influenced by Cizek and the Froebel kindergarten.

In this same publication appears a list of Bauhaus-Itten students, including Franz Probst. He was mentioned by Itten (1975) as one of his Viennese students who followed him to Weimar. Franz Probst was in Cizek's Young Peoples' Class as a child, and his work was discussed by Cizek in the booklet, *A Lecture by Professor Cizek* (Wilson, 1921c). A more recent book (Whitford, 1984) claimed that Itten's pedagogy was based on techniques of Pestalozzi and Cizek. The exact relationship of Itten's *Vorkurs* to Cizek's methodology is unclear, but there is evidence of some influence.

After the Bauhaus was closed in the Hitler era, Gropius and the other figures associated with it made their way to the United States, except for Itten, who settled in Switzerland. Arheim, Lowenfeld, Schaefer-Simmern, and a host of other figures associated with art and intellectual affairs also fled to the United States.

In this study, I have not discussed the influence of Germanic art historians who came to America (Panofsky, 1955) or Galka Scheyer, an influential figure in Natalie Cole's development, or Hans Hofmann, a figure profoundly important in Abstract Expressionism and the art education of many American artists (Kinkead, 1980).

A more impressive listing of Germanic figures influencing the United States art and art education scene could be drawn up to further support my thesis that Germanic influence has been powerful in art education. The influence of Gombrich's thought on Wilson's theories about how children learn to draw, as well as the numerous references in the literature to gestalt psychology and the lingering power of Lowenfeldian ideas, show a continuing Germanic influence in art education.

Germanic Influences and the Art World

Although a number of nineteenth century American artists went to Germany for their education, from the time of the Armory Show until the rise of Abstract Expressionism, School of Paris notions about art held the highest prestige in the American art world. I suggest that the Germanic influence on American art education, although often unknown or unacknowledged, gave rise in the field of art education to attitudes and practices that aided in the divorce of school art from the American art world. As Wygant (1980) and Clahassey (1985) have noted, the early years of the Lowenfeld era, with its process-not-product notions, coincided with ideas in the art world related to Abstract Expressionism, but there usually is a sense of dissonance between what Efland (1976b) called the "school art style" and the American art scene. This feeling of distance has persisted, despite the pervasiveness of Bauhaus notions in education and their respectability in higher education.

Conclusion

A closer look is needed at the transportation or translation of art education practices and theories from one culture to another. This paper presents unacknowledged Germanic influence on American art education history. It addresses the often puzzling relationship between United States art education and the American art world. The following are some observations about Germanic influence which readers should consider:

When the Germanic influence on art instruction characterized by a rigorous, sequentially structured curriculum was introduced in American schools, it failed. Most art education scholars agree that Walter Smith's methods were not successful in any lasting sense. Smith's adaptation of the South Kensington adaptation of the German design education system was shown to be several steps removed from education for art.

Even when the contrasting free expression approach was attempted in schools, the resulting art education, according to the literature from Munro (1956) to *Beyond Creating* (1985), also failed. This type of education was not rigorously taught and was usually very unlike other school subjects. In the case of Cizek, however, this mode of education directly linked the art world to the work of the Secession, Expressionism, the Kuntsgewerbeschule, and the Wiener Werkstatte. Lowenfeld also came from much the same Viennese setting, and he was a studio art teacher for the first third of his American career (Simons, 1968; Smith, 1983). The Bauhaus was the premier art academy of the first part of the twentieth century (Pevsner, 1973), and as Raleigh (1968) stated, its influence pervaded all levels of United States art education by the 1960s.

Are all these Germanic gifts, German-based notions, theories, practices, and assumptions in fact burdens? Have American art educators accepted influences and theories without seeing the causes in German culture that gave rise to them? Have we failed to see that the conditions in American schools and society were not congruent with the practices German art education theory called for?

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Footnotes

1. Information was obtained in private conversation, April 1986.
2. The confusion over the number of works studied by Kerschensteiner is discussed by Smith (1982).

Schooling, Work Roles, and Values: The Case of the West Coast Visual Artist

Karen L. Field

The article explores the question of why visual artists in America continue to be perceived by the general public as "weird" or "different," and concludes that one key reason is the atypical nature of the artist's work process. Participant observation in three kinds of art schools and open-ended interviews with artists, art students, and art teachers in the San Francisco Bay area suggest that art training inculcates four values which fit the visual artist's work process, but which differ from "mainstream" American values: self-direction, interdependence, means-orientation, and non-materialism. The specific mechanisms that transmit these values are identified. It is concluded that, to the extent that visual artists absorb and act upon these alternative values, they do "deviate" from the American norm. It is that deviation which perpetuates the popular stereotype.

Introduction

"Someone weird who doesn't fit." "An outcast." "A freak."

All of these speakers are describing what they think other people think of them — what symbolic interactionists call their "virtual social role" (see McCall and Simmons, 1966). Yet none exhibits the characteristics that social theorists traditionally associate with a "stigmatized" identity (Goffman, 1963). All are able-bodied Anglo-Saxon Protestant Californians; none have prison records or physical disabilities; they live in the suburbs; and their incomes place them in the middle class. But all three are also visual artists, persons who derive all or most of their livings by selling artworks which they make themselves using little or no mechanized technology;[1] and according to them, this shared occupation gives them a "weird" public image.

The popular conception of artists as deviant has a long history in Western culture, though it has few analogs in non-Western societies;[2] and scholars differ in their explanations of it. Some stress recruitment, suggesting that a unique "artistic temperament" may incline certain individuals toward an art career (Wittkower and Wittkower, 1963; Jamison, 1989); others argue socio-historical conditions are the primary determinants (Harris, 1966). Whatever its roots may be, a majority of artists interviewed for this study were convinced that the stereotype of the "weird artist" is "alive and well" in contemporary America. Why should that be the case? What is it about our culture that fuels that popular image, generation after generation?

This paper aims to provide insight into the popular image of artists as deviant members of the society. Based on the analysis described in this study, I suggest that one important reason visual artists continue to be perceived by a substantial segment of the general public as "freakish" and "different" is because their work life differs in certain significant ways from that of most Americans, and because the qualities and behaviors which they therefore learn to value during their professional training also differ from the "mainstream" value profile.

Section I describes four ways in which the visual artist's work differs from that of most workers. Section II describes four values that are engendered by this difference, and contrasts them with the dominant American value profile. Section III describes how each of the four values is transmitted to students during their professional training. Section IV summarizes the conclusions of the study and discusses their potential significance.

Methodology, Assumptions, and Hypotheses

The data presented here were gathered during the course of a larger study of the professional socialization of the American visual artist carried out in the San Francisco Bay area in 1976-'77 (Field, 1979).[3] The main method employed was participant observation of drawing and painting classes in three different types of art training systems: an art institute ("Metropolitan Art Institute" referred to in tables as "Art School"), a university art department ("Major University" referred to in tables as "Art Department"), and a private non-profit community art center ("The Art League" referred to in tables as "Alternative"). In order to insure that these institutions were not grossly unrepresentative of their general type, simple observation was also conducted in three additional schools representing each category. This technique yielded a cumulative total of 500 hours of formal classroom observation. In addition, I informally observed art student interactions between classes, at parties, in student cafeterias, and so on. I also conducted open-ended two-hour interviews with 48 students, 22 instructors, several administrators, and 75 practicing visual artists. During the interviews, I elicited their impressions of their social image, the effects of their training on that image, and a range of other topics. Interview data were augmented by the analysis of student records and by a mailed questionnaire sent to 300 alumni of the three institutions, to which 162 persons responded.[4] Special attention was given throughout to the language employed by informants to impart meaning to their work and training, since it is through language that all social activities are "mediated" and social identities constructed (Mead, 1934, p. 161). Discursive responses to the interviews and questionnaires were then coded for statistical analysis.

I began the study with two underlying assumptions derived from a review of the sociological and anthropological literature on artists and from preliminary interviews with artists. The first assumption was that though the Western artist stereotype might be partly a myth, it is also so pervasive and resilient that it must have identifiable sources in the "real world" that lend themselves to empirical analysis. Secondly, while such sources may or may not include a distinctive personality profile for the profession, it is possible to account plausibly for the stereotype without reference to artists' innate psychological traits. The literature review and interviews led me to focus on the period of professional training as a potentially pivotal time in the emergence of the visual artist's ideas about work, self, and the public.

My general hypotheses were as follows: (a) visual artists experience perceptions of themselves as "different," "odd," "not fitting the norm"; (b) specific aspects of the visual artist's training can be identified as contributing to such perceptions; and (c) the nature and intensity of their effects will vary according to the type of educational experiences. All three hypotheses were confirmed. Roughly 80% of students, instructors, and professional artists in each interview group indicated that their public image involved at least some degree of stigma for being "flakier" than the average person, more eccentric, more temperamental, less reliable, less responsible, and so forth, yet some significant differences did emerge between students and alumni of the three types of schools (for full discussion, see Field, 1979). But it is principally the second hypothesis which is of concern here, for its confirmation involved the identification of work role and related values as key factors in the perpetuation of the "deviant" stereotype.

Section I. The Atypical Nature of the Visual Artist's Work

Today, most forms of economic production are mechanized, and many involve highly sophisticated electronic and/or robotic technology. The visual artist's work, by definition, contrasts with this trend. With a few exceptions,[5] drawings, paintings, silkscreens, and similar art objects are produced with simple hand-held tools. Students learn to employ this atypical production process from their first day of class, when instructors distribute a list of required materials that may be as simple as "paper, pencil, conté crayon, and *Pink Pearl* eraser."

A second atypical characteristic of the visual artist's work is the expectation of personal responsibility for each phase of the production process. Industrial economies have broken down each production process into its smallest component steps, assigning a different worker to each step. But the visual artist still learns and is expected to control the whole labor process, from stretching and priming the canvas, to exhibiting it.[6] Industrialization in general produces an economy based more and more upon mass manufacture of standardized goods, but when combined with the atypical techniques just described, this individual responsibility makes visual art exceptional by this standard, too. Every product produced by the visual artist is unique, bearing the traces of the maker's particular visual/motor habits. Charcoal and pencil, for example, are so sensitive to variations in pressure that even a well-forged drawing betrays differences obvious to a trained eye. In addition, the Western aesthetic convention of individual responsibility ensures that stylistic influences from others can only be indirect, increasing the impact of the individual's own style.

A third atypical aspect of the visual artist's work process is that, to a large extent, the quality of the object will be judged by peers and critics according to standards that involve the relationship of producer to product — the extent to which the work conveys the artist's inner feelings, for example, or the honesty and intensity with which the feelings are expressed.[7] This "qualitative" criterion contrasts with the standards applied to most workers, whose feelings about the goods and services they produce are considered either irrelevant, like those of the auto assembly worker's, or are outright impediments. A fourth atypical characteristic of the visual artist's work relates to assessment and decision-making which, in most workplaces today, are performed separately from the labor process, so that the latter is "carried out more or less blindly" (Braverman, 1974, p. 25). Efficiency is assumed to increase in proportion to the routinization of work and the effective elimination of individual workers' judgment:

> The breakup of craft skills and the reconstruction of production . . . have destroyed the traditional concept of skill . . . [replacing it with] a specific dexterity, a limited and repetitive operation. (1974, p. 443)

But visual artists are taught to exercise their own evaluative/judgmental functions at every step of the work process. While students do tend to internalize instructors' aesthetic criteria, their role in the school process is not passive. Not all students incorporate their instructors' suggestions, and few students incorporate all. Most find a middle ground; as one of my informants put it, "A lot of times I disagree with [my teacher], so I'll try to do something that pleases both of us, instead of totally giving in to him." From the student's viewpoint, this process of evaluation and selection is perhaps the essence of the learning experience. Given the individual responsibility as described above, the decision to accept or reject a teacher's suggestion must be the student's alone, just as later the student will have to decide whether and how much to cater to the perceived tastes of critics and buyers.

Related to this fourth characteristic is what one might term the "revocability" of the visual artist's work, the acceptance of trial-and-error as an integral, even desirable part of production. Most American workers are expected to routinize the processes they use and to leave experimentation to their leisure hours, but the nature of the visual artist's material and tools makes it possible to change and re-work an object almost indefinitely. Once an artist makes a mark, the artist must decide whether to leave it, change it, or delete it. The high value accorded innovation[8] as a criterion of quality in the contemporary art world and Western society prods the artist, like the scientist[9], to try out new ideas and methods, and sometimes to incorporate the experimental process into the final appearance of the art object. Few other professions embue "false starts" with comparable positive worth.

We have established that the visual artist's work process differs in four important ways from that of most modern American workers'. At least since White (1949, 1959), anthropologists have agreed that the ideational aspects of a culture, such as values, tend to show at least a general "fit" with its economic base; and sociologists agreed that the more the behaviors associated with a given occupation differ from those of the typical American worker, the more we may expect that occupation to be characterized by atypical or "nonmajoritarian" values (e.g., Wardwell, 1952; Nash, 1955; Box and Ford, 1967; Griff, 1970). To the extent that it differs from other kinds of work, then, visual art may be logically expected to call for and to elicit atypical or "nonmajoritarian" values from those who choose it as a living. And, following the "correspondence principle" as articulated by education theorists (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Zelkovitz, 1976; Willis, 1977), we would expect that schooling should play a significant role in socializing new "recruits" into the values congruent with their expected work roles. In the following section, I will describe how specific values are transferred to the visual art student.

Section II. Alternative Values Transmitted by Schooling and their Relation to the Work Process

Any effort to limit a dominant value profile for a heterogeneous society like the United States is perilous and open to accusations of overgeneralization. Besides the obvious issue of ethnic, regional, class, and gender diversity, there is the added difficulty of distinguishing between what Americans *say* they value in polls and interviews and the actual behavior choices they make. Still, students of U. S. society generally agree that a "baseline" of American values does exist, though they disagree about some of its particulars and concur that it varies from group to group (see Hsu, 1972; Lipset, 1963; Potter, 1962; Spindler and

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Spindler, 1983; Bellah, et al., 1985). These baseline values include: *conformity*, *individualism*, *pragmatism*, and *materialism*. In this section, I will clarify what is meant by each of these terms, adduce evidence for the transmission of alternative values through art schooling, and show the functional "fit" between these alternative values and the atypical features of the visual artist's work.

The notion of *conformity* as a value is clearly complex, but at minimum it implies a positive view of behaving like other people and/or in accordance with culturally accepted rules and customs. Included among its dimensions are: (a) following the dictates of authority; (b) focusing on external consequences to the exclusion of internal processes; and (c) intolerance of dissent. Each of these dimensions meshes with the working conditions of the average American employee as delineated by a major school of worklife scholars (Riesman, 1950; Kohn, 1969; Braverman, 1974; Gorz, 1982).

Judging from my informants, however, visual artists come to value self-direction, which includes: (a) acting on the basis of one's own judgments; (b) focusing on internal processes more than external consequences; and (c) tolerating or even encouraging dissent. Commitment to this value is perhaps most readily discernible in attitudes toward authority. When students and professional artists alike were asked whom they most preferred to please with their art, a majority of both groups said "myself" (see Table 1). Asked whom it was most important to please in order to be successful at their school, the greatest percentage of students in each institution said "myself," and students were generally more confident in stating that they had clear standards of what constituted a "good" piece of art than they were in describing their instructors' or peers' standards (see Table 2).

Interestingly, responses of "self" as prime arbiter increased in the student sample with higher levels of schooling, suggesting that the value is indeed transmitted during the training process. The often solitary nature of the visual artist's work, the emphasis on innovation, and the centrality of the producer's own evaluative/judgmental abilities to the work process all demand an unusually high degree of self-direction from workers.

A second value in the dominant profile is *individualism*, embracing (a) a view of society as an aggregate of atomistic beings, resulting in an absence of corporate class consciousness; and (b) a view of those beings as engaged in a competitive struggle for existence, leading to an acceptance of hierarchy as natural, even good, so long as it results from a "fair contest."[10] Students of our "competitive culture of work" (Bellah et al., 1985, p. 43) tend to regard competitive individualism as a strategy which "divides and conquers" the working class by emphasizing differences between workers, rather than common concerns (Cohen and Lazerson, 1972; Ollman, 1976; Edwards; Reich and Weisskopf, 1978; Edwards, 1979; Quinney, 1979; Gross, 1980; Zinn, 1980).

The visual artists I interviewed, however, tended instead to value *interdependence*, embracing (a) a view of society as an organic unity of like beings, leading to a sense of identification with others; and (b) the idea that those beings should join in cooperative effort toward common goals, leading to a mistrust of hierarchy. The first aspect suggests that visual art students would identify with one another and emphasize the things they have in common, rather than perceiving their peers as different from themselves and emphasizing divisions. In order to elicit such attitudes, I asked students to describe their peer relationships. Majorities in all three schools described them as positive, and many spontaneously mentioned a strong sense of shared interests:

> I feel good about it. It's one of the really good things about this place, because everybody is really committed to his [sic] work. There's a community sense among the students.

The "culture" of the classrooms I observed did not promote competition as either necessary or desirable, and when students acknowledged its existence, it was always with regret: "people don't talk about it"; "it's very subtle." Only three out of the 48 students whom I formally interviewed about their peer relationships ever mentioned the word "compete." Rejection of hierarchy was implicit in behavior during class "crits" (critiques), where students would typically counter an instructor's criticism with a positive comment, a behavior which showed solidarity with peers (see Table 3).

Interdependence is functionally linked to the work process in two ways. First, because each object is supposed to be unique, invidious comparisons between works or styles are discouraged (though they do surface as "backstage gossip," as any gallery habitué can attest). Secondly, the very tenuousness of a visual art career (which is at least in part a function of its atypically labor-intensive nature of the work) encouraged students to "hang together," rather than to make an already "iffy" undertaking even less secure through alienation from peers.

A third dominant value often cited in the literature is *pragmatism*, the "practical, inventive turn of mind" that sees ends or goals as more important than means (Turner, quoted in Commager, 1951; p. 79). My informants, in contrast, tended to value what for lack of a more felicitous term I call "means-orientation," the evaluation of activities according to their intrinsic qualities rather than their instrumental effects. Equations between "goodness" and "utility" were not facilely made, and when given a choice, they tended to prefer the "original" to the "efficient." Evidence included students' responses to the question, "if you were to become a professional artist, what would you imagine to be your greatest satisfaction?" A little more than half of the students in all three schools said their greatest reward would be the intrinsic satisfaction of doing the work, rather than ends like fame or money (see Table 4). Time and again, both students and professionals used process-oriented words like gerunds in describing the rewards of their work: "getting into yourself," "fulfilling a need," "experimenting with forms."

Several students stated plainly that they saw this intrinsic enjoyability of art work as a stark contrast to most other jobs:

> You become involved in what you're doing.
> It's satisfying, not boring or repetitive.
> Other jobs can be monotonous because you can't get into work.

Means-orientation meshes with the emphasis the producer places on the relationship between process and product as discussed above. In the classrooms I observed, there was a constant focus on the internal feeling-states of the producer as being relevant to the quality of the work itself ("I have a feeling that one [art work] isn't very *honest*"); works were judged not just as "end results," but in context of the maker's total *oeuvre* ("That's pleasing, but it's *not very new for you*").

The fourth value that recurs in the literature is *materialism*, rooted in Weber's "Protestant ethic" (1930), in the protection of property as "the reason individuals . . . enter society" (Bellah et al., 1985; p. 336), and the use of income and consumption to evaluate status and personal worth (Schneider and Smith, 1973). To establish whether informants perceived themselves as materialistic in this sense, I asked the professional artists why they had chosen their present style of art. Non-financial reasons outweighed financial concerns (see Table 5), and when asked why they thought other people chose their branch of art, only a minority mentioned money, while the rest stressed talent, inner compulsion, teachers' inspirations, etc., or denied that it was possible to generalize (see Table 6). As for students, many felt that they had little or no chance of earning money from their art as they would ideally like to earn from it. A sizable percentage in each type of school anticipated future financial problems (see Table 7), but most were still planning art careers (see Table 8).

The visual artist's work in modern America is economically precarious, because it demands a large investment of time in unique, hand-made goods, and because the potential market for those items is limited. Visual artists are by no means indifferent to financial gain, and many admit candidly that they would like more. But emphasis on the dominant value, materialism, for many visual artists would be frustrating and eventually lead to low self-esteem. Non-materialism lets the visual artists maintain dignity and self-worth in the face of a society which makes a humorous sales pitch out of the phrase "starving artist."

In summary, four values seem to be promoted and successfully transmitted in the schools I observed: self-direction, interdependence, means-orientation, and non-materialism. Each of these clashes with a dominant American value, but fits the atypical conditions of the visual artist's work process as described in Section I.

Section III. How Alternative Values are Transmitted to Students

What are the specific mechanisms through which these alternative values are transmitted? Before trying to answer that question, two caveats are in order. First, in a complicated, multifaceted place like an art school, it is not always possible to prove a direct "cause-and-effect" relationship between one source and one outcome. The connections posited below are those which seem most convincing to me, based on the data I collected. Second, it is difficult to say how "consciously" the values are transmitted. For example, some instructors clearly articulated the values they tried to pass along to their students; others claimed never to have thought about the question, but that did not necessarily mean that their words and actions were having no effect on their students' values.

1. *Transmission of Self-Direction.* Self-direction is transmitted through at least five mechanisms: (a) the relative number of models of "good art" provided to students; (b) the relative weighting of such models; (c) "disclaimers" and "qualifiers" used by instructors; (d) instructor endorsements of self-direction; and (e) forms of evaluation.

Models of "good art" come from two main sources: teachers' overt statements about students' own work ("that's the idea," "that's an interesting effect") and actual examples of what art "should be" (prints of works by famous artists of the past, works of their own, or works by other students).

In most of the classrooms I observed, teachers gave students about equal numbers of positive and negative comments on their work. But where examples were disproportionately weighted either toward "good" models or "bad" models, students tended to withdraw legitimacy from their teachers' judgments. One student said about a teacher who never spoke anything critical: "Emily is always so happy with everything we do, she praises us so much, I've kind of started to take her compliments with a grain of salt . . . I'd have a lot more respect for her comments if she'd criticize me occasionally."

On the other hand, a preponderance of negative comments made students perceive teachers as "carping" and "hostile," and they withdrew legitimacy from those judgments, too. In either case, the net effect

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was, as Rosenblum found among photography students, to make the student "increasingly rely on his [sic] own judgments" (1973; p. 87).

Teachers did not provide many actual examples of "good art" (slightly over one per day when data from all three schools were aggregated), but it was the composition or relative weighting of those examples that seemed to affect self-direction, not the absolute number. Where examples were drawn from one main source, students scored high on self-direction; either they internalized the models and "made them their own," or they rejected them altogether. In the art department, where examples were drawn about equally from "famous" artists, teachers, and students' work, students scored lowest on self-direction. Perhaps the diversity of examples created some confusion or ambiguity in students' minds which resulted in a greater desire to please others.

A third factor that promoted self-direction was use of "disclaimers" or "qualifiers" which teachers used to imply "but I'm not the final authority on art — no one is." More than a fourth of all teacher comments in all three schools contained such qualifiers: "I think you have to have some faith in me as the instructor, but of course, you're free to develop your style and pursue your own interests," or the use of conditional forms, as in "you *might* vary the strokes there a little — that *might* give the drawing more depth."

The fourth factor was teachers overt endorsements of self-direction. One teacher at the Metropolitan Art Institute, for example, continually urged the use of "imagination" and "interpretation" in approaching assignments, stressed the students' right to choose what they wanted to concentrate on during the semester, and validated the inclusion of curriculum — like perspective drawing — on the basis of the students' own expressed interest, rather than on some accepted list of what "should" be taught in art class.

Finally, the absence of letter grades in the art department encouraged self-direction by conveying the idea that there was no one fixed set of standards against which art could be evaluated. Interestingly, it was only in the art department — where students scored lowest on self-direction — that I overheard students expressing concerns about "how they had done" in a particular class.

2. *Transmission of Interdependence*. The value of interdependence seems to be transmitted through four main mechanisms. Its first aspect, corporate consciousness, was promoted through: (a) patterns of classroom interaction; (b) overt endorsements by teachers; and (c) collective evaluation structures like "crits," in which students gather together to see each others' work, to hear the instructor comment on it, and to offer comments themselves.

The structure of the classroom interaction I observed tended (whether by accident or design) to encourage students to perceive themselves as a group. Teachers customarily addressed students as a group, using "you" to mean the group, rather than an individual. Teachers also made overt comments indicating that problems faced by the students as a group were faced by other visual artists, past and present: "Figure drawing is a challenge, no matter how long you've been doing it;" "the best way to improve your own work is to look at and learn from other people's work." The very structure of the "crit" implies that visual artists' basic challenges are similar enough to warrant group evaluation (contrast the solitary, one-on-one grading of a paper or exam in other kinds of post-secondary classes).

The second aspect of interdependence, rejection of competition and hierarchy, is conveyed through conventionalized ways of talking about quality, success, and related concepts. While competition for scarce resources like gallery and studio space and prestige hierarchies are very real for visual artists, I found that when they are discussed in art schools, their importance is downplayed and they are characterized as irrelevant to one's self-worth. For example, students learn to talk about competition and hierarchy using disclaimers which either indicate that the comparative judgments are purely subjective, or that the flaw being mentioned doesn't negate the worth of the artist: "that's just my reaction, of course"; or "her work may not have a lot of guts, but it's well thought out." And, students also learn to use a kind of "ritual humility" when they find themselves placed at an advantage in a competitive hierarchy: "You like those leaves? Thanks, I had an awfully hard time with them. I still think they're pretty static."

3. *Transmission of Means-Orientation*. Means-orientation seems to be transmitted through four main mechanisms. Its first aspect, emphasis on process over result, is conveyed through (a) endorsements by teachers, and (b) language containing implications of *action* to talk about art. As an example of the first, one teacher distributed a handout on the first day of class which was titled "Drawing — A Process" and said, "I regard drawing not as an object, but as an experience." As an example of the second, both teachers and students consistently used verbs, present participles, and phrases implying time and action to talk about drawings and paintings: "You've got some subtle things *going on there*;" "that's a complex set of *circumstances*;" "now try to figure out where the *action* is occurring."

Related to this emphasis on process is the second manifestation of means-orientation, the stress on innovation over efficiency. The original, rather than the replicable, is valued both at the group level (in relation to other artists) and the individual level (in relation to one's own prior work). Innovation is encouraged partly by the types of assignments given, such as those which deliberately incorporate chance effects into the work (e.g., an ink-and-paper "spill and find" exercise). Even on the rare occasions when students were told to copy a work by a "great master," it was in context of "helping you to be *more creative* in the long run." Innovation is also encouraged by praise for departures in style or experiments in form, to the extent that "different" became a compliment and "derivative" an insult.

4. *Transmission of Non-materialism*. The value of non-materialism is promoted through (a) endorsement by instructors; (b) patterns of speech that convey disapproval of materialism; and (c) peer sanctions on materialistic attitudes and behaviors.

In the classrooms I observed, few references were ever made either by teachers or students to the business aspects of art. Even when references were made, they were either (a) remarks indicating that high prices don't necessarily mean high quality, or (b) remarks suggesting that it is demeaning for artists to "pitch" their work to a market: "the minute you start making art to fit other people's specifications . . . then it'll be slick and dishonest." Indeed, the words "slick," "commercial," "gimmicky," and "in" were often employed in crits as negative terms referring to art geared to a specific set of buyers. Particular artists were sometimes criticized for pandering to consumers or for inflating prices, but within my hearing, none was ever criticized for the obverse.

Visual art students also socialize each other into non-materialism by giving peer support to non-materialistic behavior and peer sanctions to its opposite. A lot of student conversation concerned the probable financial problems that would accompany a visual art career, and mutual assurances that the psychic rewards would be "worth it." One sensed that talking about "getting rich" off of one's work would have flown in the face of most students' self-images, making one's motives for an art career suspect. This accords with the findings of Rosenberg and Fliegel (1970) that among New York vanguard painters and sculptors, salesmanship and business acumen are regarded as rather "sleazy" qualities best left to one's agent and dealer.

Certainly, not all of the individuals who are exposed to visual art education absorb the alternative values even at the very start of their education; in which case their schooling could be said only to strengthen, rather than to engender, commitment to alternative values. But on balance, diverse findings form this study, including demonstrable increase in student commitment to these values over time, indicated that these values were actively and effectively promoted in visual art educational processes through the various mechanisms I have outlined here.

Section IV. Summary and Discussion

In summary, the second hypothesis set out in the *Methodology* section above appears to be confirmed. In their training process, the West Coast visual artists studied absorbed four important values which differ significantly from the dominant American value profile, but which are congruent with the work process they are learning. Each of these alternative values can be plausibly related to ways in which visual art work differs from the work process typical of most other segments of the American economy. This finding is consistent with theoretical literature in the social sciences which posits a general "fit" between ideational culture and the economic imperatives that different workers must obey. It is also consistent with education literature that sees schooling as a mechanism for transmitting a "hidden curriculum" of values, attitudes, and behaviors appropriate to socially constructed work roles, along with the actual work skills which are the manifest curriculum.

What are the implications of this finding for the question, "Why is the American visual artist still perceived as 'weird,' 'deviant,' and 'different,' 150 years after the youthful Victor Hugo and his Bohemian confreres set out to *epater les bourgeoises*?" I suggest that the stereotype persists because the public's perceptions are partly accurate. To the extent that they have internalized and behave according to the four nonmajoritarian values described herein, visual artists really are "different." What the "person in the street" may not realize, though, is that the visual artist has not in most cases chosen to adhere to alternative values casually, randomly, or out of a kind of diffuse contempt for the dominant profile. Instead, the visual artists are simply responding to the atypical nature of their work process. To do otherwise — to cling to the more widely accepted values of conformity, competitive individualism, pragmatism, and materialism under working conditions where they would be dysfunctional — would only set the visual artist up for continual frustration. Perhaps if laypeople understood the functional "fit" between artists' work and values, they would be less inclined to express the contempt, hostility, or bafflement for artists which my professional informants said they encountered all too often. I hope that the findings presented here may contribute in some small way to such understanding.

But even that seeming contempt, hostility, and bafflement may be a more complex phenomenon than laypeople or most visual artists themselves have realized. Several of the professional artists whom I interviewed suggested, independently of one another, that what looks on the surface like public contempt for the visual artist's "nonconformity" may really be a form of envy, stemming from an inchoate awareness that visual art work is different — and ultimately, in certain ways, more satisfying — than the work most Americans do. One artist said: "People look at what we do and they think, 'Hey, that's not a real job. That's fun.'" Or, as another put it: "You look at some poor slob who's turning bolts on the line from eight to five, and then you look at me — I'm my own boss, I set my own hours, I'm doing something I love to do, and I'm still getting paid. No wonder he is jealous of me." A third point was made that "different" doesn't always carry a negative connotation: "When I tell people I'm an artist, some look at me funny, but some say 'that's neat.' They think I'm more creative than they are, more free." If this interpretation of public attitudes is correct — if the "weird" stereotype contains a strong admixture of envy and admiration — then the lesson of these findings may not so much be that we should help other workers understand artists, but that we should make other kinds of work more like art. It may be that the same atypical qualities which inspire alternative values also make visual art more compelling and rewarding than the labor that most American workers do. If that is the case, then, given the strong connection researchers have found between work satisfaction and quality of life (U. S. Department of H.E.W., 1973), it should not surprise us when visual artists cling to their craft in the face of uncertain and often meager external reward. Unlike all too many of their fellow workers, they may simply be, as one of my informants put it, "doing what they love."

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Notes

1. Since these data were collected in 1976-'77, there have been many changes in the art world, not the least of which are the increased use of mechanized technology in, for example, video and computer art, and a de-emphasis on the object as in, for example, conceptual and performance art. Still, students continue to train in the traditional skills of the visual artist, such as drawing and painting, to aspire for careers based on the production of visual art works, and to find outlets for visual art in major galleries around the United States. Judging from my own recent and occasional "spot visits" to drawing and painting classes in my present workplace, it is my impression that the general training conditions described herein for the aspiring visual artist have changed very little since these data were derived, and that they therefore remain both relevant and useful for understanding the work role of the visual artist in the modern United States. Certainly, it is hoped that scholars interested in the social role of the American artist will conduct future studies tailored to the schooling experience of computer, video, conceptual, and performance artists, detailing the ways in which their work processes and socializations compare to those described here.
2. For a full discussion of the sociological and anthropological literature on the social role of the artist, see Field (1979, 1983).
3. For a full account of the methodology and theoretical framework employed in deriving these data, see Field (1979).
4. For a complete account of the responses thus derived, see Field (1979).
5. Even at the time these data were collected, some painting students were experimenting with "high tech" tools like airbrush equipment, but most were still working with the traditional equipment of pencil, conté, charcoal, paint, and brushes.
6. One of the anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Multi-cultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* stated that some contemporary visual artists use apprentices or assistants to do the "labor intensive" parts of their works, much as did some Renaissance masters, and are thus not responsible for the whole work process. While I have no reason to doubt that this may occur, I can only say that, in my own field work experience, I never came across a single visual artist who engaged in such practices. The only time such practices came up in interviews was with reference to Taiwanese "painting mills" where, allegedly, different painters are assigned different parts of a landscape or floralscape on an "assembly-line" basis; and my informants expressed nothing but disdain for that organization of the art work process.
7. For a fuller discussion, see Field (1984).
8. For a historical account of how innovation came to be a Western aesthetic *desideratum*, see White and White (1965).
9. Several informants described their art work as a form of research, e.g., "I like art that breaks new ground, that makes discoveries, just like in physics." Rosenberg credits T.S. Eliot with formulating the "research" metaphor in the arts: "It is exactly as wasteful for a poet to do what has been done already as for a biologist to rediscover Mendel's discoveries" (1972, p. 212).

10. *Individualism*, connoting an atomistic view of the human being engaged in a Hobbesian war of "all against all," should not be confused with *individuality*, a willingness or eagerness to assert one's uniqueness in distinction to prevailing customs and norms. For a fuller discussion of the important differences between these two concepts, see Hsu (1972).

Table 1

Informant responses to the question,
"Whom do you most prefer to please with your artwork?

Response	Art Students	Professional Artists
Myself	35 (73%)	57 (76%)
Someone else	11 (23%)	9 (12%)
No difference	0 (0%)	9 (12%)
No response	2 (4%)	0 (0%)
TOTAL	48 (100%)	75 (100%)

Table 2

Proportion of students answering "yes" to the question, "Do you think you have a pretty clear idea of what (you, your teacher, & the student you know best) would mean if (you or they) said that something was a "good" piece of art?

Response	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Self	16 (100%)	13 (86.7%)	14 (82.4%)
Teacher	14 (87.5%)	12 (80.0%)	13 (76.5%)
Student	10 (62.5%)	13 (87.7%)	7 (41.2%)

Table 3

Student comments showing solidarity with peers and instructors, containing implications of hierarchy, or expressing ritualized humility. (Broken down by number of comments, number of days, and average comments per day)

Type of Comment:	Art School (No./Days/Average per day)			Art Department (No./Days/Average per day)			Alternative (No./Days/Average per day)		
With student vs. instructor	9	38*	.2	5	52*	.1	0	41*	0.0
With instructor vs. student	3	38	.08	0	52	0.0	0	41	0.0
Containing implications of hierarchy	0	23**	0.0	4	19**	.2	2	17**	.1
Expressing ritualized humility	5	23	.2	11	19	.6	6	17	.4

* Daily and spot-visit classes combined

** Daily classes only

Table 4

Student responses to the question, "If you were to become a professional artist, what would you imagine would be your greatest satisfaction?

Response	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Intrinsic satisfaction of work itself	9 (56.3%)	7 (46.7%)	11 (64.7%)
Positive feedback from other people	5 (31.3%)	7 (46.7%)	4 (23.5%)
Don't Know	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (11.8%)
TOTAL	16 (100.1%)	15 (100%)	17 (100%)

Table 5

Professional artists' responses to the question, "How did you happen to choose the branch of art you are in?"

Reasons for Choice	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Financial reasons	7 (35%)	10 (27%)	3 (16.7%)
Non-financial reasons	13 (65%)	27 (73%)	15 (83.3%)
TOTAL	20 (100%)	37 (100%)	18 (100%)

Table 6

Professional artists' responses to the question, "Why do you think most people choose your branch of art?"

Response	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Financial reasons	7 (35%)	13 (35.1%)	7 (38.9%)
Non-financial reasons	7 (35%)	12 (32.4%)	5 (27.8%)
Can't generalize, doesn't know, not applicable	6 (30%)	12 (32.4%)	6 (33.3%)
TOTAL	20 (100%)	37 (99.9%)	18 (100%)

Table 7

Students anticipating major financial problems in an artist's career

Anticipated Problems	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Financial	10 (62.5%)	6 (40%)	6 (35.3%)
Other than Financial	6 (37.5%)	9 (60%)	11 (64.7%)
TOTAL	16 (100%)	15 (100%)	17 (100%)

Table 8

Student responses to the question, "What would you ideally like to do with the training you are receiving in art?

Response	Art School	Art Department	Alternative
Fine arts career	6 (37.5%)	5 (33.3%)	4 (23.5%)
Commercial art career	3 (18.8%)	5 (33.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Art teaching career	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Other arts careers	1 (6.3%)	1 (6.7%)	1 (5.9%)
Self-fulfillment and enjoyment	3(18.8%)	1 (6.7%)	12 (70.6%)
Don't Know	1 (6.3%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0.0%)
TOTAL*	16(100.2%)	15 (100%)	17 (100%)

Review

Making the Unknown More Knowable Through Picturebooks

Kenneth Marantz

> Flower in the crannied wall;
> I pluck you out of the crannies,
> I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower — but *if* I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is.
>
> Tennyson[1]

For some fortunate folk, thinking is a linear process, one notion following in the footsteps of another — single-file fashion. My thought processes resemble more the mythical tower of Babel with its simultaneous mingling of many voices. I blame my age or perhaps, better put, my aging for the general anonymity of these disconnected, disembodied messages. The matter of considering so complex a concern as "multicultural art education" has stimulated a particularly cacophonous chorus in my mind.[2]

Tempting as it may be to try to sort out into categories the arguments that I hear and to take sides in the rising debate about the assorted values (if any), inherent in adding yet another burden to overcrowded school curricula, I simply accept the several reasons proponents offer. Fundamentally, the message is a positive one: studying how other people live their lives adds to the self-esteem of youngsters from these groups and helps the so-called "mainstream" children to better understand that *different* need not mean less valuable. There are both practical and more amorphously imaginative goals to be gained by becoming involved with the customs and beliefs of others. Among the many means that art teachers (probably all teachers) have to realize these goals, I have discovered that picturebooks are particularly potent. For example, they are an excellent means for teaching about diverse groups of people.

Just today, on the radio, a businessman described a *faux pas* he made while visiting a colleague's home in Japan. Finding no obvious place to rest his chopsticks, he stuck them upright into the bowl of sticky rice, not realizing that the gesture symbolized the commemoration of a death. How many such conventions must be learned before one can be considered "culturally literate" in Japanese? Indeed, in what way does understanding this custom (even learned the hard way through personal embarrassment) move us into a comprehensive knowledge of a complex society? And who should have been more embarrassed, the Japanese host for failing to tell his guest how to handle non-American eating tools, or the sensitive-but-ignorant American? Understanding requires common referents, whether in abstractions like words, or in concrete behaviors like dealing with chopsticks. Considering the practical impossibility of learning all languages and all behaviors, how do we choose which and how many? Even in the microcosm of our "artworld," the choices are virtually infinite.

Of course, there are those who have made the choices for us, who have identified key monuments[3] or made lists of names to be memorized in order to be accepted as "culturally literate,"[4] or have produced a range of curriculum materials guaranteed to help children appreciate alien cultures.[5] There is, to my way of thinking, a supposition made by such "experts" that the objects they identify have certain inalienable rights as vessels of aesthetic value. They treat schooling (maybe even education) as a terminal disease; not deadly, but necessary to provide a form of immunization against future aesthetic infection. And they can create the necessary diagnostic tests to make sure that enough of these objects have been ingested to guarantee a cure.[6]

But I don't believe that objects are sacred, self-contained entities whose qualities have been discovered and then divulged by some expert, be they called historian, critic, philosopher, or even anthropologist.[7] Rather, the stuff someone fashions becomes a potential experience for some others,[8] and it's the wonder of our individual capacities that each of us creates something personal from our encounters with these objects.[9] A moment's reflection on the nature of translation[10] points out this obvious relationship between stimulation and response. Things (artifacts, objects, stuff, etc.) are potentially useful, and only local social conventions define what is an appropriate use. To make of art a religion with holy icons that have prescribed meanings runs against my grain. I'd prefer that art teachers help their students extend their range of experiences so that more and profounder responses become possible, to open up meanings rather than put blinders on visions.

Yet, such a confession is hardly a fresh universal insight. Perhaps I can produce a new wrinkle on the old cloth by describing some objects which may provide illuminating experiences to help penetrate the darkness of distant cultures. The picturebooks annotated below, through the twin lenses of story and pictures, have the potential to inform and to tickle the imaginative funny bone. The stories evoke qualities of cultural values, some of the mythic substructures that help define a cohesive group of people. And the illustrations contribute information of person and place, as well as add significantly to the emotional content of the total work. I've tried to identify those books which present an authentic sense of the originating culture and have eliminated those which play cute and pretty or which tend to overly Westernize words or pictures.[11] Obviously, picturebooks like these are an invention of recent European history. But their traditional form, for us, makes their contents accessible, in some ways more so than a documentary film and surely much more so than isolated art museum items — either in original form or the typically promiscuous reproduction. In plucking these picturebook flowers from their cultural matrices and opening our senses up to them, we come a bit closer to understanding the nature of their generation. Yet, like Tennyson's flower, there *never* can be that kind of complete understanding, the sort that destroys the mystery of the yet unknown. More likely, investing ourselves in these picture stories will push the horizons of our prejudgments, increase our powers of speculation, and enhance that sense of wonder which is at the roots of all art.

The Books

I've annotated a score of titles from historical and geographical cultures. Obviously, there are hundreds, probably many hundreds of books in English and/or another language that have qualities to help readers transcend time and place, to inform them by adding facts to their intellectual storehouses and to move them emotionally. Librarians are superbly equipped to help you locate such books.

1. Carole Bayard (text by Phil Mendez). *The Black Snowman*. New York: Scholastic, 1989.

Contemporary African-American urban youngsters make snowmen from dirty snow — black snowmen. They also keep the spiritual traditions of their ancestors in this story of living magic of a scrap of Kente cloth. Roughly worked pastels depict the dark snowy streets and Jacob's dreams in commanding style, in ways to make us believe in the miracle played out for us.

2. Jennifer Bent (text by John Agard). *The Calypso Alphabet*. New York: Henry Hold, 1989.

Learn the lingo, feel the beat of the language in the one-liners that caption each word. The black scratch-board scenes of Caribbean life are ink-stained with the intense purples and oranges of a tropical lifestyle — one that works with nature and plays with the richness of

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the spiritual mysteries.

3. Marcia Brown. *Once a Mouse* . . . New York: Scribners, 1961.

This Caldecott gold medal winner remains a most effective retelling of an Indian fable told in very limited text and vigorous woodcuts printed in olives and golds and brick reds — hues that evoke both the heat of that country and the forest's cool. Animals are depicted to emphasize basic character, and the turbaned, skinny wiseman is the epitome of all fakirs and potent god-figures, simultaneously.

4. Paul Goble. *Death of the Iron Horse*. New York: Bradbury Press, 1989.

This is one of about ten books Goble has authored dealing with American Indians. Each is based on recorded events. This one is about a Cheyenne destruction of a Union Pacific train. Goble's stylized visualizations spring from some paintings done by Plains Indians on hides, but which are clearly contemporary in design. Text and pictures offer a sympathetic, non-Hollywood story, one that expresses the feelings of the Cheyenne warriors as they attempt to halt the inevitable invasion of the aliens from the East.

5. Ann Grifalconi. *Darkness and the Butterfly*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1987.

Fear of the dark is a universal human emotion. Osa overcomes her fear with the help of an old woman in her African village. The long vertical paintings describe the daily activities of the villages and the surrounding forest in a soft-edged, secure, romantic way. The setting is African, but Osa's concerns can reach all of us.

6. Roberto Innocenti (text by R. Innocenti and C. Gallaz). *Rose Blanche*. Mankato, Minnesota: Creative Education, 1985.

This book is about Germany toward the end of World War II as perceived by a ten-year-old girl. This allegory about the evils of war is told in almost caption-simple text but brought poignantly to life in very realistic, full-page pictures. The town is reconstructed for us brick by brick. The neighboring forest that hid its concentration camp has each twig, each barb on the wire painted. The only scene that isn't depicted as overcast is the last one after Rose Blanche is killed. This work is about the culture of war that a child can absorb.

7. Frane Lessac (text by Charlotte Pomerantz). *The Chalk Doll*. New York: Lippincott, 1989.

A Jamaican mother chats with her young daughter about her growing up on the island. The full-page paintings are done in flat opaque colors in a child-like style. The impression is both one of a simpler, even idyllic life and a sympathetic story of a mother-daughter relationship.

8. Pili Madelbaum. *You be Me, I'll be You*. Brooklyn: Kane/Miller

Books, 1990.

There is substance to the problem which children of mixed color face. This joyful story of a young girl's concern about not looking like her Caucasian father is told with respect and humor. Using household materials (coffee, flour, etc.), the father makes himself browner and his daughter whiter. They go out to shop and observe other people (at the hairdressers and suntan parlors) trying to change their looks. The cut-paper constructions are extremely effective in focusing our attention on the characters and in creating genuine emotions. The use of "coffee-milk" as the key metaphor points to the original French — another cultural insight for Americans who deny their children coffee. It allows a poetic ending when the girl tells her mother that she's the product of "a piece of moon that falls into a cup of coffee."

9. Min Paek. *Aekyung's Dream*. San Francisco: Children's Book Press, 1988.

A young Korean immigrant's integration into American life is made easier because she always keeps her heritage in mind, in her dreams. Told in hand-calligraphed English and Korean, the pictures are also a blend of Oriental subject matter and colors with a Western hard-edged approach to composition. The text spells out her initial feelings of alienation and the overt prejudice exhibited by Aekyung's schoolmates. By expressing her dreams about her Korean home, she is able to gain both the respect of others and herself. There is a bit of information about Korea here and a good deal more about what it means to be a human being.

10. Hans Poppel (retold by Aliana Brodmann). *Such a Noise!* Brooklyn: Kane/Miller Books, 1989.

This book provides a glimpse of the way things "were" in the Old Country for rural Jews. This often retold tale spotlights the rabbi's common-sense wisdom as he instructs a farmer with a noise problem on how to get rid of it. Poppel's naturalistic watercolors describe scene after scene of visual chaos as the farm animals, one by one, are brought into the house. Yet these very well-crafted pictures fail to make a loud enough noise. They lack the intensity, the chromatic contrasts demanded by the text.

11. Deborah Kogan Ray (text by Brett Harvey). *Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street*. New York: Holiday House, 1987.

New York's East Side, pre-World War I, teems with the immigrants who fled Russian and Polish cruelty. The black, somewhat blurry pencil drawings are just the medium to suggest the life that young Becky lives: the fifth floor walk-up, sweat shops, street markets, religious and recreational events. Interspersed with Yiddish words (there is a glossary), the longish text helps make specific the more generalized pictures. Both combine to draw readers into the hearts of Becky's family.

12. Joe Sane (retold in English by H. Rohmer, O. Chow, and M. Vidaure; Spanish version by R. Zubizarreta and A. F. Ada). *The Invisible Hunters*. San Francisco: Children's Book Press, 1989.

From the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua comes this legend about the corruption that comes with progress. The spirit world helps us as long as we remain true to our heritage. The texts are simple, relatively flat narratives. But the illustrations, in contrast, are vividly expressionistic cut paper and paint scenes that exude an other worldliness, that stimulate the mythic receptors in us. Jungle leaves are Matisse-like in their deft vigor; animals emerge from marblized paper cuttings; stenciled white shapes evoke the emptiness of the strangers' spirits as well as those of the eternally damned errant hunters.

13. Allen Say (text by Dianne Snyder). *The Boy of the Three-Year Nap*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988.

A Japanese folktale is the structure for Say's somewhat Westernized visualizations of traditional village life. The architecture, dress, and occupations are all from 18th century woodcuts, and the human interactions are universal in combining superstition and human cleverness.

14. Veronique Tadjo. *Lord of the Dance*. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1988.

A poetic hymn to those supernatural forces that transcend time and place. Based on Senufu paintings, although using bright flat colors instead of the traditional brown, the retelling of the role of the carved mask in African spiritual life is both informative of that role and of the West's attempt to destroy it. By maintaining a visual sense of Senufu life, albeit in the stylizations of its tribal practices, the power of this mysterious artifact is enhanced.

15. Joanna Troughton. *How Night Came*. New York: Bedrick/Blackie, 1986.

From the rain forests of the Amazon comes this legend of the creation of the living creatures when night was set free by the Great Snake. The telling is clipped, but the double-page spreads are redolent with the vibrant greens of uncurbed growth and the brilliant plummage and skins of the jungle's fauna. It's easy to be sucked into this exotic world, to feel the wet heat of the river and to be frightened by the crouching, glowering jaguar.

16. Julie Vivas (by Elizabeth Hathorn). *The Train to Bondi Beach*. Brooklyn: Kane/Miller Books, 1989.

It's the washy watercolors with their brown inkline drawings that tell us about the time and place of this story of early boyhood. The specifics of car styles, bathing suits, and people's hats tell us much more than the text about the "yesterday look." That it's Australia is of no importance, apparently. It's a Caucasian world we see, somewhere by the sea. Vivas' pictures present that world in a loving, almost dreamy fashion, but she provides all manner of details so that we become participants in that dream. Her compositions of active people, involved even as they sit on the tram, create a reality of which we want to be a part.

17. Stephen Von Mason (told by James de Souza, adapted by Harriet Rohmer; Spanish version by Rosalina Zubizarretta). *Brother Anansi*. San Francisco: Children's Book Press, 1989.

Anansi, the trickster, came to the Americas with the first Africans. In this story from Central America, he takes human form to outwit an anthropomorphic jaguar who has won the lottery. The full-page paintings vibrate with sharply contrasting yellows and blacks, shimmer with lush greens and are sparked by spikey blue waters. The stylized characters, drawn with heavy black outlines, are composed in flat landscapes that are at times surreal. This is a funny story that visually pokes us in our ribs. That we tend to side with the trickster tells us something about the keepers of this folktale.

18. Ian Wallace (text by Jan Andrews). *Very Last First Time*. New York: Atheneum, 1986.

For those of us who visualize the Inuits living in a colorless white world, this setting of a young girl's first solo hunt for mussels under the ice pictures quite another one, more an impressionistic blending of purples and blues with orange-tinged clouds. The seabottom lit by Eva's candles is beautiful but spooky; and the lifestyle of her village with its frame houses and electrical appliances show the contrasting complexity of this culture.

19. Ed Young. *Lon Po Po*. New York: Philomel, 1989.

An ancient Chinese folktale that captures a bit of Chinese culture but exposes even more of the universal human delight in stories of youthful courage overcoming evil. Here, three young sisters kill a wolf masquerading as their grandmother. Young centers the story on attributes of the gingko nut as the magnet which draws the wolf to his death. The visuals are expressionistically used paint and pastels which produce intense hues and misty blacks that contrast with gutsy reds and pinks. Young sets them all in vertical panels, the thinner ones reminiscent of Chinese hangings. Girls can be brave and smart in all cultures.

20. Margot Zemach. *It Could Always be Worse*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1976.

Compare this with Poppel's orchestration of the same Yiddish folktale. Watercolors are used to exaggerate poverty, small quarters, and human and animal behavior. There is a Chagall-like quality to some scenes, where everything seems to be flying through the air. The pictures resound with individual characters whose ensemble playing create a coherent score which exemplifies the village culture of the story.

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Notes

1. Ricks, C. B. (1987). *The poems of Tennyson*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. "Flower in the Crannied Wall," 1870.
2. Some six years ago, a colleague (Professor Rogena Degge) and I got "caught in the maelstrom of scholarly debate about cross-cultural values" and sought our mutual salvation in a paper we delivered at INSEA's Congress in Bath, England. "Seeking Cultural Understanding: Gaining Empathetic Knowing Through the Art of the Picturebook," April, 1985, used philosophical and anthropological tools to build our case. More recent publications devoted to concerns about art and culture (although not about picturebooks per se) include F. G. Chalmers (1987), "Culturally Based Versus Universally Based Understanding of Art" in Blandy and Congdon (Eds.), *Art in a Democracy*, (1987). New York: Teachers College Press. And also J. Clifford (1988), *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnographic Literature and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University.
3. Try H. W. Janson's *Key Monuments of the History of Art (1959): A Visual Survey* or most any history of art text or course.
4. E. D. Hirsch's (1987) *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, with its list of trivial facts proved very popular with the Scrabble crowd.
5. For example, check out recent issues of *School Arts and Activities* for practical examples or read M. Andrews (1984), "A Multicultural Art Implementation Project" in *Art Education*, *36*(5).
6. With additional funding now going to the National Endowment for the Arts, I am convinced that the push for a national set of art tests (for students and teachers) will "move forward." If you were on the team, what items would you include that you know every child and/or adult in America should know?
7. These experts tell stories, even as you and I, and what they tell us about is constantly being retold by new generations. *How* they set their tales is what attracts an audience rather than the substance of their claims.
8. C. Pepper, *Principles of Art Appreciation*, (1949). New York: Harcourt Brace. "A great work of art, in our view, is the potentiality of a vivid and satisfactory human experience. The possibility of that experience lies in the structure of the physical object . . . the condition for our having an experience lies in ourselves."
9. D. Macaulay's *Motel of the Mysteries* (1979), Houghton Mifflin: Boston, is a delightful spoof of archaeology that points out how "artistic intent" and idiosyncratic appreciation can tell equally plausible but different stories.

10. G. Steiner's *After Babel* (1975), New York: Oxford University, explores the complexity of translating in his usual comprehensive and argumentative way. This work will command more than a "moment's reflection."

11. Where possible, I've chosen books created by natives of the cultures presented in the stories. Yet, when I think of the Tokyo Quartet superbly playing Mozart, I realize how this sort of limitation denies the value of education. The list does stress quality in both the verbal and the visual shaping of the stories. When possible, multiple interpretations can be exploited to point out the value of idiosyncratic responses.

Review

Allison, B. (Ed.) (1987). Special Theme: Art Education and Creativity. *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education*. Paris, FR: United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 61st year, no. 244/245, 3rd and 4th quarters.

Reviewed by Doug Blandy
University of Oregon.

The United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has as its purpose facilitating international cooperation and understanding. As such, this organization is known for its promotion of justice, law, human rights, and other basic freedoms. Noteworthy among the projects that it has supported are the historic preservation efforts associated with the Aswan Dam in Egypt, research on the peaceful applications of nuclear energy through the European Council for Nuclear Research, and its general support of museums and humanistic study throughout the world.

UNESCO was established in 1946 and currently consists of 131 member nations. The United States is not among them. In the mid-1980s, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Singapore canceled their membership for a number of reasons, including a charge that UNESCO was ideologically biased in favor of third world or non-industrialized nations. Such organizations as the American Library Association, the American Association of University Professors, the American Psychological Association, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science are currently urging the Bush Administration to reconsider its absence among the member nations.

Through UNIPUB, UNESCO publishes books and monographs that present issues related to education, science, geography, culture, social sciences, communication, and law. UNIPUB also publishes the periodicals *The Courier*, *Museum*, and the *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education*. The International Bureau of Education supports comparative studies in education. Although the Bureau was independently founded in Geneva in 1926, it became a part of UNESCO in 1969. It claims intellectual and functional autonomy from UNESCO. The *Bulletin*, a quarterly periodical formerly titled *Education Documentation and Information*, is designed so that each issue promotes a special theme through an analytical introduction complimented by an annotated bibliography. Themes have included family, education for rural development, environmental education, education of women in developing countries, and special education. Each issue also contains a non-theme related section on recent educational policy literature and an "awareness list" of publications of interest.

Brian Allison, from the International Society for Education through Art (INSEA) and Leicester Polytechnic, United Kingdom, was invited by the International Bureau of Education to edit a theme issue of the *Bulletin* on art education and creativity. This theme issue is only the second on an arts-related area in ten years (the first being an issue on aesthetics in 1978). The Bureau's purpose for this issue of the *Bulletin*, as stated in the Preface, is to "contribute to the cross-fertilization of ideas and practices at an international level" (p. 3) that would take into account developments since the issue on aesthetic education in 1978. INSEA, with Allison as its representative, was invited to participate because of the international reputation of its members. In this way, the Bureau could ensure that the annotated bibliography and the editorial process would be equal to its purpose for the issue.

Allison's introduction to the bibliography articulates a view of art and art education that is culture bound and as diverse as the numbers of cultures represented in the world. He promotes this view through a discussion of the limitations of viewing art as a universal language, theories of child art, and a discussion of cultural commonalities and differences. This latter discussion includes remarks on the development of INSEA and the concurrent recognition of diverse definitions of art. Allison brings to his discussion a European and American bias that precludes a thorough consideration of this topic from the point of view of artists and art educators not subscribing to the study of art and art education as it has emerged in the United States and Europe. However, despite this limitation, his introductory essay is extremely valuable as a primer on the development of cross-cultural and multicultural views on art and art education in the United States and Europe. This introductory essay also promotes a view in which cultural rights are also human rights.

The bibliography on art and creativity that follows Allison's introduction was compiled under Allison's direction by sixty-one editorial contributors representing thirty-nine nations. The United States was represented by Al Hurwitz, Maryl Fletcher De Jong, Larry Kantner, Caryl-Ann Miller, and Yvette Jayson Spencer. Other editorial contributors representing other nations will be well-known to readers in the United States. These include Anna Mae Barbosa from Brazil, Graeme Chalmers from Canada, and John Steers from the United Kingdom.

The bibliography is divided into three parts. The first part is titled as an "Annotated Bibliography" of books and reports. The second part is a "Select Bibliography" on the foundations of art education theory (aesthetics/philosophy/sociology, historical development), curriculum (survey/review of practices; practices, assessment, and evaluation; guidelines and policies), reports and databases (INSEA Congresses, Conferences, databases, and bibliographies). The third part is titled "Journals and Periodicals". The "Annotated Bibliography" is divided into listings by nation. Each listing consists of name(s) of author(s), title in original language, English translated title, place of publication, date, and numbers of pages. This bibliographic information is followed by several sentences that describe the book or report. These descriptions tend to be non-critical of content. The "Select Bibliography" is also divided by nations with subject headings listed with reference numbers referring the reader back to the "Annotated Bibliography". The "Journals and Periodicals" bibliography also divides listings by nation. Each listing contains the title of the journal or periodical, how often it is issued, and address of the publisher. This is followed by an annotation of several sentences that tends to be non-critical of content.

It is likely that this bibliography can promote the "cross-fertilization of ideas and practices" that the Bureau of Education desires. It certainly promotes international access to scholarship and documents that may not be readily known in any given country. It also allows for cross-national speculations and comparisons. Such observations will allow art educators throughout the world to reflect upon areas of emphasis or neglect within their own countries and how these might be modified if considered in the way in which such issues are considered in other parts of the world. In addition, global trends can be identified. For example, my reading of the bibliography revealed an international community of art educators who tend to emphasize the education of children and youth over adults and who give equal emphasis to theory and practice. This community is moderately interested in curriculum development, multi-arts approaches, and teacher training and in-service. Of little interest at the present time is art education as studio education, the history of art education, and adult education.

The bibliography also reveals areas of importance within nations. For example, the listings for China emphasize textbooks for students at all levels of education, including post-degree study. In Kenya and Paraguay, emphasis is given to indigenous art forms, native culture, and/or the use of local materials. Art educators in Ghana and Brazil are looking at such traditional art forms as a basis for contemporary art. Art educators in the United Kingdom are open to multi-disciplinary influences on art education and creativity. Aesthetics, psychology, history, sociology, and design are among the disciplines represented in their listings. Indian art educators see a place for peace education within art education.

Of seeming unimportance to art educators at the present time, particularly in developed nations, is speculation on the relation of art and creativity to indigenous or fourth world people living within developed nations. Listings for Australia, Canada, China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States, all nations with sizable indigenous or fourth world populations, reveal little consideration for this constituency. This is not to imply that within listings there may be some discussion, but where that discussion is located is not indicated. In addition, the bibliography reveals little information on the art education of people experiencing disabilities.

These two omissions by the international art education community who contributed to this bibliography are probably symptomatic of a larger problem that I see as the one weakness in this publication. There is little emphasis given to art education as it exists in third world or non-industrialized countries or among representatives of such countries living within industrialized nations or art education from a minority group perspective. Only fifteen of the thirty-nine nations represented in this bibliography are not from North America or Europe. South America is represented by four nations, Africa by five including Egypt, and the near east by only Israel and Qatar. It would be interesting to know if such countries as Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Nepal, Pakistan, and the Ivory Coast were invited to participate. If so, the reasons for their absence would be of great interest. If not invited, I hope such invitations would be extended in the future. I believe that an international perspective on art education would be enriched and be more representative, through the identification of resources like those available on the efforts to democratize culture in Nicaragua, Judith Baca's work with Chicano muralists in Los Angeles, and the education of Thanka painters in Nepal.

Despite this limitation, there is much to recommend this issue and other issues of the Bulletin to art educators. With communication systems being as sophisticated as they are, art educators would be irresponsible to not be aware of what is occurring beyond the geopolitical boundaries within which they work. This publication assists in mitigating such a circumstance. The important purpose of this publication might be to function as the impetus for art educators to work with professional art education associations in advocating on behalf of renewing the United States' membership in UNESCO. *The Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education* and other UNESCO publications can be obtained by writing to UNIPUB, 4611-F Assembly Drive, Lanham, MD 20706-4391, USA.

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CORRECTION

In the 1988 issue, in the "Prologue" by Doug Blandy and Kristin G. Congdon, in the sentence beginning "For example" on Page 4, line 38, Chalmers is incorrectly referenced as stating that the first art history professor was appointed in Gottingham. The appointment was in Gottingen.

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2. Although authors worldwide are encouraged to submit manuscripts for consideration, all communication and manuscripts must be in English.

3. Manuscripts for short articles (1,000-1,500 words) as well as longer manuscripts (3,500-4,000 words) are acceptable. Book reviews are also acceptable and should contain elements of the content as well as the reviewer's critical opinion. Manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced (including references), on one side of 8 1/2" x 11" white paper. It is very helpful for publication purposes if the manuscript is word processed on MacIntosh Microsoft Word (versions 3.0, 3.1, 3.2, or 4.0), MacWrite (version 4.5), or Microsoft Works (version 1.1) and submitted along with a 3.5 diskette; however, this is not required.

4. Reference style is that described in the American Psychological Association's *Publication Manual* (3rd ed. 1983, Rev. 1984); or in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, (13th ed., 1982), University of Chicago Press. Both publications also provide information relating to content, organization, and writing style.

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Fall 1990 • Volume 8, Number 1

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The Ofamfa is an Adinkera symbol meaning a measure of critical examination, taken from the Ashanti culture

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This issue of *JMCRAE* was underwritten by the United States Society for Education Through Art (USSEA), with additional support from the University of Oregon Department of Art Education and Office of the Dean of the School of Architecture and Allied Arts.

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Editorials

Rogena M. Degge, Editor

Being editor of an international journal brings with it many challenges. Deciding on appropriate nomenclature to describe racial or cultural groups is one challenge. For example, in this issue Barrett and Rab use the terms black and white in referring to race. Current emerging terms are African-American and Euro-American. The editorial choice to use the terms black and white was made in consultation with the authors who asked us to retain consistency in order to reflect the actual terms used by all those who participated in the study. Since quotes frequently contained these terms, only some of the terms could have been changed anyway. Also, the terms are currently still widely acceptable within both racial groups and generally considered not pejorative. The same article uses the term Appalachian. How acceptable this term is among these people is a question; its use in the Midwest and South is pervasive. Campanelli, Stuhr and Barger-Cottrill, in their paper, use the terms Wisconsin Indian and American Indian instead of Native American because this is preferred by the Wisconsin Indian people. In the Dufrene paper, Native American and Euro-American are used and racial nomenclature is discussed. The de Barcza study reveals that in Fiji both Ethnic Fijians (of Melanesian descent) and Indo-Fijians reside, and traditional Fijian arts come from both groups. Stokrocki uses the term Dutch/Indonesian in her paper.

A second challenge facing all editors is accuracy. This may be accuracy of quotations. As the corrections page discloses, quoting errors can accidentally happen. Related to this, a person may feel her or his views are misrepresented by another writer. The extent to which an editor can be an unerring watchdog for these circumstances is problematic. In a different case, Lovano-Kerr's paper on the 1988 Issue on DBAE discloses how strongly she felt that DBAE was misrepresented. Her reflection paper was invited based on my belief in the professional presentation of controversial views and value of open dialog.

A third and continuing challenge for editors of this journal is in determining the meaning of terms such as *cultural*. Some readers may be quite resolved on this matter, but for most it is not a closed issue. In this issue Barrett and Rab regard gay people as a sub-culture. The student reflections article suggests that blind people can be viewed as a cultural group. The same article reminds us that most cultures are made up of many influences from other countries over many centuries. Stokrocki uses the term cultural more in line with traditional anthropology in addressing descriptive methods. Thus, cultural expression, cultural uniqueness, cross-cultural, multicultural and so forth are extensively complex concepts. As editor, I choose to not reject evolving meanings and plausible uses of terms such as cultural.

A fourth challenge is the orientation of a journal. Of course, orientation may be directly shaped by editors, such as the past issue of this journal on DBAE which was largely socio-political. Or, orientation may reflect the nature of the articles submitted and accepted for publication by the journal reviewers. Most journals change over time for both these reasons. Several of the articles in this issue reflect political agendas. This reflects the range of submissions we received. Perhaps this is coincidental or an indication of the nature of much current multicultural and cross-cultural inquiry. I hope the broadest range of culture-based research will continue to be submitted.

A most critical challenge facing an editor of an academic journal is funding. As you may know, recently the University of Oregon and the entire state higher education system have been dealt a tremendous, financial blow. Among cuts of two entire colleges on our campus, all certification programs have been eliminated. The Department of Art Education will retain all faculty but undergo a significant transition and name change, with our non-certification and graduate programs remaining. Support staff and funds for the student Associate Editor position will not be available and, so, guest editors Ronald Neperud and Doug Marschalek have been selected for the next issue. It will be a special issue containing only papers from the September 1991 USSEA conference in Columbus, Ohio. Therefore, the next issue will be influenced partly by the USSEA past president, Robert Saunders, who has guided the focus of papers to be presented at the conference, and it will be further shaped by the guest editors. It is with regret that this temporary transfer of editorship will affect our department's curriculum. As my 1989 editorial and the following editorial both indicate, producing this journal at the University of Oregon has become a basis for meaningful, practical graduate education in aspects of publication. It is our hope that the journal can return to us soon.

Perhaps the greatest challenge is finding able editorial assistance. I extend my deepest gratitude to Elizabeth Hoffman. She has assisted with excellence in all phases of this and last year's issue and with the publication course, as well. She has deepened the thoughtfulness and attention to detail applied to all aspects of our work together, and much of what she has found valuable in this endeavor she has given.

Elizabeth Hoffman, Associate Editor

Reflection is the theme for this issue. Reflection suggests a time for regrouping, a reorientation for future directions. This is a reflective time for me. As I finish my art education doctoral studies at the University of Oregon, I reflect on the quality of the program, what I have learned, from whom I have learned, and where I want to go from here. One of many exceptional experiences has been working as Associate Editor for this journal the past two years under the guidance of Rogena Degge.

Last Fall, Rogena and I discussed how authors learn to write. We talked about tacit learning and mentors, the opportunities for graduate students to explore writing, the importance of scholarship, etiquette and diplomacy; and the agony of rejection and need for endurance. This year's Journal Publication class evolved from that discussion. It struck me how important a class of this nature is for graduate students considering the overwhelming pressure for publishing in the academic world. Within the familiar, supportive environs of a university classroom, we ventured into the world behind the written word. The journey has proved invaluable.

I learn best by watching others. Dr. Degge is a good model; her actions match her words. I watched as our conversations were turned into opportunities for learning about writing and publishing. Being an editor is hard work; among other attributes, one must have finesse, grace, and a genuine concern for the people and subject a journal represents. I watched as problems of scholarship were smoothed and worries over "politically correct" language were nursed. Rogena's standards are high, but respect fosters loyalty. None of us minded the repetition involved in the editing process because we were given the simile that editing is like weeding a garden; first you pull the big weeds, then you are able to see others, and so forth until the objects of the garden reveal their special qualities. I think our garden looks pretty good. We hope you enjoy this issue and are moved to reflect on its contents as well as the process of its production.

Twelve High School Students, a Teacher, a Professor and Robert Mapplethorpe's Photographs: Exploring Cultural Difference Through Controversial Art

Terry Barrett
Sharon Rab

This is a descriptive study of a student field trip to the controversial Robert Mapplethorpe photography exhibition, The Perfect Moment. The study is constructed from the perspectives of a high school English teacher, some of her students, and an art education professor serving in the capacity of a visiting art critic. Implications are forwarded for educating about controversial art of subcultures and educating for understanding cultural differences through art.

Introduction

A dozen high school students, an English teacher, and an art education professor serving as art critic-in-residence had intense, educationally significant experiences as they crossed cultural boundaries when considering the controversial photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe, an artist who was a homosexual and died of AIDS in 1989. The students and teacher are from a suburb of Dayton, Ohio, not far from Cincinnati where Mapplethorpe's travelling exhibition, The Perfect Moment, was shown. They and the professor from a university in the state visited the exhibition one afternoon after school. In doing so the participants crossed cultural boundaries. Mapplethorpe's art tests the tolerance of people within mainstream culture. His photographs explicitly depict a gay sadomasochistic sub-culture and were foreign to these students of a predominantly white, conservative, working class community. Art such as this is usually not acknowledged in schools, and much less an object of study. The first part of this article provides contextual information about the exhibition, the school setting and students. Narratives of the students, teacher, and professor about their experiences form the main body of this study. Contextual information and content of the narratives are discussed with implications for education that would examine the art of a subculture that strongly challenges dominant cultural values.

Context of the Mapplethorpe Controversy

In the summer of 1989 photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe became the center of national political turmoil. The director of the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. cancelled its showing of The Perfect Moment for fear that the exhibition's proximity to legislators would endanger future government funding of the arts at a time when the budget of the National Endowment for the Arts was scheduled for Congressional review. The exhibit was partly financed by funds from the endowment. The decision to cancel the exhibition came amidst furor over another piece of art financed by endowment funds — *Piss Christ*, a Cibachrome photograph by Andres Serrano of a plastic crucifix submerged in the artist's urine.

Merely describing Mapplethorpe's photographs was made controversial by a prominent art critic. In a Sunday issue of the *New York Times*, Hilton Kramer (1989) declared: "I cannot bring myself to describe these pictures in all their gruesome particularities, and it is doubtful that this newspaper would agree to publish such a description even if I could bring myself to write one" (p. 7). In the same paper one week later, however, Grace Glueck (1989) described the exhibition with no apparent difficulty:

> The Mapplethorpe show is a retrospective of the artist's work that contains images depicting homosexual and heterosexual erotic acts and explicit sadomasochistic practices in which black and white, naked or leather clad men and women, assume erotic poses. Along with these photographs are fashionable portraits of the rich and trendy, elegant floral arrangements and naked children--images that might not necessarily be considered indecent if viewed singly but that in this context seem provocative. (p. 1)

Potentially offensive pictures that neither of these two critics mention in detail are a man urinating into another's mouth, a close-up of a fist and forearm penetrating an anus, a close-up of mutilated male genitals, and a portrait of the artist with a bull whip protruding from his anus. These particular pictures are from the X, Y, Z Portfolio. It is displayed in three rows, each with thirteen photographs presented in a long grid on a table that angles up from an adult viewer's waist. These black and white photographs are smaller (c. 8" x 10") than the rest of the photographs in the exhibition. They are accompanied by finely printed, poetic text that is hung on the wall. In Cincinnati the portfolio was in a room of its own behind a red velvet rope.

Controversy surrounding Mapplethorpe's work was particularly heated in Cincinnati. During the opening of the exhibition, sheriff's deputies and Cincinnati police officers shut down the exhibition for ninety minutes to make videotapes of it for evidence. As they did, protesters chanted, "Tianamen Square!," "Fascists!," and "Gestapo go home!" The center and its director were indicted by a grand jury on two counts of pandering pornography. The first count cited a photograph of a nude boy and one of a partially nude girl. The second count cited five photographs from the X, Y, Z Portfolio. After eight months of legal battles in this landmark obscenity case, the director and the center were acquitted on October 5, 1990.

Context of the Museum Visit

The excursion to the Mapplethorpe exhibition was part of a year long, after school arts program for which high school students received academic credit. They had seen other exhibitions during the year. This was the final trip, and included a visit to an artist's studio after the exhibition and dinner. Because of the nature of the Mapplethorpe exhibition, the teacher made this trip elective. The art center placed an age restriction of eighteen years to enter the exhibition. Because of the age restriction, the juniors and some of the seniors in the group were not allowed to attend.

To familiarize the students with Mapplethorpe's work so that they could better decide their level of involvement, the teacher had books containing the artworks discreetly placed in the school library. Some of the parents knew about the trip, but since the students were eighteen, parental consent was not necessary. The son of the president of the Parent Teachers Association was part of the group, attended the exhibition, and later discussed it with his parents.

The professor had an hour-long session with the students and their teacher during an afternoon class period the day they went to the exhibition. He began the session by introducing himself as a visiting art critic. He said that he would lead them in a discussion of Mapplethorpe's photographs, but that he was not there to convert anyone to a position for or against the photographs, and encouraged them to choose their own positions regarding the controversy. He stressed, however, that he was there to facilitate an open and rational critical discussion, and hoped that all would be respectful of each other and tolerant of differences of opinion.

Prior to the class he had removed the spine of *The Perfect Moment* catalogue (Mapplethorpe, 1988). He handed one photographic page to each member of the group including the teacher. Anyone could exchange an image for another if they were too uncomfortable with the one they received. Since they had previously, on their own, seen Mapplethorpe's books in the library, and since he had only an hour of discussion with them, he chose the most controversial images so that they would be better prepared for the exhibition. He led them in an organized discussion, asking each to first describe the photograph he or she was holding. Then as a group they interpreted the photographs, answering the question "What are these about?" Finally they judged the photographs, discussing their value and whether they should have been made and shown. The discussion at first was subdued and tense, but soon became spontaneous and lively, with a friendly tone.

At the arts center, the Educational Projects Director guided the group in a touring lecture of the exhibition. The students knew her from earlier visits. She is an artist and the group visited her studio later that evening after eating at a fast food restaurant. All returned to the high school parking lot at about 11:00 that night.

The teacher asked the students to record their impressions and feelings about the Mapplethorpe exhibition in a journal and asked that these be shared with the professor on a voluntary basis. Eight of the 12 students complied with the request. More might have complied but their spring days were also filled with the excitement of prom and graduation. Their journal entries were written in the days immediately following their visit. Excerpts from their journals are quoted below with their permission and under fictitious names. The teacher wrote an account of the experience that was accepted for publication in the *Ohio Journal of the English Language Arts* (Rab, in press). Portions were adapted and edited for this article. She met with the students during the summer, shared her written report with them and asked if they had any problems with it. They did not. The professor's account was written from notes six months after the event.

Participants

The *student group* was composed of twelve high school seniors from one of several suburbs outside of Dayton. Dayton's population is predominantly black, secondarily Appalachian. At the time of this study the suburban public high school had about 1800 students, about 1700 of whom were white. Five of the students in the participating group were male and seven were female. Eleven were white and one was Chinese-American. All of the students who participated in the Mapplethorpe experience are currently in college.

The *teacher* is a white female in her mid-forties. She holds a B.A. in English and a M.A. in Education and has accrued about forty hours in arts education. She teaches courses in English literature methods at the University of Dayton. At the high school where she has been employed full-time since graduating from college, she teaches honors classes in English literature, composition, comedy and satire, and creative writing. She advises an extra-curricular fine arts club with more than 250 student members who attend arts events and exhibitions. She is also advisor to the school's literary magazine. She taught all of the students in the group in at least one course and is advisor to all of them in either or both the club and the literary magazine. She met the professor during a summer media institute where he was teaching criticism. When the opportunity arose to take students to the Mapplethorpe exhibition, she invited the professor to become part of the educational experience as a facilitator of art criticism.

The *professor* is a white male in his mid-forties. He is an associate professor in a large department of art education where he teaches criticism courses, writes art criticism, edits a critical newspaper, and researches the teaching and learning of criticism. He serves as an art-critic-in-education for the Ohio Arts Council, engaging school and civic populations in critical discussions of contemporary art (Barrett, in press). In the capacity as art-critic-in-education, he was invited to the high school by the English teacher for a two day residency. He met with three classes and led critical discussions of contemporary paintings, met with the student travel group to discuss Mapplethorpe's photographs, and conducted a session about the photographs with about fifteen teachers who voluntarily attended an after school discussion. His fee was paid by the arts council, and the school system paid his lodging and travel expenses.

The Teacher's Account

I did not arrange the trip to the Mapplethorpe exhibition to be sensational. A series of circumstances led us to it. This was to be our fourth scheduled trip to the center. Many of the students had previously seen Serrano's photographs, a small number of Mapplethorpe's photographs, and other sexually explicit material on previous trips. But Mapplethorpe was different for them and for me.

As an English teacher and a fine arts sponsor, I saw this exhibit as a good opportunity to confront issues of censorship in the arts and literature. Since we had scheduled the Mapplethorpe exhibition well before local controversy about it arose, I felt that if I had cancelled the trip, I would have been censoring my students' experiences. However, I was uneasy about taking them into such a difficult situation without preparation. I remembered my own discomfort when I was originally confronted with the images.

At my request, the high school librarian brought two Mapplethorpe books from the public library into the school library. One book included a series of photographs of women, some nude, none erotic. The other depicted black men, most of them nude, some in homoerotic poses. As I sat in the writing center in the library during a lull between students, I surreptitiously turned the pages of the erotic poses. The principal, a friend, entered; I started, hid the book, and blushed.

The librarian kept the books in the back room of the library and I alerted the students: If they had any hesitations about going to the exhibition, they should quietly take a look at the books. I confessed to them that I had not behaved very maturely when I had first seen the pictures—I had giggled and blushed and while I was not shocked, I was obviously nervous. When we met to discuss whether we should attend the exhibition, I asked what they thought about the photographs. Steve raised his hand and said, "We think that you lead a sheltered life."

When Terry (the visiting critic) came to school in May, I had him meet the students going to the Mapplethorpe exhibition in a separate group. They sat in a circle in my room while Terry distributed photographs. The students wanted me to go first. I described Mapplethorpe's self-portrait with the bullwhip. I spoke evenly, oddly unembarrassed—perhaps because the students and I had already established a relationship built on trust.

Susan was next. She calmly described the hotly-contested picture of a little girl with exposed genitalia. Brian held the photograph of the man in the three-piece suit, a depiction of a black man from shoulder to knee, mid-stride with penis protruding well beyond the length of the zipper placket. Brian described the photograph using an elaborate series of polite euphemisms. Karen had the most difficult picture—difficult in all respects. She at first could not decipher the sick riddle of male genitalia wrapped in wire and bleeding. Once she understood it, she described it, although she cringed as she spoke. When I asked each of them if they still wanted to see the exhibit, all of them decided to go and two hours later we headed for Cincinnati, a small caravan of vans and cars. By the time we entered the Contemporary Arts Center, I think that these eighteen year olds were better prepared than most of the older adults viewing the exhibit.

The gallery was crowded and people stared at the cluster of students. The students stared back. As our group slowly made its way around the walls of the open portion of the exhibit, we noticed that most of the patrons entered the center, paid their admission fee, and immediately headed for the separate room housing the X, Y, Z Portfolio. When they returned to the main gallery, they tended to quickly scan the walls and leave.

At last we came to the room reserved for the X, Y, Z Portfolio. Sandy (our tour guide) encouraged the students to enter and examine the photographs behind the red velvet rope strung between brass stanchions. The students slowly moved the length of the table. They were quiet and serious. I stayed behind them, wondering at the arrangement and relationship of these difficult pictures. The men, most in leather and bound by chains or caught in mechanical devices, were constricted in pain. The vise was there. The self-portrait with the whip was there. Another man, bound by leather, had been beaten, his mouth bled and safety pins pierced his nipples. I had to look away. The students had the same reaction.

Terry and I stood behind the velvet rope as Sandy discussed the portfolio with the students. She asked them if they noticed a relationship among the series. The students frowned and studied. With almost panic, I saw what she was alluding to. The shape of the flowers repeated the shapes of the torture, repeated the shapes of the organ. "X" related to "Y," "Y" related to "Z" in each vertical trio of pictures. The flowers took on a sexuality. The orchids were distended, the lilies contorted, the chrysanthemums exploded. And, yet, the flowers were still beautiful, still part of a natural world amidst all this that is labeled unnatural.

As Sandy continued, a strange process began. Bill left the group of students still huddled around the portfolio and gently leaned against me. I reached out and touched his arm, sensing that this is what he wanted. Louie soon followed and quietly stood behind me. Then slowly, even as Sandy continued talking, the entire group, without really being aware of their actions, moved behind the protective velvet cord, behind the teacher and the professor, and out of sight line of the exhibit. I wanted to leave, too.

We shared fast food, and these young adults who had been so quiet and serious as they absorbed a world they had not known, were giddily discussing the prom as though the world were all lace and no leather. We talked in our van on the way home, but we talked of school, their dates, and lives. We made passing references to what we had seen, but the power was still too strong. We needed to talk the next day. And to write. I was not at all sure of the reactions that would come from this. Terry was curious, too, and we spoke on the phone several times in the next few days.

We discussed the experience in the writing center and in August we had a pre-college reunion at my home. The students cooked the hamburgers while we sat on the front porch and I shared the paper I had written (Rab, in press) on our experience with Mapplethorpe. I asked them if I had adequately captured the moment. One of them said "perfectly" and we all laughed. They accepted my views as valid, but were once again preoccupied with their lives and their plans.

Most of them have dropped by school since they started college. Heather came back to tell me that her philosophy professor, a priest, had discussed the Mapplethorpe controversy in class and had asked if anyone had seen the exhibition. Heather eventually had raised her hand. "Mrs. Rab, he was impressed that I knew so much about it. I have thought about it a lot in philosophy. I'm glad that I went." So am I.

The Professor's Account

I drove my car from the high school to the arts center with Susan, one of the students. As the others were going off to vans in the school parking lot, Susan offered to keep me company on the trip. Not wanting to make the trip alone, I gladly accepted. The trip was about an hour and a half, and during that time we had a discussion which colored all of my experiences with the group.

Susan revealed that she had not seen the Mapplethorpe photographs before our discussion and was quite shocked by the one I had handed her (I don't remember which) and the others we discussed. I told her that I felt badly that I had introduced her to the work so abruptly and apologized, explaining that I thought everyone had seen the work in the library. She had not. After much private consternation, and consultation with two of her teachers, she had just decided to take the trip. She is a religious person, actively involved in a teen church group. She feared the exhibit might "corrupt" her. She said that the only male nudity she wanted to see was her husband's when she eventually married. She decided to come on the trip to expand her knowledge, but as we drove she expressed doubts about going, saying that she didn't know if she had to know about homosexual people because they were not part of her life.

I was very impressed with the seriousness with which she decided to see the exhibition and it countered any tendency I had to minimize the students' experiences and my responsibility to the group. On the drive back after the long day, Susan brought along Sophia. The three of us talked a little about the intensity of the exhibition, but the conversation turned to their after school jobs, Sophia's family's Chinese restaurant, and how her brother cooks her special dishes to surprise her when she comes into the restaurant. The two girls exchanged concerns about the colleges they had chosen, and what they would major in—nuclear engineering for Susan and pre-med for Sophia. Their talk eventually settled on their upcoming prom, and appropriate flowers for the color of their dresses. I was struck by the emotional ranges of their lives, from their sobriety with the Mapplethorpe photographs and their excitement and anxiety about colleges and the prom.

Early in the group discussion at the high school that afternoon, I remember how Tod had talked so articulately about *Man in Polyester Suit*. Tod did a fine job describing the photograph's subject and form, artfully employing several euphemisms for the man's sex organ, unable to utter the word "penis." Several in the group noticed this, were amused, and gently chided him about it. He finally said the word and everyone laughed in good spirit. It made the rest of the discussion easier.

At the art center, I watched the group react to the photographs, to the guide, and to each other. The mood in the main gallery was one of aesthetic awe. I am very familiar with the photographs, but I loved seeing them anew through the students' reactions, noticing where they paused, which ones quieted them, and by which they were amused. I wished they'd had more time to meander the exhibit on their own. Our tour guide, however, was in firm control.

The guide had much interesting anecdotal information about the artist, recent art history, and the hanging of the show, but I wished she'd had less to say in her own analyses of some of the images. I would rather have heard the students than her. I noticed the students fidgeting as she spoke at length about some photographs. She seemed not to notice or not to care. I mentally and silently objected to the "right answers" to the rhetorical questions she posed and then answered. She did not seek the students' responses—this was her tour, not theirs, her occasion to passionately plead her defense of the embattled exhibition.

She reached the peak of her emotional defense at the X, Y, Z Portfolio. She directed the students to look closely at the images, some of which are very gruesome. I watched one of the girls flinch and turn away. Aside from some whispering and grimacing, the students were very quiet. The guide, however, became louder, her tone seemed shrill to me as she became more insistent about the goodness of the work. We were being preached to. As we became more silent, she seemed to become more insistent. The students physically backed away from her. Some turned their bodies toward the door. I found myself very anxious, wanting to step between them and her. I felt hostile toward her and protective of the students. I made eye contact with Sharon (the teacher), and her face reassured me that the situation was okay.

As we left the center, some of these mature, bright and sensitive young adults instantaneously turned into children noisily sliding down railings, and walking down the up escalator. At the fast food restaurant no one wanted to talk about the exhibit. Some gave glib comments about how it was all "fine." But a boy and a girl left the restaurant abruptly, the girl crying. Sharon reassured me the situation was all right and later told me that Emily was upset by the sadomasochistic images because they reminded her of the sexual abuse of her younger brother.

Beneath their glibness and avoidance of discussion, I sensed strong but inchoate feelings in the students. I was very concerned that they be given a chance the next day to express themselves and decompress in an emotionally safe environment, but no time was scheduled for them to meet. I felt sorry that I would not be available to them. I trusted their teacher, but strongly encouraged Sharon to arrange a meeting with them, to give them a chance to talk with her if they needed. I promised to call her the next day. When I did, she told me how she had not been able to schedule a meeting, but that they all, individually and in small groups, sought her out throughout the day. I was happy about that.

The Students' Accounts

Sophia. Terry showed us what I thought to be the worst pictures of the bunch. Well, not the worst, the most controversial would be a better word. Most of the pictures I couldn't even look at without squirming—a lot! However, I am glad Terry went through this process to prepare us in Cincinnati. . . . I think seeing without preparation a life size blow-up of a penis coming out of a business suit would be a big shock to me. Down there I noticed a woman's expression when she passed by that picture; it was like "Oh my God, I can't believe this photo at all!" I thought it very funny (her face, that is). I do agree that they are art. The lighting and shading bring out the beautiful blackness of the skin on the black men. I am glad that I attended. This exhibit showed me Mapplethorpe's experiences as a person living a homosexual lifestyle.

Kristy. Mapplethorpe's final artwork for college was interesting [*Tie-rack*, 1969, a bas-relief sculpture utilizing a Madonna image]. I have been raised Catholic (actually have had it forced down my throat by my father), but I don't really believe in it—but I have to because of Dad. The idea of playing with Mary with the different shapes—the dissection of the Virgin Mother—was to me saying "Ha! Ha!" to the church—your religion takes me apart, so I'm going to take the Mother apart. The "X, Y, Z Portfolio"—especially "X" and "Z"—was the worst. YUCK! I wish that Sandy could have allowed us to just walk around the exhibit and been quiet.

Emily. One thing I found interesting about the whole experience was in Mrs. Rab's room and at the art center it seemed like we were all nervous about looking at one picture too much. I could be wrong, but I think if we were by ourselves—OK—if I was by myself—I would have looked at them longer, or more closely. Am I making sense? But when we were all together there was some pressure to appear like you didn't really want to look at it. But we were all probably as curious as the next person.

Susan. I have a hard time evaluating the Mapplethorpe exhibit for myself. I saw the pictures and listened to the tour, but I just pushed the pictures I couldn't deal with out of my mind. I suppose that I am offended by the "unnatural" shots, as I would call them. I have seen them and now know stuff like that goes on, but because of my apathy towards them, I suppose I'm just not ready to process an analysis. I viewed them objectively and am glad that I made the trip to see the rest of the show. My morals make me think of them as "dirty pictures." I see hate and violence in the X Y Z questionables. I think that's OK. Art is good because it meets the viewer where he is in maturity, knowledge, and morality.

Brian. There's no doubt that the pictures are harsh and revealing, and had I not been prepared in some way, I might have had a harder time dealing with the subject matter. It's important to know a little bit about the artist and where he was coming from with the photographs before actually seeing them. I guess this is true for all art. I had the hardest time with the X, Y, Z Portfolio. I agree that it is an important part of the exhibit, but these were the pictures I found most offending. On the same note, however, I didn't feel threatened. The subjects weren't violent and Mapplethorpe isn't trying to lure anyone into his lifestyle through his work. He's only presenting his lifestyle, a documentary of the times, his "Perfect Moment." Morally I find homosexuality sickening and Mapplethorpe's work repulsive. But why should I close my eyes to reality? And what right do I have to impose my morals on anyone else? I guess that's the root of the controversy.

Louie. I'll admit at the beginning I was very excited about going to this show because of all the outrage over it. I love controversy. But when the day came and Mr. Barrett talked to all of us about the work I started wondering why I was going to see this show. Then I remembered it is because I don't believe in censorship of the arts and I had to go and find out what the fuss is all about. Well, I found out. I found out that with each passing photo I came to an understanding of how and why Mapplethorpe could do such a thing with his camera. Finally after much thought I had it: He is showing us pictures about how he feels about his world and showing us his world at the same time. His work is different, but it's art. Mrs. Rab, I'm glad we saw some of this and had the conference with Terry Barrett first. Especially for some of the others' sake. It would have shocked me tremendously if I had not have known anything about his work. If I was shocked, imagine what some of the others would have said.

Chad. A few of the Mapplethorpe pictures revolted me. The picture of the man urinating into another man's mouth, for example, was almost too much. As a whole, his work was great. He's got some great concepts, and the way they were presented made me think. I assume that's what he's trying to do. . . . He didn't create what he did to incite arguments or hostility. He did it because it's art. To make us think about our society and who we are in it.

J. D. At eighteen, I feel as though I've formed a solid set of values about sex. I've either read about or seen any form of sex on T.V. and in magazines, so any curiosity or fear concerning sex has been cleared away through my knowledge. I've had close relationships with girls for the past couple of years and I'd like to think that my most recent relationship is based on common respect and compassion for each other before being based on sex. I'm sure homosexuality, sadomasochism, incest, rape, biracial relationships and any other kind of widely unaccepted sexual behavior exists all across America as well as in Cincinnati. To deny its existence is an injustice. Many accepted authors and artists have dealt with the covering up of these human behaviors. Harper Lee deals with incest, rape and biracial relationships and injustice in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, to name one work. In the future, as homosexual behavior becomes more prevalent in our society, then perhaps artwork that deals with the questions it raises will become accepted. Perhaps this was "The Perfect Moment" to bring this subject matter, the convergence of both sexes, the convergence of painful and pleasurable sexual experiences, and the convergence of races into mainstream America.

Discussion

As educational leaders of the group of students, the authors of this study were very impressed with the maturity of students' reactions to difficult art from a sub-culture foreign to them. Their parents, some of their teachers, and many of the contemporary older adults in their community reacted to the exhibition with emotional violence, mounted a strong but eventually failed effort to censor the exhibition, and explicitly expressed bigotry toward gays during the controversy. The students in the group emerge from within this community and seem to share some of its bigotry toward gay and black people , as evidenced in some of their casual conversations overheard by their teacher earlier in the school year.

Race is probably a silent issue in the controversy over this exhibition. For example, many people traditionally have not approved of black men being with white women, and there is the stereotype of sexual prowess of black males. Some Mapplethorpe photographs directly confront such stereotypes (e.g., *Man in Polyester Suit*) however we did not spend much time discussing racial issues that the show raised. Some in mainstream society express disapproval of "homoerotic" art because they fear viewers will be enticed into homosexual activities or be converted to homosexual orientations. The only student comment in this regard was to the contrary: Mapplethorpe "isn't trying to lure anyone . . . . He's only presenting his lifestyle."

Mapplethorpe's work can be viewed as a contribution to new knowledge. Susan initially wondered if she needed this knowledge, but the rest of the students seemed to feel it was valuable as information of a culture or subculture unfamiliar to them. Heather had the value of her knowledge of the controversial art praised by a priest and professor of philosophy at the Catholic university she is attending.

Many of the students expressed distaste and strong disapproval of the homosexual acts depicted in the exhibition. However, they also expressed tolerance of a sub-culture with sexual orientations different than their own. Although they called some of the photographs "sickening," and "repulsive," they did not want to suppress depictions of them. J. D. is particularly eloquent in his refusal to deny the existence of different values and practices, and saw the controversy in a larger context in referring to battles over the censoring of literature that deals with controversial subject matter.

At certain times, before and after seeing the exhibition, the students denied, often through humor, that it might be troubling to them. Thus it is notable that several of the students, after seeing the exhibition, explicitly mentioned the importance of having been prepared to see it. We believe that a crucial component of the preparation was the teacher's honesty with her students, that her admission of her own embarrassment with some of the photographs, for example, allowed them freedom to own their reactions, and to talk and write about them. Establishing a psychologically safe environment is crucial to having honest discussions, especially about difficult topics. We also believed it was important to explicitly invite students to honestly express their views about controversies and differences, and then to avoid overtly or subtly censoring their views. We believe indoctrination is not a desirable means of teaching, and efforts were made to avoid that.

The English teachers at the high school were better prepared to deal with controversy than the art teachers. The English teachers had formulated and written policies to defend their use of controversial literature in their classes. The art teachers were not similarly prepared. Moreover, they seemed reluctant to become involved with controversial art. All teachers of the school were invited to the after school discussion, and the four art teachers were invited to the exhibition. One of the art teachers came to the discussion, none accompanied the students to the exhibition. The art teachers passed up opportunities to assume leadership with their students and their communities regarding art that was headline news in their daily newspaper for several months.

Conclusion

This study reinforces the belief that art provides knowledge of other cultures. It also reinforces the belief that through the study of art, when combined with caring education, we can increase understanding of differences among people. The study of differences, cultural or otherwise, commonly takes us into realms where people's values, beliefs, and behaviors are not aligned with ours. Questions will always include: What differences do we study, how do we study them, and what benefits or other outcomes can come from knowledge about others? The Mapplethorpe exhibit provided an opportunity to confront these questions by viewing and discussing photographs which portray some aspects of a subculture rejected by most of society. Further, it confirmed, at least for us, that the artwork cannot be effectively studied or analyzed without understanding what was represented in the photographs. That is, to study or defend these photographs for their formal qualities alone rejects the relationship of subject matter, context and meaning. This educational experience with the students, teacher, professor, and Mapplethorpe's photographs is unique. Nevertheless, it provides a real, public school example of addressing controversial differences of groups of people through sensitive teaching about controversial art.

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TRAILS — A Drug and Alcohol Prevention Program Utilizing Traditional Indian Culture & Artistic Production

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Interviews were conducted with four Wisconsin Indians who shared information about TRAILS, a drug and alcohol prevention program for American Indian youth. TRAILS is native-run and operates on eleven Wisconsin reservations. The program is committed to restoring the health of the Indian communities while also preserving American Indian cultures. In this article, various features of the TRAILS program are examined, specifically how traditional arts and rituals are used with the intention of reversing the destructive pattern of substance abuse in American Indian communities.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to introduce the reader to a unique use of art education that is for rehabilitation purposes within American Indian communities. Our goal is not to assess the success or failure of this program, but to describe the use of the arts to preserve American Indian traditions while helping to solve serious social problems.

The significance of this study for art education is that it offers a conception of art defined by Native American cultures where art is an integral part of everyday life. This indigenous approach to art education reminds us that art can be used not only in the service of aesthetic expression, but also as a vehicle for facilitating the social rehabilitation process through using the arts as a form of problem solving, self-exploration, and cultural education. Furthermore, it is hoped that an awareness of this American Indian approach to art education will continue to encourage educators to develop a pluralistic attitude towards the study and appreciation of art.

Some art educators have investigated the diversity and transitional nature of Wisconsin Indian[1] culture and aesthetic production. They have been concerned with the acknowledgement of this type of understanding and breadth concerning Indian art as it is presented in the art classroom (Stuhr, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; Neperud & Stuhr, 1987; Freedman, Stuhr, Weinberg, 1990). Others have dealt with a particular Indian group's culture in art education curriculum development (Calvert, 1988; Saville-Troike, 1984). Bradley's research (1986) concerns Indian children's drawing using techniques/materials from the dominant culture as part of her study or testing apparatus. Rhinehart and Englehorn (1987) suggest using Indian rituals for art therapy purposes. Taylor and Swentzel (1979) report an Indian community project that empowered the people involved to change the physical environment of the school, the curriculum, and the art education goals. The TRAILS program we report on was initiated, administered, and implemented by members of the Indian communities.

This article focuses on the Wisconsin TRAILS program, which addresses the current struggles of American Indian young people ranging in age from six to eighteen. The term TRAILS is an acronym meaning "Testing Reality And Investigating Life-styles." Prevention of substance abuse among American Indian youth is the main purpose of the program. Originating in Red Cliff, TRAILS was developed by the Great Lakes Intertribal Council and is currently active on all eleven Indian reservations in the state.

Four Wisconsin Indians provided information about the TRAILS program: Mildred Elm and Joe Ackley, tribally affiliated with the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa Reservation; Marvin Defoe Jr., affiliated with the Red Cliff Chippewa Reservation; and Gail Ellis, with the Oneida Reservation. Three of the individuals, Elm, Defoe and Ellis, were selected because they were identified as artists and coordinators of TRAILS programs during a previous research project (Stuhr, 1987). The last interviewee, Joe Ackley, stepped into the TRAILS coordinator position after Mildred Elm's resignation.

Methodology

The methodology and procedures for this field study are part of the social anthropological research paradigm. The purpose of using field study methodology is to develop an interpretation of the culture of those studied in a particular setting (Wolcott, 1988). The intent of this study was to investigate what the TRAILS coordinators thought about their program and to examine their use of traditional arts/aesthetic cultural productions to attain their goals.

The interviews with the coordinators consisted of questions that were designed to discover the coordinators' experiences, shed light on their attitudes and beliefs, and focus on what they thought affected their use of the traditional arts/aesthetic cultural productions in their program. Questions used to establish this information were influenced in their construction by Spradley (1979). The type of questions asked concerned: biographical/cultural and program information. The interviews took place on the reservations. The Lac du Flambeau Reservation is comprised of approximately 170,000 acres that are located in the northern center of the state in Vilas and parts of Iron and Oneida counties. The Indian population in this area is approximately 1,385. Red Cliff Reservation is located at the northern-most tip of Wisconsin on Lake Superior in Bayfield County. It is made up of slightly under 2,000 acres with an Indian population of approximately 925. The Oneida Reservation is near Green Bay, Wisconsin in Brown and Outogamie counties. It encompasses 2,000 acres and has an Indian population of 4,040 (Lurie, 1987; Wisconsin Department of Social Services, 1983).

The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Additional information was provided by phone conversations with the informants and other TRAILS program personnel, and from a pamphlet describing the program and its goals.

Philosophy

The TRAILS philosophy is based on the importance of reconnecting the Indian people to the ancestral wisdom of traditional Wisconsin Indian cultures. The goal is to increase the self-esteem of TRAILS participants and to instill in them a sense of pride in their community (OSHKI-OGIMA-ANISHINABE, 1989). In order to accomplish its goal each TRAILS program gives its members the opportunity to use an American Indian perspective to address the issue of drug and alcohol abuse as well as other current social problems such as AIDS and suicide. Employing a holistic model, TRAILS integrates cognitive, emotional, and spiritual dimensions and encourages members to make responsible life decisions that are consistent with traditional Indian values.

The TRAILS organization is Native-run and staffed. It is based on the belief that Indians are best able to help themselves when guided by their own people (Bobo, Gilchrist, Cvetkovich, Trimble, and Schinke, 1988). The interviewees felt that many services provided by non-Indian programs are culturally insensitive. Lacking in native values, these programs operate without Indian support and often offend or alienate the people they intend to help (Vizenor, 1984). Many American Indians mistrust the services offered by white organizations and as TRAILS coordinator Joe Ackley noted, they are generally ineffective because no matter how well-intentioned, they do not really understand Indian concepts. One TRAILS publication indicates, for example, the white values of individual achievement and immediacy are not aligned with the Indian's greater emphasis on cooperation and patience (OSHKI-OGIMA-ANISHINABE, 1989). This conflict of values is inherent in the problem of cross-cultural social service delivery (Bobo, et al., 1988). When non-Indian educators or counselors offer assistance to American Indians, differences in value orientation as well as styles of communication and common life experiences may present obstacles to successful delivery of professional services. Research suggests that the most effective and culturally relevant professional services for Native Americans come from Indian staffed agencies and institutions (Dubray, 1985). Realizing the importance of being culturally sensitive in dealing with American Indian difficulties, the TRAILS program is staffed by local Indians who take leadership roles in investigating community approaches to common social problems. TRAILS staff members believe that their genuine concern fosters a trust and rapport whereby they naturally become role models for the Indian children to identify and feel comfortable with. Joe Ackley explained that the investment made by the TRAILS staff "comes from the heart" and it is this kind of deep commitment that, in his opinion, accounts for the great success of this tribal program.

Without much active recruitment or advertising, TRAILS attracts a consistent number of children and youth. The program is often first learned about by word of mouth among friends. As a member, a child will attend a weekly TRAILS meeting on a specific night according to his or her age group. For special events, all TRAILS members are united in one large group. Although designed specifically for reservation communities, TRAILS will not turn away children living off reservations. Occasionally, adolescents are referred to the program by the court system. A referral may be made for first-time offenders who have not committed serious crimes. Involvement with TRAILS is recommended in the hopes of preventing future problems with the law.

Indian Traditions in TRAILS

The TRAILS coordinators indicated that a variety of TRAILS activities are employed in order to provide a basis for meaningful discussions. Some examples of typical kinds of activities are those found in many other youth groups, such as watching movies, taking field trips, participating in athletic competitions, and exploring career choices. In addition, TRAILS includes participation in events, such as powwows, pipe ceremonies, roundhouse meetings, and art lessons based on such things as beadwork designs and finger weaving which are needed for their participation in traditional Indian activities. Such American Indian events are included in the hopes that they become a vehicle for facilitating a sense of pride in Indian culture which is so integral to the TRAILS philosophy.

According to the TRAILS staff, the older members of the culture play a particularly important role in contributing to this effort since it is believed that they carry with them the knowledge passed down from countless generations. In an effort to retain the spirit of their culture and keep it alive, TRAILS aims to strengthen the contact between older and younger generations by frequently inviting the elders to demonstrate art forms and to discuss traditional values, history, myths, etc. The elders often communicate through the traditional American Indian art of storytelling. TRAILS participants hear about tribal legends, myths, and tales that focus around themes of people overcoming great obstacles by cooperating with natural and spiritual forces. The purpose of this kind of storytelling is to communicate the idea that "despite hardships, one can achieve great things and win a respected place in the world" (OSHKI-OGIMA-ANISHINABE, 1989, p. 4).

An important goal of TRAILS is to encourage more open expression of feelings. Gail Ellis believes a longstanding problem among contemporary Indians has been the repression of feelings as a result of playing out the stereotypical role of the stoic Indian, who shows no emotion. Ms. Ellis asserts that TRAILS challenges this stereotype by educating its members that having a place to openly speak with each other about their struggles is truer to the traditional American Indian way of life. She points out that her people must restore and strengthen the ritual of talking circles where any tribal member could speak their mind, vent their anger, frustration or pain without being judged.

Traditionally, personal, social and even political problems were resolved through patient, in-depth discussion among tribal members. By reviving the tradition of the talking circles, TRAILS seeks to provide a safe environment where children can learn effective listening and communication skills.

To facilitate this age old tradition, Mildred Elm has used a specific technique, that of passing around a "feeling can" in which feeling words are contained. Each group member takes a turn drawing a word from the can and discusses that particular feeling, relating it to his or her own life. A child may draw the word "sad," for example, and this may give him or her the opportunity to discuss an unhappy event. With the support of Ms. Elm and the group, the child can learn to accept sad feelings and discuss possible ways to deal with the associated problems.

Ritual and Art in TRAILS

The TRAILS staff emphasizes that ritual is an important part of Indian culture and is often an integral component of TRAILS experiences. For example, a group discussion might open with "smudging"—an ancient purification rite where sweetgrass, cedar, or sage is burned as a way to unite the spirit of the community. Mildred Elm points out that the purpose of this smudging ritual is to dissipate any disharmony in an American Indian meeting place with the intention of creating a neutral or purifying atmosphere.

Closely related to the acknowledged value of ritual is the TRAILS coordinators' appreciation for the importance of art. The TRAILS program teaches the participants that Indian arts are integral to everyday life and serve the important function of imparting cultural wisdom through their creation as well as utilization. Marvin Defoe noted that traditional American Indian art is not limited to imparting cultural knowledge, but also enables an Indian to find his or her own personal path. For many American Indians, art is thought to be a highly individual, spiritual experience that helps to maintain an inner balance in a person's life (McLuhan, 1972).

Mr. Defoe points out that every American Indian artist is foremost a spiritual person and it is from the spiritual realm that the artist's creativity and imagination stem. In recreating traditional art, however, he believes there is room for individual interpretation. The artist may get an idea from a traditional design passed down through his or her family, but children in his TRAILS program are encouraged to create their own designs. Mr. Defoe's emphasis is not on merely copying traditional themes or styles, but on having the TRAILS children experience the designs' internal counterparts. As Mr. Defoe states, "We try to teach the children that the designs are already within them." This idea, Mildred Elm points out, originates from the traditional American Indian approach to art, in which artistic themes emerge from spiritual visions and dreams. Mildred Elm's colors and ideas for her beadwork and costume designs often come to her while meditating. Gail Ellis also emphasizes the introspective dimension of art in her TRAILS group and hopes that the value placed on turning inward for answers and inspiration will carry over into other areas of life.

Many of the traditional arts taught in TRAILS are functional. They include the construction of birchbark canoes and baskets, fiber weaving, and embroidery of costumes with beads, porcupine quills, and moosehair. Depending on the staff's area of ability and interest, one or more crafts may be emphasized. For example, in Marvin Defoe's group, canoes and birchbark baskets are the traditional arts that are dominant, since these are his specialties. Mildred Elm's and Gail Ellis' fields of expertise are in costume design and beadwork, thus these are the art forms emphasized in their groups.

The kind of arts the TRAILS members get involved with may also be affected by their gender. For example, girls might learn to create dance shawls and boys might make tobacco pouches. The TRAILS staff believes that inherent in the learning of these gender-specific art forms is the acquisition of knowledge that defines traditional male and female roles. All of the TRAILS coordinators agree that this kind of implicit message about valued social behavior is present in the teachings of many American Indian arts.

In addition to learning acceptable Indian social behavior, TRAILS members are taught to acquire an understanding of their place within the natural world. As part of the TRAILS art program, participants gather their own materials for the crafts and sometimes even the tools directly from nature. Joe Ackley explains that the meaning of art would not be as profound if the materials were store-bought in kits. He points out that the process of creating art is carefully carried out, so that some crafts may take three to four days of preparation before the actual construction of the object begins. Mr. Ackley believes that by directing the children to gather materials from nature, the purpose of art as a way to strengthen their connection to the natural world is affirmed. By encouraging children to go to the original source, TRAILS aims to facilitate a direct relationship and experience with the earth in the hope that the interdependence between humans and nature is more fully realized. In light of the American Indians' deep respect for the spirit in all things, the materials for TRAILS activities are not viewed as simply objects for utilitarian purposes. Care and appreciation for the art media are stressed as an important part of the artistic process as TRAILS artists are encouraged to work in harmony with the spiritual essence of the materials. Consistent with American Indian values, TRAILS members learn about the responsibility of honoring materials as spiritual extensions of the natural world (McLuhan, 1972). The sense of gratitude and debt to nature that is a crucial part of creating art for the Indian artist is reflected in Gail Ellis' comment that the TRAILS members who do quillwork have a responsibility to respect the spirit of the porcupine.

TRAILS participants are taught that the making of any art incorporates an attitude of deep respect as part of the artistic process, whether the art serves introspective, problem-solving, decorative, or practical purposes. The TRAILS program emphasizes that each American Indian art form is not only a statement of reverence for the environment, but also an expression of a proper and respectful relationship to oneself. TRAILS coordinators believe that creating traditional art enables TRAILS participants to establish a personal identification with their heritage empowering them with self-worth and a sense of place in the world.

TRAILS and Substance Abuse Prevention

Substance abuse is a serious social problem that has threatened American Indian communities for decades. The reasons for this problem are many. They include stress associated with the acculturation into the dominant Euro-American society and peer pressure from within and outside of the Indian community. Research suggests that American Indians suffer more from substance related problems such as school failure, antisocial behavior, unemployment, criminal arrest and increased mortality than any other American group (Schinke, et al., 1988).

Much of the literature on alcohol and drug abuse suggests that establishing and maintaining self-esteem is a major goal of substance abuse prevention (Beauvais & LaBoueff, 1985). Many Native communities point out that for the American Indian, who has in recent history been oppressed by a dominant Euro-American society, regaining a sense of self-worth is imperative to strengthening and healing the individual, as well as the Indian community (Murphy & Deblassie, 1984).

The TRAILS coordinators state that their program helps to alleviate the alienation, and erosion of self-esteem that they believe is due to the degeneration of their traditional culture. The coordinators assert that since TRAILS focuses on establishing respect for oneself, one's heritage, and community, it is antithetical to any form of abuse. The intention of TRAILS is to strengthen the inner resources of its members and help to teach and clarify American Indian values, providing positive identification with their culture. TRAILS recognizes that there is often a strong social pressure for Wisconsin Indians to include drugs or alcohol in their lives. Perhaps where this social pressure for the young is most strongly felt is within a troubled family where drugs or alcohol have become a major part of life (Murphy & Deblassie, 1984). Such a family is characterized by an inability to face and cope with life's problems in healthy ways. Drugs and alcohol become a means of escaping the stresses of life and a way to numb the pain that has resulted from the breakdown of many American Indian nuclear and extended families (Beauvais &LaBoueff, 1985). Research suggests that serious substance abuse is more likely to occur in families where young people report feeling unsupported and uncared for (Beauvais & LaBoueff, 1985).

TRAILS hopes to build a healthy sense of family solidarity by including some family oriented activities. Marvin Defoe believes that these activities are crucial for children from drug dependent families, who often miss out on the essential joy present in a healthy home. For this reason, he periodically includes a family night, which gives TRAILS members an opportunity to share family love and support. In this atmosphere participants are encouraged to experience the simple pleasure that comes from sharing enjoyable and constructive activities with family members, and a social atmosphere, without the inclusion of drugs and alcohol.

TRAILS aims to alleviate the social-psychological problems that are correlated with substance abuse by establishing self-respect, a sense of kinship and community, and a positive social environment. TRAILS intends to reverse destructive patterns of isolation, insecurity, and despair by strengthening the inner resources of its members and by developing avenues of communication and self-awareness based on American Indian values. The coordinators of TRAILS believe it is a successful intervention program, because it offers solutions that fit the special needs of American Indian youth. In the TRAILS framework, drug and alcohol prevention go hand in hand with preserving Indian culture.

Summary

The goal of TRAILS is to give Indian youth a sense of purpose and belonging by re-establishing American Indian values through learning tribal rituals and arts. TRAILS staff believe that through this program, Indian youth may find a connection to the Native American world which can promote a deep trust and respect for themselves and provide a foundation for healing the Indian communities. It is the staff's hope that future Indian generations will benefit from this effort; that it will enable them to live their lives free from chemical dependence, strengthened by their American Indian lifestyle, culture, and traditional art forms.

This study is exploratory. Its focus is primarily concerned with providing information that can contribute to a pluralistic conception of art education. The intention is to generate interest in this topic by providing background material that will stimulate ideas and questions that may become the focus of additional research about TRAILS and similar arts programs. It is suggested that future studies further explore the nature of these programs, as well as examine their effectiveness through assessing their impact on program participants.

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Footnote

[1] The term American/Wisconsin Indian is used in this paper because at this point in time it is the preferred terminology of the Wisconsin Indian peoples.

South Seas Examples of Cultural Identity and Cultures in Change: Issues for Further Research

Gladys de Barcza

Cultural identity, maintenance, and change are factors addressed in two examples of traditional arts marketing in South Sea islands: A Samoan shop owner commissions high quality replicas to sell to tourists, and Fijian art education curricula promote the making and selling of objects to tourists. Implications of these practices are addressed and questions for future research are raised regarding maintaining and promoting cultural identity amidst complex cultural change.

Introduction

This article is based on (1) acceptance of cultural diversity and the cherishing of those powerful symbols that distinguish that diversity, (2) support for the study of diversity and cultural past as a means for understanding ourselves and humanity, and (3) the importance of understanding complexities that affect culture change. Ethnic identity classifies the individual or family, and functions as a vehicle for transmitting the group's history and social structure from one generation to another (Kellogg, 1990). But aspects of contemporary society such as materialism may impinge on this transmission and impact art education curricula.

This paper presents two examples that focus on the relationships between traditional arts and the economic realities of marketable arts of South Seas islands. The first example describes a Samoan's evolving interest in the art of his heritage. The second is qualitative data on Fijian art education that is centered on the making of marketable art — the commercialization of art class products. These examples are presented as information useful in considering the role of art education in advancing people's cultural heritage and contributing to cultural identity. Research questions are posed to encourage studies that will advance theory and curriculum in these realms as well as contribute to cross-cultural understanding.

Tourism, economics and opportunities for study and travel abroad have greatly impacted transmission of culture and knowledge of cultural heritage in many countries where Western ways are increasingly a part of life. For example, in some South Seas settings, fledgling economies of island nations are stimulated by integrating art heritage with tourism. As the indigenous people realize that the tourist market has major income potential, skilled craftspeople reproduce indigenous artifacts, museums and art galleries develop or refurbish items, and theme parks revive neglected traditional architecture for the reenactment of sacred ceremonies. A country's young people compete for scholarships abroad and return home sometimes abandoning cultural traditions as they seek the benefits of prosperity from new ways. In such circumstances, both culturally traditional ways and self-identity through knowledge of cultural heritage may be threatened.

Samoan Art as Cultural Identity and Economic Profit

Hari thought of himself as a European and ignored his part-Samoan ancestry.[1] Instead of concentrating on his accounting studies in New Zealand, Hari became occupied by the Maori people's struggle to maintain their traditional art and customs. This precipitated a period of introspection for the now prominent Samoan.

Hari returned to Western Samoa and mastered the Polynesian dialect. He worked in the family business and grasped the first opportunity to market indigenous handicrafts. He observed that tourists were leading consumers, and he favored experienced collectors who preferred quality, traditional reproductions to "gaudy souvenirs."

Hari photographed museum artifacts and discussed their elegant simplicity with skilled village craftspeople. From then on, he accepted only spears, clubs and woven mats of superior workmanship for sale in his shop. On one occasion, I witnessed artisans entering Hari's establishment, carrying several magnificent carvings wrapped in old newspaper. The ensuing good-natured bargaining session ended with broad smiles signalling the carvers' acceptance of Hari's generous pile of *talas* (local currency) for the sculptures.

There was more substance to Hari than art-profiteering. Without so much as a "sales" gesture to me toward the well-stocked showcase, he began to elaborate on the art of Oceania. With misty eyes and noticeable intensity, Hari retraced his discovery and appreciation for the culture he once disdained. Although formal education did not seem to play a role in awakening this Western Samoan to his own culture, schools can be influential worldwide in connecting people to their art heritage.

Art Education in Fiji

Background

The teaching of art in some Fiji schools was investigated to find relationships between art heritage perpetuation and ethnic identity.[2] Of the many productive meetings I had with informants, a particularly thought-provoking discussion occurred with Nasinu College's Chair of Art Education, Jo Tuwai.[3] The perceptive Fijian described the initial failure of his curriculum, stating that the subject matter during his first few years of teaching was Western-oriented and his students were unmotivated. Jo Tuwai explains his later success: "Slowly I began to introduce the Fijian [art heritage], and then it worked. I felt it was something that belongs to them; they value it and it must be revived. I think we have to start with the family, when kids are little." Traditionally, women wove mats, shaped pottery, created stencilled barkcloth and men carved.[4] Jo Tuwai modified Fijian convention. He required *both* men and women in his classes to acquire a facility in *all* traditional handicrafts. His rationale was simple: "In order to teach a craft, you have to know how to do it, whether you are a man or woman, Fijian or Indian."

It is critical to understand that Indians account for over 50% of Fiji's population. Their number has markedly increased from the original reserve of laborers imported from the subcontinent in the 1850s and their presence raises important curricular questions. Ethnic Fijians (the original Fijians of Melanesian descent, differentiated from Indo-Fijians) raised in or near cities are unfamiliar with the production of traditional crafts. Perhaps this lack of knowledge is due to a disengagement with natural learning experiences, which is part of daily life in the villages.

One of my interests was to learn whether art heritage was being perpetuated through course content. Observations suggested that some teachers were unaware of the extent that indigenous culture affected student projects and the extent that focus on both Fijian and Indian populations may be needed in the curriculum. For instance, in the center of a rice-growing delta, 75% of the high school population was of Indian descent. The Indo-Fijian art teacher assigned to the area admitted he did not teach traditional Fijian handicrafts because of his restricted knowledge of the subject. The instructor was the product of a typical Indian home in which the island's native culture was insignificant. However, the potential for focusing on traditional Fijian art was present. Student displays in the young teacher's office were comprised of tiny Fijian *bures* (houses) and *lalis* (traditional Fijian drums). Lining the shelf, attractive trivets transformed from empty meat tins covered with Fijian-style matting, supported coconut half-shells to contain fish broth. Braided *magimagi* necklaces for suspending sacred *tabuas* (whalesteeth) hung on the walls.

Gifted Village Craftspeople as Teachers

Gifted village craftspeople are among Fiji's untapped national treasures (de Barcza, 1987). However, only a small number of Fijian educational institutions have utilized this source to demonstrate their skill or instruct art classes. Factual events seem to recommend such *action. In 1976, under a former Artist-in-*Residence program, a renowned Solomon Islands woodcarver was invited to a Fiji campus. So that he could be observed working by a greater number of students, he demonstrated his technique outdoors. Two years later, a college instructor who was a spectator, vividly recalled the experience: "There he was carving and he couldn't speak English, but it didn't matter because he was making beautiful things."[5]

In another situation, the regular art teacher at a prominent girl's boarding school left unexpectedly. Until a formal replacement could arrive, a gifted weaver from a nearby village agreed to instruct the handicrafts class. Her achievement with the students was remarkable even though she was not trained professionally and spoke in a Fijian dialect. Teaching skills appeared to be a natural gift for this villager who created handicrafts as a way of life.[6]

The atmosphere in which the young students learned to weave intricate baskets was one of kindness blended with discipline. On one occasion, the villager was demonstrating the threading of a palm strip through the needle's eye. The students, sitting cross-legged on the floor, watched intensely. Later, in the classroom decorated with student basketry, the master-weaver stepped carefully among the class to praise individual performance.

That village craftspeople are an extraordinary resource for art heritage perpetuation was also realized by the discouraged music/art teacher at a Christian school: "If these things are not enforced in schools, they will be lost. In big schools like this one, there is really no one trained properly to teach traditional crafts."[7] She had proposed bringing one of the last few remaining village potters skilled in the unique Fijian-style clay construction to demonstrate for art classes. The lack of administrative support for her project resulted in its subsequent failure.

Art curricula in the service of tourism

In Fiji, a statement by a leading educational authority is revealing: "The main function of art in the schools is to produce marketable handicrafts."[8] However, a negative aspect of creating marketable projects in the classroom was voiced by a bitter teenager. He was never permitted to work on his wooden mask beyond the 45 minute weekly art period. When at last the carving was completed, it was removed from him and he never saw the mask again. He was later told that the mask had been sold and its proceeds would contribute toward the purchase of new woodcarving tools for the incoming class.[9] Perhaps, instead, the student could have received some of the money as a component of a program that focussed on vocational training.

Figure 1

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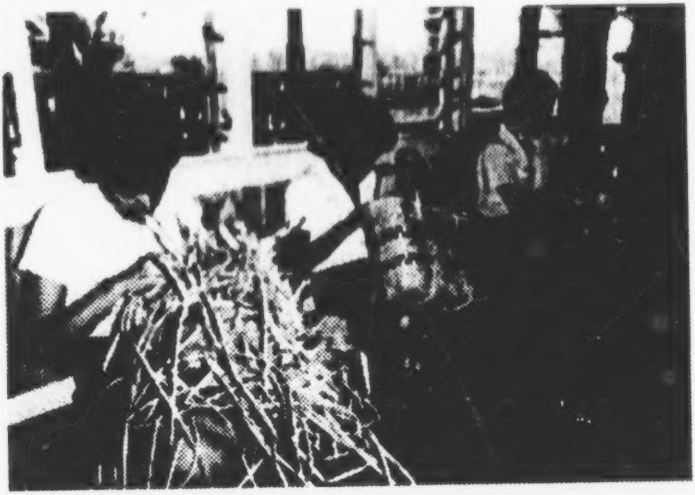

Figure 2: Fijian students creating traditional handicrafts.

Even on a remote island, pupils were engaged in creating marketable crafts. I observed eight-year-olds removing huge palm fronds from trees in the school yard. They neatly arranged the immense shoots on the grass and began to construct unusual *sasa* brooms, highly-prized by Fijians. Capital is scarce in Fiji and foreign aid is inadequate. Guiding students away from creating marketable items would be seen as seriously affecting an important source for funding art programs. Students do seem to enjoy making traditional handicrafts. The relationship between this curricular approach and vocational education needs examination. At the present time, the majority of upper-division students do not elect to take art classes. Instead, they prepare for competitive scholarships by concentrating on examination-oriented subjects. Restructuring the art program to be an integral part of other coursework, such as language studies, seems one option to explore in advancing cultural knowledge and cultural identity.

Directions for Further Research

This paper represents study of, as well as empathy and hope for, the emerging nations of the South Pacific. The Samoan and Fijian examples point to the need for further research to examine the appropriateness of or need for art curricula that advance cultural traditions and cultural identity. The depth of an institution's responsibility to these issues is summarized by Vincent Wright, President of the Long Island Council of Student Personnel Administrators: "Our mandate as educators is to prepare students to function in society where environment (rather than race) is the more potent force controlling students' preparation" (Wright, 1990).

More than ever before, researchers and schools must address the current issue of ethnically-diverse student populations and indigenous traditions. Would the model of teaching "art for art's sake" be an ill-fitting shoe for most South Pacific island nations, where artistic endeavors have been traditionally restricted to the embellishment of useful and ritual objects? The production of war clubs, cannibal forks, deity sculptures and tanoa bowls still continues for commercial purposes. Yet, as people become more international in experience and knowledge, and Western in economic practices, one must also ask to what extent learning about art of one's own culture as well as that of other cultures is economically critical.

Questions for further research might include:

1. What are the critical educational goals of South Seas nations?

2. How is "art" defined today in the Fijian or Samoan world as compared to the past?

3. Are the forces that created traditional objects still operating in the culture today?

4. Since heritage is not just technique, what other content would be needed to expand a vocational, technique-focused program in order to learn one's art heritage?

5. To what extent would Western art knowledge and a discipline-based orientation be appropriate in shaping art education curricula aimed at advancing cultural transmission and identity?

6. What are the benefits and drawbacks for the emerging generations in these islands of an art education focused on marketable arts?

7. Are there ethical, educational issues to learn from Fijians regarding the commercialization of the classroom?

8. Can or should the marketable arts approach be exploited to advance cultural identity and knowledge of one's art heritage?

9. What are some issues that pit vocational education and cultural heritage study against each other? How might they be compatible?

Whether these are reasonable questions from Samoan and Fijian perspectives is a critical issue. It is not for those of us of other countries and cultural backgrounds to decide. It is, however, a set of questions to take to knowledgeable and interested people in these islands who surely know better what their art education should, ideally, be. Their responses would offer valuable information to art educators internationally and serve to advance cross-cultural understanding.

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Footnotes

[1] The discussions with Hari reported in this paper occurred during a field study in Samoa in August, 1988.

[2] This field study in Fiji occurred October through November, 1987.

[3] Interview with Jo Tuwai, November 10, 1987

[4] Interview with Yavulo, a village elder, October 9, 1987.

[5] Interview with V. Hereniko, October 12, 1987.
[6] Interview with Longavatu, October 28, 1987.
[7] Interview with music/art teacher at a Christian school, November 5, 1987.
[8] Interview with T. Kaye, November 10, 1987.
[9] Interview with E. Ratuva, November 14, 1988.

Exploring Native American Symbolism

Phoebe Dufrene

Since some of the most crucial problems facing U.S. educators and students are caused by cultural and racial misunderstandings, the universality of artistic expression can be a vehicle for cross-cultural and multicultural dialogue. Despite regional and tribal diversity, there exists a spiritual unity among Native Americans that is manifested in the arts.

This paper describes a Native American-based experiential workshop and an explanation of traditional and modern Native American symbolism.

Introduction

There are approximately 500 Native American tribes in North America. Each tribe has their own language or a language that is part of a linguistic group such as the Algonquin, Siouan or Muskhogean. In hundreds of Native American languages there is no word that comes close to the Western definition of art (Highwater, 1983). Native American art is seldom "art for arts sake." Both traditional and contemporary definitions do not separate art and life, what is beautiful and what is functional. Art, beauty and spirituality are intertwined in the experience of living.

The Native American view of the spiritual and physical world uses symbols to enrich daily life and ceremonies. Symbols are protectors and reminders of the living universe; they bridge the gap between the spiritual and the physical realm. Symbols are used in ritual performances to portray the power of the cosmos (Hait, 1989). Life-sustaining activities are used as themes in Native American art and in art expressions around the world. Hamblen (1986) states:

> Life sustaining needs, activities and phases are areas of concern that find expression in themes found in art throughout the world. Themes of procreation, security, fear and domination find expression in fertility figures, ceremonial items used to assuage the gods, the decorated battle gear of soldiers and the portable wealth of jewelry used for body adornment. Art functions to mark the importance and meanings of individuals, activities and environments. (p. 74)

Since some of the most crucial problems facing U.S. educators and students are caused by cultural and racial misunderstandings, the universality of artistic expression can be a vehicle for cross-cultural and multicultural dialogue.

The exploration of Native American imagery should be part of any art curriculum, from kindergarten through higher education. Unfortunately, when Native American art is studied or explored in the studio, the past is usually emphasized. Romantic misconceptions of Indians as non-technological, Stone Age artisans dominate the literature, thereby reinforcing the tendency to dismiss the evolving, contemporary Native American culture.

With these issues in mind, I presented a workshop at the 1990 NAEA Conference titled, "Exploring Native American Symbolism." It was an experiential workshop that offered participants the opportunity to express their feelings though Native American symbolism.

During the beginning of the presentation, participants viewed an intertribal powwow videotape that I had made and also viewed slides of contemporary Native American art that included traditional and modern motifs. The middle of the workshop was devoted to a studio activity while listening to Native American flute music. The scent of sage, an Indian herb/incense used for purification, permeated the air. Concluding the workshop, participants shared their feelings verbally and visually. I would like to share with readers some of the results of this experience and explain some of the traditional and contemporary symbolism explored in the workshop.

The Powwow as an Aesthetic Experience

Powwows are intertribal, festive occasions where Native American people come together to dance, sing, tell stories, listen to traditional music, eat traditional foods and purchase arts and crafts. Powwows renew the old ways and preserve indigenous heritage. Often, powwows bring families together who may live apart throughout the year. The purposes are many and vary from place to place, but overall a powwow is a Pan-Indian experience (intertribal Native American culture).

Powwows are more than social events. There is spiritual significance in the dances, songs, customs observed and preparations for the event. A powwow provides an opportunity for our young to learn from our elders and carry on the traditions of a rich cultural heritage. For some communities, the powwow has become a yearly culmination of religious and cultural expression.

Each day's festivities begins with a "grand entry" that brings together dancers of all categories and ages in a common traditional dance. The arena is an assembly of bold colors, ribbons, fringed shawls, feathers and jingling bells. Children and adults move to a toe-step rhythm with the drum. The dancers enter the arena from the eastern direction signifying the beginning of life. They dance circling the arena until the last dancer has entered and the song has ended.

Entering the arena first are the Flag Bearers followed by honored individuals or elders. Next are the Head Dancers who lead in all the

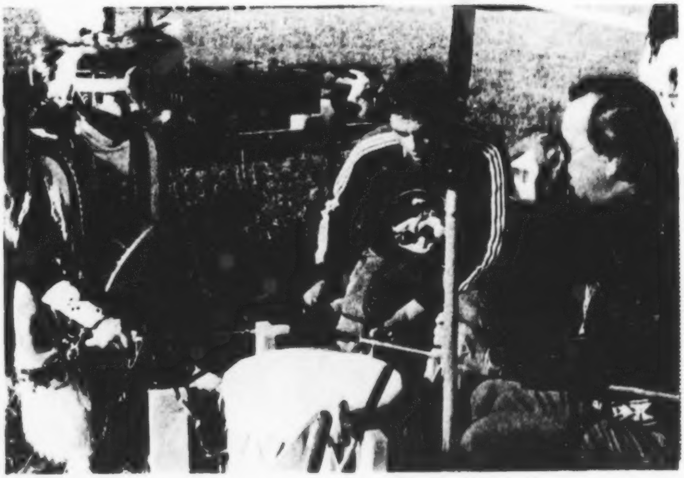

Figure 1.

other dancers. The traditional male dancers enter first, followed by the grass dancers and fancy or bustle dancers. The female traditional dancers come next, followed by the jingle dancers and then the fancy or shawl dancers. Usually both groups enter the arena according to age, from the oldest to youngest. Dances are performed from the oldest style to the newest.

Powwow singers and drummers are integral figures in contemporary Indian culture. Without them there would not be any Indian dancing. Originally songs and chants were in the native language of the singers and expressed themes such as war and conquest, honor and family, religion, joy and mourning. As various tribes gathered together, they would share their songs, often changing the songs so singers of different tribes could join in. With these changes, came the use of "vocables" to replace the words of the old songs. Thus, some songs today are sung in vocables having no words. They have special meaning to those who know the songs. Some songs are still sung in native languages and are either newly composed or revivals of old songs. These songs remind Indians of their old customs and rich heritage (Snyder, 1990).

The drum is much more than a musical instrument to Native Americans. It is considered sacred and must be cared for in a prescribed manner. The drum is a tie to the traditional Indian life style. Before beginning to drum the drummers/singers toss sacred tobacco leaves on the drum's skin. The use of tobacco for prayer and purification is common among all tribes. (Tobacco has been traded and shared since pre-Columbian times.)

The drum is a very important symbol to Native people. Its sound represents the heartbeat, Mother Earth and all of the nations. The drum's circular shape represents the unity of native people and oneness with the universe. The circle is a sacred symbol in all Native cultures. The most common drum is the traditional hide drum which is made by stretching a hide over a wood frame and lacing the two sides together. The singers control the pitch of the drum by warming the hide near a small fire.

Elders believe that drum songs are heard by the spirit world. There are many different types of songs and the singers are expected to know a song for every type of dance. The songs are memorized orally and not written down.

Among the native people of the Plains and the Great Lakes, women do not sit at the drum. However, in some California and Virginia tribes, women do participate in drumming. Women usually sing with the drum, joining in at certain parts of the verse an octave higher than the male singers.

Dancing is another element of the powwow experience. Most dances at powwows are "social" dances, i.e., non-religious. At some powwows dancing is competitive and prizes are awarded. Dancers wishing to compete for prizes wear identifying numbers. The head dancers guide and direct. They are the first to begin dancing to each song and other dancers wait in respect before they join in.

The head veteran dancer is responsible for carrying in the Eagle Staff at Grand Entry and for retiring the flags before sunset. He retrieves any eagle feathers dropped by the dancers. Eagle feathers are the most important part of any costume. Eagles represent all other birds and are viewed as messengers to the Great Spirit. Among all tribes the eagle feather is accorded the highest respect. A dropped eagle feather represents a fallen warrior who is with us in spirit. The feather is protected while on the ground by the head veteran dancers until a special song is sung to retrieve it.

The main dancing styles seen at powwows are traditional, fancy, jingle dancing and grass dancing. Some dances originate from a specific tribe and belong to only those people. The style and clothing regalia of traditional male dancers can vary greatly. Each dance has a special meaning or story. Through dance, a story, dream or event will be acted out. Grass dancers are identified by long fringes dominating the outfit. The fringes sway back and forth like tall grasses. This style originated from the Plains tribes.

Viewing the powwow dance ground, one will notice that different styles of clothing regalia match certain dance styles. The male straight or traditional dancer is more conservative and expresses his individuality by combining both contemporary and traditional styles in costuming. Although dance and clothing regalia vary depending on tribe or region, there are certain features that are common among diverse groups such as: fur caps with beaded and silver decoration, cloth or skin leggings, breech clout, bandolier beads worn across the chest, draggers made from long narrow strips of otter hide that hang from the dancers neck and down his back to the ground, and bells or deer hoofs around the knees and ankles.

Straight or traditional dancers execute a graceful, dignified dance more closely resembling dance styles of earlier times. In contrast to the straight, conservative dance the men's fancy dance is energetic and combines the fast pace of today with traditions of the past. Contemporary colorful costumes and regalia consist of a hair roach made of deer tail and porcupine guard hair that are worn on the head and bells and bustles that are arrangements of eagle and turkey feathers that are worn on the neck and the back. Dancers who lose any part of their regalia must leave the arena and are disqualified from competing in any dance contests.

In all traditional women's dances the steps maintain contact with the earth. The dance steps a traditional woman dancer chooses depends upon her tribal origin and personal preference. A popular step is a quick shuffle that is double time to the beat of the drum. The women move around the arena, sometimes in a zig-zag pattern.

The women's traditional dress style also has great variety. The buckskin dancers represent the oldest style of dress and dance. These women wear dresses made of buckskin with varying lengths of fringe. The longer the fringe the more likely the dancer is from a Plains tribe. Among woodlands tribes, women tend to wear buckskin dresses with shorter fringe.

Women's cloth dresses originated during contact with European traders. The dresses for this type of dancing are decorated with shells, elk teeth, silver buttons and ribbons. Ceremonial shawls with fringe that reaches the ground drape around the dresses. Ribbons used to decorate shirts, shawls, skirts, leggings, etc., are appliqued to create geometric or floral designs. Another popular women's style is jingle dancing. The dresses are made from cloth with hundreds of tin cones attached. A style of dance popular with younger women is known as the fancy or shawl dance. It is represented by fancy footwork and the flowing movement of the shawl. The shawls are elaborately decorated and have long flowing fringe.

Round dances are social dances in which everyone is invited to participate. Women dance in a side step together clockwise around the arena while the men dance counter-clockwise forming an outside row. The Rabbit Dance and its derivative, the Two Step, are two of the few dances where men and women dance as partners. Women choose their partners and couples hold hands, circle the drum, and step off with the left foot, dragging the right with it in time to the loudness of the drum beats. In the snake dance, dancers follow each other in a single line, moving in and out in a snake-like manner. The line of dancers describes the journey of a large snake through the forest and up the mountains—coiling up for a rest—uncoiling and traveling on. The "snake" comes to a river that he crosses—section by section—down to the smallest tail dancer (Snyder, 1990).

Whether Indian dances are secular or sacred, their foundation is the universal, expressive power of movement. Music is considered the breath of life, an organic process rather than a finished product. The purpose of song and dance is ritualistic. Music is valued for its magical power, and its power to invoke special states of mind, artistic visions, symbols and trances (Highwater, 1983).

Contemporary Arts and Symbolism

Most of the slides viewed during the NAEA presentation were from color reproductions in Ralph T. Coe's (1986) *Lost and Found Traditions: Native American Art 1965-1985*. These works were selected because they emphasize the present and future direction of Native American art and affirm that Indian people and their culture are not vanishing, extinct or remnants of Stone Age technology.

The Northwest Coast masks carved in the 1980s by artists from the Tlingit, Talktan, Haida and Kwaquitl tribes are replicas of masks carved by their ancestors during the late 19th century and early 20th century. Like most tribes, the Northwest Coast mask carvers are usually men. The masks represent birds, wolves, sun deities and beings that exist in the spiritual world. Some masks represent supernatural healing deities and are used to treat the ill. Masks are also used to pantomime events in the history of particular groups. Whatever their use they are considered sacred objects.

Art objects produced by women are usually decorated with geometric designs. Most Euro-American historians have described these geometric designs as ornamental. However, Rubin (1989) states:

> While geometric decoration may appear to be "purely ornamental," there is an abundance of evidence that the designs were charged with cultural content and philosophical meaning, such as the primacy of centering, dynamic balancing of complicated elements within the design field, and striving to harmonize all things in nature. Particularly interesting is the extension of this formal vocabulary to what is probably actualization through representation of spirit-principles—probably the spirit-helpers of shamans—in rock engravings, various categories of painting and masquerades. The use of such geometric equivalences can thus be seen as one way of solving the general problem of how spiritual entities can be depicted or evoked through art. (p. 83)

The use of geometric symbolism is continued today in Pueblo pottery, Sioux quilts, Navajo rugs, Cherokee basketry and intertribal beaded clothing and jewelry. In the Southwest, potters paint geometric designs, deer, birds, flowers and other motifs that identify their villages. Modern potters such as Maria Montoya Martinez, Lucy Lewis and Nampeyo created new forms based on old traditions.

The last group of slides shown at the NAEA 1990 workshop represented the work of Fritz Scholder, an internationally recognized Native American artist. Turk (1982) states:

> Scholder has produced hundreds of paintings that have decimated the naive, romantic and trite cliches about Indians

> and Indian culture. His was a fusillade of objective truths bound with passionate subjectivity: *Indian with Beer Can, Screaming Indian, Super Indian No. 2.* These and other works demythicizing the stereotype Indian were received with delight—and horror. (p. 235) The Indians largely became Scholder's symbol of human existence under compromised conditions and allowed him to examine the human capacity to either cope with the pressures of a psychic split—or crash out. (p. 114)

During the 1960s many contemporary Native American artists who had been trained in Western art techniques rejected traditional Indian formats as too restrictive of personal freedom. They chose to assimilate into the Euro-American art world. Other contemporary Native American artists adopted a Pan-Indian nationalism that reaffirmed Indian values and critiqued Western society. Politically conscious Indian artists used their art to express unity with other oppressed peoples. There have always been artists who continue the art traditions that date back to early European contact. Lively debates about the direction of contemporary Native American art are ongoing. But within such dialogue and the attempt to straddle two cultures, there usually remains a reverence for Indian values and experiences in the art work.

Studio Experience

After the slide presentation, participants used pastels and colored construction paper to create their own symbolic images, inspired from previous sensory experiences involving sight, sound and fragrance. The participants were male and female art educators, Euro-American and African-American. There were no Native Americans in the audience. The session concluded with the participants sharing their opinions about the total Native American aesthetic experience, raising questions and describing their symbolic imagery to the group. Many participants expressed concern that there was not enough time left for discussion. Because of time constraints and people from the next session arriving early for seats, I feel that proper closure was not achieved.

Twenty-four illustrations emerged with a broad range of colors, geometric and floral designs, abstract shapes, representational birds and animals, masks, a few human figures and symbols such as crosses, feathers, sun motifs, God's eyes and mandalas. A few pictures included phrases or titles. The dominant themes were mythical birds, animals and sea creatures in natural settings, in flight, or floating in space surrounded by organic or geometric shapes.

As an art therapist, I have discovered that interpretation of art

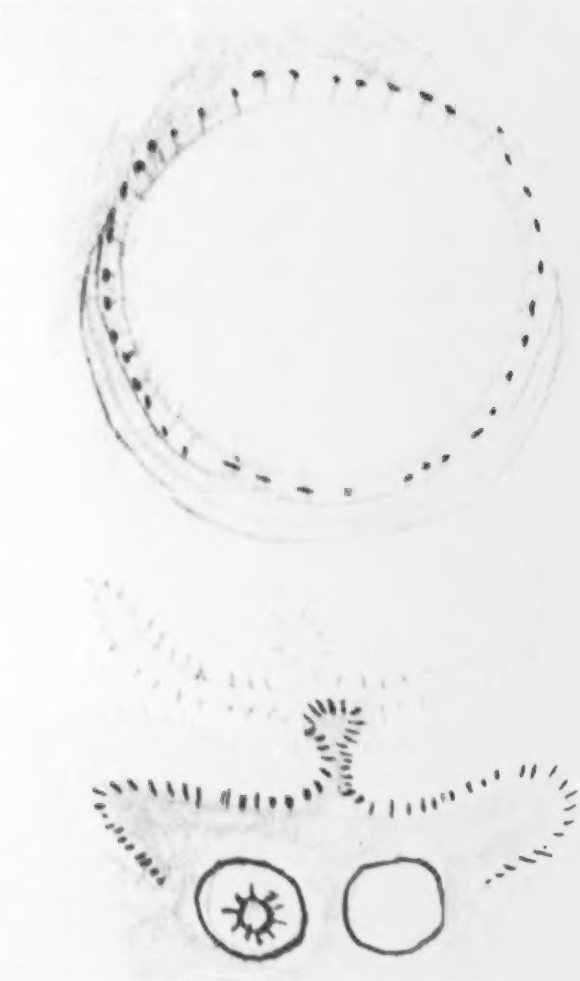

Figure 2.

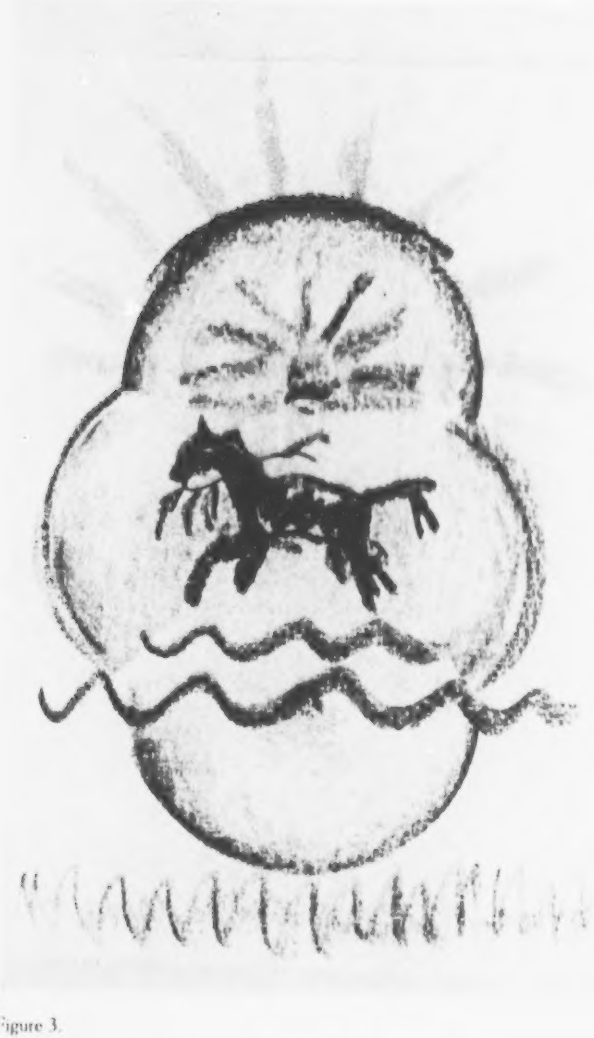

Figure 3.

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work is more relevant when the client/artist engages in dialogue with the art therapist. With that in mind, I want readers to know that my description and analysis of some of the selected examples is hampered by little or no dialogue with the artist/art educator. I want to describe a few of the symbolic images to which I was personally attracted.

The first example (Figure 2) is a sun, moon or some type of celestial sphere that dominates the top half of the orange construction paper. Below that is a figure that appears to be human with raised arms and wide spread legs. Like the round celestial shape at the top of the page, the human like figure is surrounded by what appears to be rays. In between the figure's legs and chest there appears to be another figure with either two large eyes or two large breasts and nipples. The main colors are red, yellow and orange with some black and blue outlining. Between the large round shape and the figure is a yellow haze and surrounding the celestial shape is a brown haze.

Only the artist can be sure of the exact symbolism. For me the round shape could be a medicine wheel, i.e., the circle of life or it could be the sun, nourishing the earth. The figure with raised arms could be dancing or praying. In many Native traditions dancing and prayer can be simultaneous actions as in the Lakota Sun Dance ceremonies. What is important to me as an art therapist and art educator is that the exploration of Native American sensory experiences enables the artist to create a rich, highly symbolic image that has personal meaning for both the artist and observer.

In Figure 3 a horse runs across a landscape that appears to be in the sky. The horse is surrounded by a blue and green cloud-like shape. Below the cloud is green grass and above the cloud are pale yellow rays. A black stirrup is in the horse's mouth and a thin sketchily drawn black figure is riding the horse. Below the horse's legs are blue wavy lines like rippling ocean waves. The image attracted me because the horse appears to be in the sky inside a cloud. Since the horse is not earthbound, I imagined it to be a spirit horse. People who believe in a spirit world may agree with my interpretation. Others may think it is a dream image. Once again, the importance is not the exact interpretation. What is important is for people to have stimulating sensory experiences that can be transmitted into an art form.

This exploration of Native American symbolism that utilizes traditional and contemporary music and dance examples, the sense of smell, visual art examples, and art materials to inspire creative production is applicable to many age groups and populations. I have used it with various modifications in special education art classes K-12, regular art education classes and in my university art classes. People of all races seem to enjoy the experience and find it easy to create personal symbols.

It is a method of introducing Native American culture that is respectful of traditions. By focusing on contemporary Native American music, dance and visual art, I try to dispel the stereotype of the "vanishing Indian."

Conclusion

Today's Native American artists are still involved in the production of paraphernalia that establishes and renews relationships between humanity, nature and the animal world. The Native American aesthetic experience has survived colonialism, forced servitude, racial discrimination and rapid technological changes.

I have been asked by a reviewer of this paper why I use the terms Indian art, Native American art and AmerIndian art. Are they interchangeable? What is the "correct" designation? Such questions are complex and beyond the scope of this article. But I will digress a little.

Racial nomenclature in the Americas developed under colonialism and racism. Racial identification is a controversial issue for indigenous Americans, especially those of mixed ancestry. The word "Indian" is used to classify groups of people in Asia, the West Indies, and North/South America. Some indigenous groups in the Americas prefer to be called Native American, others AmerIndian. Forbes (1989), director of Native American Studies at the University of California at Davis, feels that progress is needed in the field of human rights to correct "a major area of abuse: the arbitrary and often racist practice of defining the identities of other human beings by powerful outsiders, as well as by governments and institutions" (p. 5). Forbes feels that revisions are needed in the history of race relations and in the study of modern African, Afroamerican and Native American cultures. Until such time I will continue to use the terms Native American art, Indian art and AmerIndian art interchangeably.

Despite regional and tribal diversity, there exists a spiritual unity among Native Americans that is manifested in the arts. The creative process in which artists transform visions is viewed as part of life's mystery. It is one of the reasons that Indian art is inseparable from religion, philosophy and healing. Music, dance and ritual are the core of the Native American aesthetic experience. They form and focus visual art forms, which are only paraphernalia in the holistic realm of tribal rites. Rituals, ceremonies and visual symbols establish and renew relationships among humankind, nature and the animal world. Time is ignored in favor of continuity. It is not intellectual, but comes from the heart (Coe, 1986). Let us share this rich heritage with our art students.

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Socio-cultural Issues in the Interpretation of Art Settings

Mary Stokrocki

This paper is a discussion of several socio-cultural issues inherent in the interpretation of art settings, and uses examples from my own research and from anthropology. These issues include differences in modes of operation, modes of conception, cultural representation preferences, theoretical frameworks, concepts of truth, levels of reality, and modes of ethnographic authority. Such differences suggest that research in art settings is multi-dimensional and multi-interpretive. Recommendations based on examination of issues discussed include: the accommodation of operative and conceptual schemes to the setting/culture under investigation; the realization of cultural preferences and perspectives hidden in the study; the revelation of theoretical assumptions, limitations, and shifts in approaches; and the awareness of levels of reality, modes of authority, and layers of truth imbedded in the work.

Introduction

Interpretation is the pervasive process of understanding (Heidegger, 1962) and involves cultural choices and preferences at all levels. Geertz (1973) warns that all anthropological writings, including naturalistic inquiry in this case, are interpretations, and "second or third ones to boot. (By definition, only a 'native' makes a first order one. It's his [her] culture)" (p.15).

Interpretation pervades all research, including that taking place in art settings. A researcher chooses a site, a sample, an observation, a role, a methodology, a theoretical framework, collects certain data and ignores other types, reduces the information into categories for manageability, and then condenses the results for reporting. All these hold the potential for multiple interpretation.

Socio-cultural issues in interpretation include modes of operation, modes of conception, cultural representation preferences, theoretical frameworks, concepts of truth, levels of reality, and modes of ethnographic authority. The purpose of this paper is to discuss interpretation issues as they pertain to art settings, using naturalistic examples from my own research and educational anthropology. Naturalistic research is the description and interpretation of human behavior in its natural state (Stake, 1988). It utilizes participant observation techniques that are multi-person, multi-variable, multi-site, and multi-method (Pohland, 1972).

Modes of Operation

Initially, researchers must describe their methods of operation, including collection and analysis of data. Traditionally, predetermined methodological limitations and hypotheses have been expected in responsible research. In naturalistic studies some methods are planned; others emerge as needed. Some researchers state their hypotheses at the onset of their research; others generate them as simple propositions or naturalistic generalizations at the end of a study. An important point is that naturalistic researchers must describe how they arrived at their interpretation of a particular meaning (Smith,1978; Herzfeld, 1986).

A controlled operation is not always possible. For example, in a study of preschoolers, a plan to tape record failed because of students' low voices and hyperactivity (Stokrocki, 1984). Sophisticated audio/video taping equipment was unavailable. The researcher must depend a great deal on field notes and key informants. Photographic documentation was useful in this case because the preschoolers ignored the camera. Their parents, who also participated in the class, assisted with interpretation . Thus, operational methods evolved according to the situation.

Problems occur when research modes are not compatible with the situation or participants under study. In one class of unruly sixth grade boys, the presence of my tape recorder caused the group to rebel because they feared that I might turn it in as evidence of their misbehavior to administrators. That part of the study therefore ended (Stokrocki, 1986). In two other situations, the use of questionnaires failed because the preadolescents didn't take them seriously. Instead I had to informally probe meanings of individual (sometimes contradictory) answers from more cooperative students who became key informants (Stokrocki, 1990-1991). Students in this situation knew that they had the right not to participate, according to university human subjects review rules.

Naturalistic analysis consists of content and comparative methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Content analysis is usually a search for recurring concepts and themes that start with a hypothesis and proceed with supporting examples until a conceptual category is saturated. Naturalistic researchers borrow and develop different systems.These systems evolve and change with experience and technological opportunities. In the past, I wrote and color-coded comments in the margins of my field notes following the model presented by Sevigny (1978). Then I would xerox my field notes, "cut and paste " them on 3"x 5" file cards, and organize them into simple conceptual categories. In studying instructions, for instance, I charted borrowed concepts (substantive, managerial, and appraisal concepts), used a stop watch to determine frequency of each once a month and then turned the minutes into percentages (see Barker, 1968). Now I use a Macintosh computer to help generate concepts and categories by using the Hypercard program.

Even though most of my files and charts are supplementary materials, it is my practice to give copies of all materials and reports to participants as well as copies of the final study.

Modes of Conception

Modes of conception are ways of formulating data into ideas through description, analysis, and synthesis. Ideas can be conceptualized formally or informally (Bruyn, 1966). A formal concept is usually predefined and borrowed. For example, I described the preschool teacher's pedagogy as predominantly experimental, a formal Deweyan (1934) concept. Furthermore, I characterized the preschool teacher's instruction as "touching" because she physically and emotionally interacted with students by patterning their hands and patting their heads while directing them to touch the sculptures in the museum with their eyes. Such a concept is informal or "sensitive" according to Blumer (1954, p. 9). A sensitizing concept is appropriately explained to communicate a reference based on everyday experience.

Sensitized concepts do not need to be measured to be valid. They exist at a specific level of understanding and employ a flexible meaning that can later be studied more formally. For example, to describe the experience of preschoolers in an art class in scientific terms is to destroy its original qualities. Conversely, when reviewers reject an interpretation of the preschooler's experience reported in the children's and the teacher's terms, they fail to respect the respondents' viewpoints. Many classroom teachers and art specialists are alienated from research findings because of the formal jargon used. Some research journals reject narratives that are not written formally. Furthermore, formal modes of conceptualization exclude cultural audiences that communicate in a predominantly narrative fashion, such as Native Americans (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982). Challenges to the formal mode of conceptualization also require further research on male/female modes of conceptualization as advocated by feminist materialist ethnographers (Roman & Apple, 1990).

Theoretical Frameworks

No matter how flexible researchers claim to be, they operate under a pre-defined theoretical framework or interpretive scheme that guides the observation and explanation phases of their work. Theory, which is a set of assumptions, provides the framework for interpreting raw data. Ethnomethodology, microethnography and hermeneutic phenomenology are naturalistic theoretical frameworks alluded to in this paper, but several others exist.

An example of ethnomethodology, is Sevigny's (1978) study of instructional interaction in drawing classes—the teacher/student interaction and its norms wherein "a homologous pattern underlying a vast variety of totally different realizations of meaning" was sought (p. 48). Sevigny's research focused on normative behavior. It ignored the idiosyncratic, and instead sought an ideal or typical pattern, that is characteristic of a structuralist or functionalist approach. Sevigny incorporated his triangulation method—studying several situations from different participant stances.

Similarly, microethnography, used in my studies, is a noncritical description of relationships among many facets in one environment (Smith & Geoffrey, 1968) that, according to Ingarden, includes objective behavior and subjective meanings that extend deeper into "the community of experience, contained within the object" (Willis, 1978, p. 145). The qualities that emerge are unique to, internally consistent with and characteristic of a particular situation. For example, a pottery class which includes spatial, pedagogical, social and philosophic meanings based on an Oriental tradition is not typical in the United States (Stokrocki, 1982).

In hermeneutic phenomenology derived from Heideggerian (1962) philosophic ideas, the researcher enters the perceptual experience of others and tries to understand their tradition's metaphors, historical meanings and philosophic influences. This in-depth interpretation and method of questioning aims to uncover hidden conceptions imbedded in conversations and behavior (Stokrocki, 1983). This involves an intense investigation of the behavioral and conceptual language. For example, in a case study of a pottery instructor, I examined his philosophy by reading his original references that revealed the sources of his thinking (Stokrocki, 1982). Whereas the social scientist can be considered a topographer examining literal reality, the hermeneutic scientist is comparable to a miner, searching the depths of human meaning. Interestingly, over time, theoretical perspectives have shifted. Quantitative approaches have become more context-oriented and interpretative, while qualitative approaches have become more systematic.

Cultural Representation Preferences

Different theoretical perspectives result in different representations. A representation is a likeness and an equivalent image/description of something. Diverse cultures represent life and events in unique ways. American editors seem to publish types of ethnographic research, for instance, that are full of conflict rather than cooperation. On one occasion, an editor wrote to me that he favored descriptions that feature the dramatic, "the gossip, petty irritation, and the sense of human struggle that make up life in the school." These are accepted as more realistic than descriptions of a more sedate nature. This idea of drama emphasizes the negative rather than the positive. Some researchers seem to look for trouble; others look for meaning. Another factor that affects representation is our way of looking. Jackson (1990) warns, "The natural temptation, therefore, even for serious scholars, is to seek out the dramatic, the troublesome, the unexpected, leaving behind the mundane, the ordinary,the run-of-the-mill" (p. 158).

In contrast Turner (1974), an anthropologist, discloses relationships that are more like social enterprises that feature the meaningful bond that unites individuals together beyond their formal ties. Turner states, "Some notions are metaphorical or allegorical—sometimes they appear in the guise of philosophical concepts or principles, but I see them arising in the experience of human coactivity" (p. 46).

One example of a cultural preference based on social enterprise is a film study by Worth and Adair (1972) on the life of the Navajo that revealed "an idealized perception rather than a recording of the event as a naturally occurring and on-going activity" (Bellman & Jules-Rosette, 1977, p. 5). By training some of the Navajo people as photographers, these researchers were able to "look through the eyes" of the Native-Americans and discover their preference for the symbolic act of walking.

Similarly, my interpretive study of an American pottery class taught by an American instructor in a semi-traditional Japanese style featured the mutual cooperation necessary in achieving communal tasks (Stokrocki, 1982). Years later, the instructor informed me that his view was terribly romantic in its focus on enjoyment rather than dislike.

In a third study of a Dutch/Indonesian art instructor of multicultural students, I discovered his style to be quite academic—consisting of 20-minute board lectures—and also quite relaxed as he helped his students individually for the remainder of the 90-minute class. Although I expected to find some amount of friction, all I discovered was cooperation (Stokrocki, 1990).

These instances suggest that some cultural representations are dramatic, others are ideal and still others are romantic. Some editors will argue that these representations are fictional types—ways of narrating about the world; however, the examples present more than that. These are differences in world views or realities and in ways of looking as well as describing.

Levels of Reality

Reality is a state of being or existence. The most common forms of reality are the physical, psychological and spiritual. The latter state is often ignored in studies of cross-cultural settings. Bruyn (1966) suggests that "a culture consists of layers of reality which unfold gradually . . . for perhaps the development of cultures, like embryos, is controlled by elements beyond his [her] normal visibility and requires special techniques for interior observation and verification" (p. 46).

As stated before, the film studies of Worth and Adair (1972) point to the Navajo spiritual reality such as the preference for walking. I also found a Navajo university student's reality preference for "riding a mechanical bull" (Stokrocki, in progress). Although this desire may be construed as an entertainment fantasy, the love of physical performance is a preferred spiritual and cultural state of being. Native Americans originally preferred the performing arts—dancing, chanting, and/or singing—all of which are tied to a rich mythological system.

To uncover these levels of reality, a blend of methods and theoretical frameworks, might be required. Schutz (1970) suggests that reality is related to our emotional and active life. Whatever excites and stimulates our interest is real. He states, "Each world while it is attended to, is real after its own fashion; only the reality lapses with the attention" (p. 253). Reality consists of experienced meanings.

Modes of Authority

An authority is commonly regarded as a person or group given power to command, disseminate, and judge information. Naturalistic research is based on different styles of ethnographic authority: experiential, scientific, interpretive, dialogic and polyphonic (Clifford, 1988). In the past the ethnographic researcher was typically regarded as a hero. Experience was the first criterion of authority. With the advent of the scientific method, university-trained scholars, such as Mead (1928/1949), gained respect. The anthropologist Freeman (1983), however, found twelve different Samoan clan interpretations of their history (also described by Holecek, 1983), that contradicted some of Mead's findings. Ethnographic research thus became authoritatively interpretive (Geertz, 1973).

Informants should be credited at all stages of the reporting because the information acquired does not necessarily belong to the researcher. Instead of calling the informants "subjects," a colonial term, researchers might consider the word "respondents," which denotes equality. Researchers must assume responsibility for writing about people in ways that are understandable to them, giving them credit for cooperating, and including their reflections in research findings. (After all, they are the informants and authority becomes dialogic). Researchers must take action to correct problems, giving back to the people something they took away. Thus research becomes a form of negotiating meaning. If researchers manage to positively contaminate the participants, then they have succeeded. Such influence is reciprocal because researchers are also changed by the experience. Every naturalistic study is political, when seen as a form of influence.

Finally, naturalistic research may contain authority that is polyphonic, a combination of several harmonious voices or quotations, such as Turner's (1967) studies based on several indigenous Ndembu interpretations of ritual customs. Similarly, art educators use polyphonic authority when they do a survey or quote related findings to support their argument. When qualitative researchers use local informants for external verification of their findings, then polyphonic authority is also utilized (Stokrocki, in review).

Concepts of Truth

Truth is usually construed in terms of the believability of facts. Gephart (1981) confesses that most research is based on the fallacious assumption that "truth is external to the individual and that if we perfect our measuring tools, we eventually will know the truth" (p. 298). However, there is no single set of value descriptors or viewpoints, nor is there any one truth, and more research is not necessarily better. Truth becomes, in part, a matter of interpretation. Thus, in naturalistic studies, layers of "truth" exist: credible truth—one person's believable and honest opinion, probable truth—based on the intersubjective opinion of the participants, consensual truth— added testimony from external local informants, and proximate truth—based on scientific measurement in those studies that use some form of opinion measurement (Derived from Bruyn's [1966] distinctions).

Another meaning that it is considered synonymous with truth is fact. Naturalistic research studies are full of generative truths or facts. Narratives of idiosyncratic truth or small histories are full of vivid detail for developing insights and categories of behavior and meaning, for establishing propositions and hypotheses, and for building theory (Stake, 1978) and knowledge. Problems occur when truths are communicated cross-culturally. Ultimately, the researcher must accept the fact that all data collected are, to some extent, affected by interpretation. The final responsibility for judging the worth of a study ultimately lies with the reader to question or refute.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Naturalistic research is multi-dimensional and multi-interpretive and some layers of meaning are hidden. These dimensions are multi-modal, multi-conceptual, multi-representational, multi-theoretical, multi-authoritative and consist of multiple layers of reality and multiple concepts of truth. The following cautious recommendations for interpreting art settings are offered: 1) Adapt data gathering techniques to the setting and explain the evolving logic of your analysis. 2) Accommodate the conceptual scheme or manner of reporting findings to the setting/culture under investigation so that some of the participants can understand it. Avoid academic jargon. 3) Realize that your representational style reveals obvious and hidden metaphors that contain cultural preferences and ways of looking. Remember to "look deeply at" a phenomenon, not "merely looking for" defined aspects that will limit your quest. 4) Reveal your theoretical and conceptual framework—its assumptions, and limitations, if known. Realize that shifts in these frameworks occur and approaches are negotiated. 5) Be aware of, and if appropriate, describe the different levels and concepts of reality in the setting/culture. 6) Aim to incorporate different modes of authority in your study. 7) Understand the different layers of truth and their limits hidden within your work.

No one interpretation, theoretical framework or study will succeed in understanding the complex nature of any socio/cultural phenomenon. Combining several interpretations of the same phenomenon will provide a fuller understanding of it. Miles and Huberman (1984) argue for a blending of research strategies and a sharing of information, instead of a paradigmatic argument. Researchers may discover that as they develop different approaches and combine different interpretations in naturalistic research, their own understanding will emerge as well as the understanding of the whole field. Conflicts in qualitative and quantitative research are no longer issues, but socio-cultural differences in world views and realities are. The essential point of interpreting research is to support or challenge our existing understanding of natural settings and to discover those cases that disclose exceptions to universal beliefs or rules.

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REFLECTIONS

Cultural Pluralism and DBAE: An Issue (Fall, 1988) Revisited

Jessie Lovano-Kerr

The literature on DBAE has increased considerably in the last few years. Presentations at national and state conferences on DBAE have outnumbered other topics. What seems to be lacking is the critical analysis of this material to begin separating fact from fiction regarding what DBAE is and is not. When basic premises are based on misunderstandings, the validity of arguments presented and conclusions drawn are highly questionable. Many of the articles in the Fall, 1988 issue of the Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education *on Cultural Pluralism and DBAE reflect these problems. Basically, the misconceptions center around two erroneous concepts: (1) DBAE is a specific curriculum rather than an approach to teaching and learning in art; and (2) DBAE subscribes only to Western art. This paper examines the extent to which these misconceptions undergird the basic premises of selected articles in the Fall 1988 issue of this journal.*

Introduction

Critical analysis of the literature within a field of study helps clarify issues, extend knowledge, improve practice and generally strengthen the field. However, when the judgements are made without the benefit of analysis, faulty conclusions result and issues are confounded (Feinstein, 1989). When basic premises are based on misunderstandings and misinformation, the validity of the arguments presented and conclusions drawn are highly questionable. Unfortunately, this has been the case with the writings of some critics of DBAE.

Faulty reasoning and scholarship of authors of articles in the March, 1988 issue of *Art Education* were well documented by Eisner in the November, 1988 issue of the same journal. Many of the criticisms made by Eisner could also be made of the writings of most of the authors in the Fall, 1988 special issue of the *Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* (JMCRAE) on Cultural Pluralism and DBAE.

The call for papers for this issue held the potential of providing a platform for "good arguments to be pitted against one another" (Feinstein, p. 6.). Instead the issue reflects a one-sided argument; the condemnation of DBAE. This in itself is not as disturbing, however, as the selection of authors and manuscripts—the majority of whom portray a questionable understanding of DBAE. Most of the authors think of DBAE as a curriculum rather than an approach to the teaching and learning of art.

To critically analyze each article in the Fall, 1988 issue is beyond the confines of one manuscript, limited by necessity in length. Therefore, only the main problems perceived will be addressed. This paper will: examine the editorial comments that set the tone for the Fall, 1988 issue; identify the major misconceptions of DBAE from which the basic premises of most of the articles are derived; and analyze some statements and positions that reflect illogical connections and faulty conclusions.

Editorial Comments and Premises

In the prologue, the editors state as their purpose for the issue "the exploration and expansion of those concerns that are currently being voiced by scholars on the relationship between DBAE and multicultural and cross-cultural concerns in art education theory and practice" (p. 4). The purpose, as stated, appears to be expansive and open to differing points of view. However, a single view strongly emerges. A case is made for categorizing DBAE as perpetuating Western scholastic traditions, and focusing on Western art, excluding "art by women, Third and Fourth World artists, and by people of color" (p. 4). A brief history of each of the four disciplines of DBAE is presented to verify their Western scholastic origins and the position taken by the editors. It informs us that art history as a discipline began in 1813; the term "aesthetics" was coined in 1734; and art criticism was traced to the 17th century (Blandy & Congdon, 1988). The editors observe that the opinions regarding the "roots of these present-day disciplines are, of course, debated and debatable." They go on to say:

> What is less debatable is that these disciplines are the product and persuasion of the Western scholastic imagination. For this reason, questions arise in our minds regarding the range of influence that representatives of these disciplines enjoy in terms of what they perceive as art, as well as the exclusive employment of their research methods and language in the study of art. (p. 5)

Later in the prologue, the editors take a more definite position. "In our view, the art educator using a discipline-based approach to art education is one who has accepted the *authority of the various disciplines associated with the art culture system* [italics added] and who seeks to initiate others into the system through the teaching of the collective knowledge generated by the system" (p. 7). A stronger statement follows revealing a biased position and conclusions that are questionable: "Acknowledging that DBAE is based upon scholastic traditions far removed from the everyday experience of most children and youth, we must as a profession ask if this approach to the study of art will in some way contribute to the alienation of students from their cultures and society" (p. 8.). The editors cite results of a study on the status of education in America showing that "thousands of unrecognized students move from class to class in a disturbing climate of impersonality...[promoting] a feeling among students of being unknown, unwanted, and unconnected to the world" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1988, p. 21). The editors comment: "We must consider if art authority rests not with the student, but with scholars and scholastic methods unfamiliar to the student" (p. 8).

The prologue seems to deplore the fact that art history, aesthetics, art criticism, and current studio practice have their beginnings in Western culture and that they are based upon scholastic traditions. A logical conclusion they derive from this discussion is to proclaim these disciplines unfit for inclusion in the study of art and harmful to students. The implication is that if our ideas are not compatible with the origins of any of the disciplines, we need to discard these disciplines for others we feel are more acceptable. The assumption that disciplines are culturally static, inflexible, and non-changing throughout history is a rather narrow view to assume. Hobbs (personal communication, January 10, 1991) challenges this assumption, specifically with regard to art history. According to Hobbs, during the age of formalism and modernism (1940s, 1950s, and 1960s) art history was highly formalistic in approach. Attention was directed primarily to surface qualities. However, since the mid-1960s, art history has changed considerably and is in a very dynamic stage. Evidence of significant change can be found in the *Art Bulletin* since 1985 when the journal commissioned noted art historians to write on the state of the discipline using various periods of art, including contemporary art as the bases for discussion.

In placing the label "Western scholastic tradition" on the four disciplines, the implication is that non-Western art and thought are not included in contemporary studies and that methods of inquiry used at the time of origins are still the primary methods. In questioning the validity of the four art disciplines as content worthy of study, as content for art teaching and learning then we must consider all non-art disciplines, such as the social sciences, psychology, mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. to determine whether they are rooted in the Western scholastic tradition and, therefore, also questionable as to their role in education. If the four art disciplines are suspect as the content base of art education because they originate from the Western scholastic tradition, then the conclusion of this premise is that we must negate the

Professional Standards for a Quality Art Program of the National Art Education Association which are also based on the four disciplines as well as the recommendations from the National Endowment for the Arts 1988 Report to Congress, *Towards Civilization*. Additionally, the editors' conclusions would also discount the broader approach to art education than the focus on art production. Munro (1956) advocated the inclusion of art appreciation, art history and art criticism with art production as the content of art education. He also reflected on issues related to art teaching and learning. His questions (1956) have a contemporary ring to them: "How can they [stages in art education] be made continuous from age level to age level, from lower to higher grades, avoiding the gaps and dislocations that now exist? How can studies in the appreciation, history, and criticism of art best be coordinated with those in technique and creative production? How can studies of art best aid in conveying the cultural heritage of past civilization and also give the student the ability to understand and cope with present civilization?" (p. 28) Munro was also interested in questions of integration, continuous progress in art from one level to the next and art in general education. The similarity of Munro's concept of art education to the DBAE approach is evident. The inclusion of art history, art criticism and aesthetics as content for art education appeared also in the literature and curriculum projects of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. It is not a Getty innovation; it emerged from the field.

A very strong assumption throughout the prologue is that DBAE subscribes to only Western art, in particular "masterpieces" as designated by experts. What do the experts (art historians) say about the objects of their study with regard to DBAE?

Kleinbauer (1987) describes what art historians do: "Art historians study arts of all sorts, those of prehistoric and tribal groups as well as those of highly developed and traditional cultural centers. They aspire to describe, analyze and interpret individual works of art by identifying their materials and modes of production, their makers, their time and place of creation, and their meaning or function - in short their place in the scheme of history" (p. 209). Kleinbauer, who has written several books on art historical inquiry methods, describes two basic modes of inquiry, the intrinsic and extrinsic. The intrinsic mode of inquiry focuses on such factors as connoisseurship, style, iconography and function; extrinsic inquiry focuses on factors and conditions surrounding and shaping the work of art such as circumstances of the time and place artworks were created (Kleinbauer, 1987). Interestingly, Kleinbauer's explanations of contemporary modes of inquiry in art history differ considerably from those presented in the prologue. "The methods of these extrinsic approaches are derivative, for their underlying assumptions, points of view, and techniques of investigation have been adopted in large measure from other disciplines, especially the social sciences . . . . In contemporary scholarship the large majority of art-historical inquiries are integrative, and this approach results in what some scholars identify as the best art history practiced today" (p. 210).

Space does not permit a similar discourse on contemporary aesthetics and art criticism. However, several comments regarding these disciplines may suffice to challenge the assumptions that aesthetics and art criticism have not changed since their origins. Aesthetic thought and the arts have changed in time; for the aesthetics of a particular period both illuminates and reflects the predominant art of that era (Kostelanetz, 1978). Although aesthetic thought and the arts have changed in time, questions of aesthetics are unchanging such as the definition of art, the types of art, the function of art, the effects of art, the genesis of art, the relation of art to society and history, the criteria of critical evaluation, and the processes of perception (Kostelanetz, 1978).

With regard to art criticism there is a diversity of methods and standards that art critics use to describe, interpret and evaluate works of art and they have varied throughout the history of art criticism. This diversity and variation is due to the different and constantly changing social, political, economic, geographic and religious influences under which art is and has been made (Clark, Day and Greer, 1987).

Misconceptions of DBAE

Implications of DBAE as a source of alienation of students (Collins and Sandell; Blandy and Congdon); of focusing only on Western art (Blandy and Congdon); of subscribing only to the original concepts of Western Scholastic tradition (Blandy and Congdon); of defeminizing art education (Collins and Sandell); of subscribing to singular approaches to aesthetics and art analysis and to the aesthetic cultural base of the "white, upper-middle class" (Hamblen); of causing the isolation of contemporary Nigerian artists from most Nigerians resulting in their unemployment (Emeji); and of negating equality (Malebana) are based on misconceptions of what DBAE is and is not. The literature of art education abounds with articles on discipline-based art education, its perceived merits and demerits. References are made to the Getty Center for Education in the Arts as advocates, originators and perpetuators of DBAE in most of this literature. Ideas, concepts and deeds are attributed to the Getty Center and of DBAE from numerous sources. However, the major source of information concerning the rationale and antecedents of DBAE and the role of the Getty Center are those commissioned by the Center and published in the *Journal of*

Aesthetic Education (Summer 1987). The foreword of this journal clearly states that the ten papers presented in the issue are intended as a starting point from which further thinking and questioning, as well as diverse practical applications, can occur (Price, 1987). In the following section, reference will be made to this particular source and to a publication from the Getty Center entitled: *Perceptions of Discipline-Based Art Education and the Getty Center for Education in the Arts* (1988).

Two Major Misconceptions: DBAE is a Specific Curriculum and is Limited to Western Art

Two major misconceptions undergird the basic premises of most of the articles in the Fall, 1988 issue of JMCRAE, namely that (1) DBAE is a specific *curriculum* and (closely related to this misconception is) (2) DBAE subscribes only *to Western art*, in particular those artworks experts designate as masterpieces. The Getty position as articulated by Dobbs (1988) states that "Discipline-based art education is an approach to teaching and learning about art rather than a specific curriculum. DBAE can take many specific forms and therefore many different DBAE-inspired curricula can be developed for the nation's schools. No single or 'national curriculum' would be consistent with the pluralism that characterizes American educational policy and the adoption of curricula in all subjects" (p. 3).

Eisner (1988) reiterates this position in response to Hamblen's (1988) conception of DBAE as a curriculum. As an approach to teaching art and not a curriculum, DBAE literature stresses the importance of learning in four content areas, advocates programs that are sequential, accepts the concept of goal oriented programs, and recommends that school districts as a whole adopt a common approach to achieving these goals. DBAE does not prescribe answers to such questions as: "How the curriculum is to be designed, what particular goals should be formulated, what exemplars should be used to represent art, how the curriculum should be taught, how much time should be devoted to the teaching of art, how the four areas of learning in art are to be related" (p. 11).

Two documents (Clark, et al., 1987; Dobbs, 1988) state the Getty position on the widely held misconception that DBAE focuses only on Western art. Clark, Day and Greer define the DBAE content for study as "derived from a broad range of the visual arts, including folk, applied and fine arts from Western and non-Western cultures and, from ancient to contemporary times" (p. 135). This broad range is reiterated by Dobbs.

Both misconceptions (DBAE as a specific curriculum, limited to western art) are reflected in the prologue of the Fall, 1988 issue of

JMCRAE. Reference is made of the exclusion of art "which has not been adequately sanctioned by scholars as so-called 'masterpieces' " (p. 4) - with inferences that DBAE does not include folk art, art by women, art by people of color and art by Third and Fourth world artists (Blandy and Congdon). The implication is that DBAE is a specific curriculum, selecting specific works of art to study and that only Western art is prescribed. Such comments indicate that the literature on explicating what is and is not DBAE, was not read or not understood. Many of the authors in this issue quote other authors who also hold misconceptions and, hence, the cycle continues.

An example of the misunderstanding of the basic premises of DBAE is found in Emeji's article (1988) in which he faults DBAE as being "highly technical and capital intensive, taking into consideration the required materials and the method of application of media which in essence do not reflect the visual art needs of emerging Nigeria" (p. 31). A similar point is made later in the article in which he states that DBAE, "designed to match the rapid economic, scientific, and technological growth of the Western world, was not sympathetic to their [Nigerian artists] cultural background" (p. 34). The assumption is that DBAE is a curriculum. Reference is made to the "required materials" and method of application of media. DBAE as an approach to teaching art does not specify how the curriculum should be taught, how it is designed or what examples should be used to represent art.

Jones (1988) in her article places DBAE within the context of tradition of philosophical realism and proceeds to define the realist's position on reality as existing independent of human understanding and as discounting creative intelligence that participates in the creation of reality. Since, as Jones points out, a "curriculum composed of the best data on reality to date must be determined by the most competent investigators, that is, experts" (p. 41) the consequence is that "the realist's curriculum tends to be authoritative and uniform" (p. 41). Once more the misconception of DBAE as a curriculum is implied as the basic premise and that discipline experts determine the specific content rather than art educators and curriculum developers. Clark, et al., (1987) point out that: "Just as other educators have analyzed parent disciplines into effective educational programs, art education will be able to organize content from the disciplines of art into effective programs recognizing the competence of learners in performing tasks at various stages of their development" (p.167).

A number of issues are raised by Collins and Sandell (1988) with regard to DBAE. Several of these issues focus on the "DBAE approach as a proposal to defeminize the teaching of art" (p. 57), while others focus on familiar themes: "DBAE tends to narrow the definition and values of art to those which have been legitimized by the Western mainstream art tradition, and to diminish the psychological and social concerns that have distinguished art education from other art-related disciplines" (p. 55). Again, the problem of assuming that DBAE is a curriculum, specifying particular content (Western art) and how the curriculum should be taught ("diminish psychological and social concerns"), is evident. A response to the accusation of defeminization of art education and of the professionalism of the art teacher, due to DBAE, is beyond the confines of this paper. However, it deserves a considered response.

Confusion between modes of instruction (how to teach) and content (what to teach) is as common to most articles in the issue as is the confusion between an approach to teaching art and learning about art, and an art curriculum. Hamblen (1988) cites critics who fault DBAE for its cultural limitations (emphasis on Western art exemplars); lack of enthusiasm for the creative spirit; not allowing for individual differences and self expression; stultifying "freedom, creativity and imagination" (p. 90); and for "resembling the content and methodologies of instruction used for subjects within general education" (p. 91). Acceptance of these criticisms is implied since Hamblen does not refute them. Instead, she uses some of these misconceptions to undergird her main focus. For example, Hamblen incorporates them in her comment: "To date DBAE curricula and proposals have tended to focus on the formal qualities of art, technical skills, Western fine art, and singular approaches to aesthetics and art analysis, that is, aesthetic scanning. In general DBAE has conformed to the aesthetic cultural base of the white, upper-middle class who place the highest good on individualistic and bracketed aesthetic experiences, museum experiences of art, and attention to art's formal qualities" (p. 91). Hamblen does separate DBAE as an approach to teaching and learning of art from art curricula designed by curriculum developers who purport that their curriculum emerged from a DBAE approach. However, an ambivalence is evident in her closing comments in which she states that "DBAE should not be considered a completed, chiseled-in-stone program of study" (p. 96), nor an approach to art that is dictated or controlled by an individual or organization; it can be "accommodative to a variety of curricular interpretations and types of artistic meaning and response" (p. 96). These comments at the end of the article contradict her earlier statements faulting DBAE on the very points for which she now gives credit.

A major concern of the Stokrocki (1988) article is regarding teaching as an interactive process based on communication to enhance and facilitate learning — in particular for minority cultures. Her discourse illuminates modes of instruction effective for learning and of teaching culturally different groups. However, she assumes that DBAE specifies how to teach (a curricular function) and that its concept is narrow and not effective for teaching some students. Stokrocki may be interested in reading Fleming's article which appears in the same issue. It discusses several misperceptions of DBAE. Fleming (1988) comments that the use of the word "approach" may have "left the perception that how to teach, or methodology, is a primary concern of DBAE. Although the Center has stated that neither a nationwide DBAE curriculum nor a prescriptive way of implementing it exists the perception persists that concepts associated with DBAE must necessarily unfold in a specific form" (p. 65).

The concept of DBAE basing its approach on the Western world view and concept of fine art surfaces again in Calvert's article (1988). Her main concern is for inclusion of Native American art history in art curriculum and for a contextual approach (socio-cultural interpretation) to the teaching of art history. Rather than reiterate the earlier discussion on art historical methods of inquiry, a reminder may suffice. Many contemporary art historians use a contextual (integrative) approach derived from the social sciences (Kleinbauer, 1987).

The most tenuous discourse on DBAE in this issue is that of Malebana (1988). The title of the article reflects the inflammatory tone and political rhetoric that permeates the writing: "Debased Art Education: The Consequences of Destructive Engagement." Malebana equates the struggles of the Blacks of South Africa and third world countries, and the attempts of the United States to forcibly democratize other countries with DBAE. Also suggested is the failure of DBAE to deal with the issue of equality. The following illustrates the tone of the article and unsubstantiated claims attributed to DBAE:

> The rugged diplomatic forays that characterize U.S. attempts to win international friends borders on morbidity. The problem is that this is done through the entrenchment of the United States genre of political economic agendas which may conflict with those of the host countries. Although this may not seem so, this problem is also inherent in DBAE's hidden agenda .... My assumption is that DBAE is debased, which is defined as "to lower in status or esteem to lower the quality or character of" because it purports to be what it is not .... DBAE fails to address itself to a wider audience, primarily because of its negation of some issues that are central to art education concerns such as equality. (p. 77)

Political rhetoric is no substitute for reasoned discourse.

Conclusion

The editors are to be commended for publishing a commentary on the issue, written by Marantz (1988). Its title anticipates the discussion that follows: "Commentary: Meditations on Titles and other Verbal Mischiefs." Marantz discusses the various uses of the device of juxtaposing ideas and/or images. Some uses are political in which a popular technique is to juxtapose the opponents image with a revolting concept or, conversely, juxtapose the person with very positive images. Some uses are literary, especially in poetry and humor, where metaphoric or incongruous situations are expected. Marantz uses this discussion to lead to his main criticism — the juxtaposing of "Cultural Pluralism" with DBAE:

> What we are offered in the theme of this issue is a juxtaposition of a political slogan meant to rouse the populace (as the 'Internationale' was designed to stir the peasants to revolt) and an instructional approach that is positivistic by design. If the editors had chosen "Educational Faddism" or "The Problem of Elitism" or "Cultural Monism" or even "The Politics of Art Education" to set up with DBAE, I might be less puzzled. Or if the "and" had been, "versus," *perhaps* there would have been an issue. But our journal purports to be a vehicle for cultural matters, so why the extra qualifier in the theme? (p. 125)

Although Marantz's language is strong and somewhat colorful, the questions he raises are central to the concerns of this reviewer. The Fall 1988 issue of JMCRAE has a political overtone, not only in the use of language, but also in the use of juxtaposed ideas, mainly to create potent associations. Such devices may be highly effective in the political and business arenas or in poetry and humor. However, its extensive use in a scholarly research journal is questionable. If we are to extend the knowledge in our field and improve practice, critical analysis of the literature is essential. Issues must be approached with reason and not emotion. The debate surrounding DBAE will and should continue.

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Footnotes

[1] Robert C. Hobbs is an associate professor of art history at The Florida State University. He serves on the Editorial Board of the *Women's Art Journal* and has written a number of books. Among these are the *Art of the Red Earth People: The Mesaukie of Iowa* (co-authored with Gaylord Torrence); *Milton Avery, Edward Hopper, and Robert Smithson: Sculpture*.

Perspectives, Themes and Future Directions: Students Respond to Past JMCRAE Articles

Jane Conlon
Lisette Ewing
Minoru Maeda
Heinz Klein

Introduction

During Winter quarter 1991 the Department of Art Education at the University of Oregon offered a graduate level course titled Journal Publication. The course was designed to develop and strengthen professional editing skills and familiarize students with the process of academic publishing. In addition, students were asked to become familiar with the past editions of the *Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* and select two or more articles that would provide the context for a written review and reflection of approaches to multicultural issues and research in the field. Four students' reflections provide the content for this article.

This collaborative project reflects each student's personal and professional interests, concerns, commitments and biases. The positions taken are personally developed and reflect the thoughts of individual student authors. They are not necessarily the thoughts of the editor, the journal staff, or the past JMCRAE authors whose ideas are the basis for this review. In collaboration, each component of this article was shaped to encourage reflection and point toward future directions and areas of research in multicultural and cross-cultural art education.

Conlon addresses some of the socio-political, cultural, historical and economic realities of educating in and for a multicultural society. Selecting articles by Marantz (1987) and Malebana (1988), she draws upon Marantz's examination of the responsibilites that professionals in the field have in educating international students. Conlon compares Marantz's self-reflective concerns with those of Malebana, an international doctoral student who argues against Discipline Based Art Education (DBAE) as a repository of Western colonization.

Ewing's approach to non-visual art education research focuses on the application of conceptual structures from general cross-cultural research. Three articles were drawn from: Lovano-Kerr's (1983) perspective of universality of a phenomenon observed in a single culture; McFee's (1986) research on cross-cultural inquiry regarding the social meaning of art; and Hardiman & Zerdich's (1985) advocacy for diversity of disciplines. These are seen by Ewing as vantage points for investigations of the cultural art values of non-sighted people whom she regards as a non-visual culture.

Maeda discusses Best's (1985) cultural dichotomy in light of the meaning of cultural symbols. Applying Malebana's (1988) argument of foreign cultural enforcement through military and hegemonic control, he reflects upon imposed Western authoritarian views in regard to cultural values in his country Japan. He considers Best's objectivity orientation as possibly useful for study of complex cultures.

Klein reflects upon research investigations in past JMCRAE issues. He claims that most studies are normatively constrained in their ontological assumptions and epistemological structure. Referring to Beittel (1983) and Zurmuehlen (1987) he suggests a Gadamerian hermeneutic approach to research that necessitates a methodology that transcends not only the subject/object dichotomy, but also surpasses subjective meaning and subjective intentionality.

Moral and Ethical Implications of a Multicultural Agenda

As even the most cursory perusal through past JMCRAE articles indicates, a wide array of approaches, definitions, applications and expectations for multicultural art education abound. Over the past eight years, JMCRAE has provided a forum for the exchange of multicultural and cross-cultural ideas, issues and concerns. Articles range from general to specific in scope and theme, and reflect evolving trends in the field of art education and the broader academic community.

As members of that community, it is important to reflect on the fact that the multicultural world in which we live is a socio-political, cultural, historical and economic reality, not merely an academic—or for that matter artistic—phenomenon. Theory is directly or indirectly related to practice. For that reason, academic discourse is a powerful and essential means for furthering the goals of equality and respect for diversity that multicultural approaches to art education seek to ensure.

We live, however, in a world where power imbalances exist along race, class and gender lines. No societal institution, including the educational system, is free from redress in this regard. Marantz in "The Morality of International Art Education" (1987) and Malebana in "Debased Art Education: The Consequences of Destructive Engagement" (1988) both speak to issues of cultural power and influence with regard to the education of foreign and minority students in America.

Malebana and Marantz each suggests that as a profession, art educators must address the ways in which even the most unassuming or well intended theory or practice may contain ethnocentric biases, vestiges of colonialism, and racist or sexist (to which I would add ageist, homophobic and temporary able-bodied) prejudices or assumptions.

Malebana, a South African and doctoral student in the U.S., speaks to the issue as an international student and colleague. Marantz, an art education professor at The Ohio State University, claims that his "motives arise from a sense of conscience" and "an absence of concern in [his] behavior and in our field regarding our responsibilities to international graduate students" (p. 17).

Both authors use deconstructive approaches to scrutinize such concepts as assimilation, integration, communication and the importation of Western ideologies and cultural ideals via the education of foreign and minority students. Both authors, as I interpret their work, imply that at its best, a multicultural agenda is not about assimilation or tokenistic representation, but about reciprocity, exchange and unconditional inclusion. For example, Marantz warns: "Cross-cultural research is very iffy when practiced unilaterally" (p. 26). He also surmises that "art and education and art education are so totally immersed in their cultural matrices that we cannot, in good conscience, even begin to pretend to do our work isolated from the social framework" (p. 18).

Malebana also cautions that in attempts to feign assimilation, integration or assuage a guilty conscience, educational curriculums, strategies and frameworks may short-circuit issues of cultural difference such as race, class, creed or gender, or circumvent social, economic, political and historical realilties such as Western colonialism and support for apartheid. When this occurs, the results jeopardize the goals of a truly inclusive multicultural agenda. He contends that art educational frameworks should incorporate a wholistic, subsuming approach to art history, aesthetics, art criticism and studio work, and must take into account the social, cultural and economic influences that have historically shaped and currently impact the lives of diverse individuals and groups of people. He states that "In order to understand the dilemma of cultural domination and imperialist conquest, one needs to be aware of the traditions of Western scholarship that helped in shaping it" (p. 78).

Malebana's expressed concerns over DBAE as a "buttress of Western artistic values" and a model "for other cultures to emulate" that are applicable to American education more generally. He charges that Western cultural fundamentalism has resulted in the "abrasion of minority students in this country" (p. 76), has promoted "a condition of academic oblivion and ignorance about other cultures" (p. 79), and has fed "sanctimonious attitudes about transporting U.S. democracy abroad" (p.76). Inculcating Western values, biases and assumptions through American education of foreign students is one way that this takes place. In this context, education can be viewed as an extension of military control (p. 80).

Marantz voices similar concerns when he asks, "What are we asking of *our international troops* [italics added] when we inculcate our values and expect them to risk their necks (literally I fear in some instances) in our cause on their turf?" He says that international students "don't need a fresh form of educational colonialism thrust upon them, whether produced intentionally or by our neglect" (p. 26).

Like Malebana, Marantz points out that the difficulties that arise in "educating international colleagues are similar to those that characterize our national operations." He encourages us to scrutinize more carefully "what's going on under our noses." He implores us to consider whether what is taught in American educational institutions is "universally exportable" or symptomatic of an effort "to clone ourselves, to create disciples ready and able to carry our Word to the benighted world" (p. 19).

Marantz' and Malebana's articles both bring to the forefront of discourse some of the sticky, perplexing issues pertaining to multicultural and cross-cultural research and application. Both authors choose to dwell upon the moral and ethical implications that are an intrinsic component of all theory and practice. They choose to attend to issues of difference rather than glaze over them, and suggest that we must delve deep and ask soul-searching questions about the intricate nature of educating in and for a multicultural society. Marantz aptly points out that "we can't determine the possibility of solutions unless we first identify the problem" (p. 26). The problem, it appears, is one of infinite complexity, not easily rectified by palliative measures. Future research, and ultimately solutions, must attend to that complexity.

Potentials of Cross-cultural Research in Art Education for Studies of Non-visual Learners

I have examined three articles in JMCRAE that address cross-cultural approaches in art education research. The context for this review concerns the possibility of transferring current structures of research in art education into a framework for non-visual (visually impaired and blind) learners. The cross-cultural approach, as discussed by Lovano-Kerr (1983), McFee (1986) and George Hardiman and Theodore Zernich (1985), is appropriate and transferable to art education research for the non-visual learner. With integration of non-visual students in schools, art education needs to expand research regarding differences between sighted and non-visual learners.

The visual person is able to use eyesight for perceiving most information. The visual culture's aesthetic criteria and created art objects are based on visual acuity but can and do include other senses. Visual art is primarily designed and created to be appreciated with eyesight. The non-visual person uses tactile and auditory senses more efficiently than using any residual eyesight they may have. A non-visual person will use their tactual (of or relating to; derived from or producing the sense of touch) and auditory perceptions to move in the environment. A non-visual person uses tactile, auditory, kinesthetic, olfactory and gustatory senses to perceive information in a different proportion than a visual person. Non-visual art is the product of tactile, kinesthetic and/or auditory creativity without the utilization of eyesight and should therefore be appreciated non-visually. Given this, it is advocated here that a cross-cultural perspective be taken in art education research to facilitate the integration of sighted and non-visual learners in our school.

Lovano-Kerr (1986) wrote about cross-cultural research and the implications for art education inquiry in her article "Cross-cultural Perspectives on Cognition and Art: Implications for Research." She expresses the need for research to examine the "implied universality of many of our beliefs about child development in art" (p.77). She agrees with Witkin's & Berry's (1975) perspective on the purpose of cross-cultural research, which is "to check the universality of a phenomenon which has been observed in a single culture" (p.78). The possible implications drawn from Lovano-Kerr for non-visual learners suggest the need for: a comparison of form and structure of visual and non-visual art; a comparison of the verbal responses to the two kinds of art; and the study of the evolvement and collection of data. Such studies may disclose new knowledge regarding the "universalities" or "aesthetic factors" that Lovano-Kerr points out are culturally determined (p. 84).

McFee (1986), in her article "Cross-cultural Inquiry Into the Social Meaning of Art: Implication for Art Education," analyzes definitions of art and culture. She cites Herskovits' definition of art based on his anthropological field work. According to this definition, art needs cultural criteria; art is a cultural phenomenon; and artistic expression is universal. This would suggest that non-visual art needs to be responded to as art of another culture. The premise here is that non-visual art is a cultural phenomenon; it needs its own cultural, aesthetic criteria identified. "Art is a mode of knowing as well as communicating" (p. 13). Cross-cultural researchers imply that concepts and values should be culturally developed not imposed. This would seem to hold true in regard to integration of visual and non-visual learners in art education.

Hardiman and Zernich (1985) in "Cross-cultural Research in the Visual Arts: An Overview" discuss empirically oriented cross-cultural research. This article is aimed specifically at the visual arts but is also relevant to non-visual art. For example, they state that "the diversity of disciplines that contribute to the study of the visual arts makes it clear that no single orientation can adequately provide a comprehensive base" (p. 19). This idea holds true of researching non-visual art, as well. Research is needed to seek cultural characteristics of non-visual art.

The study of non-visual art, therefore, would encompass disciplines beyond current visual art orientations and include disciplines of non-visual education. A key variable that Hardiman and Zernich acknowledge in the field of cross-cultural art research is the "greater emphasis . . . on the perception of art objects rather than their creation" (p.20). Currently this has not been justly attended to in researching art and the non-visual learner. Much past literature on the non-visual learner is about their creation of art. Examinations of these creative aspects are from the visual perspective—one that seems inconsistent, even irrelevant, to the non-visual learner. For example, it seems that how the non-visual person perceives and appreciates an art object or aesthetic experience should be the starting point at which the non-visual learner begins to understand his or her non-visual art values.

Hardiman's and Zernich's view is that there is a "curvilinear relationship between the amount of information in the stimulus and the extent to which the stimulus is judged." They state that this finding is important in that it "clearly demonstrates that aesthetic judgements and cognition covary. Or, put another way, interpretation and judgement, the pivotal points of the art experience, are a consequence of cognition" (p. 23). Knowing that a non-visual person will create and perceive a work of art tactilely is only a small part of needed knowledge. Future research should seek to learn about non-visual elements of design, approaches to non-visual criticism, non-visual aesthetics and non-visual exhibition techniques. Because of the integration and the differences between sighted and non-visual learners, it would seem valuable to art education to research these aspects using a cross-cultural approach, thus increasing relevant and useful discoveries regarding non-visual people.

Toward the Possibility of Cross-cultural UnderstandingThrough Cultural Symbols

David Best (1985) in his article "Concepts and Cultures" discusses cultures in dichotomy, stating that we cannot have thoughts, even privately, unless there is a medium in which they can be formulated. The ability to share meanings with others depends upon the fact that

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concepts are not purely private, but that they are part of a publicly available, objective practice, such as language and art forms (p. 14). This denotes that artistic criteria must be objective and—in alignment with Herskovits' (1959) statement that "to be classified as an object of art—[it] must meet cultural criteria of form."

However, Best holds that where there are different languages, art forms and other social practices, there are necessarily different mental experiences, because the objective concepts which are a precondition of thought are different. This shows that objectivity must be relative to the culture. To conceive of objectivity as universal is to impose one standard across a range of very different forms of expression, and thus to ignore, distort and devalue the immense variety of forms. This gives particular meaning to observations such as Brislin's (1983) who has written, "our symbols tend to have more meaning to us than others do, thus we value other symbols less."

Some standards may or may not be appropriate for different cultures. Malebana (1988) argues that Western culture has been enforced through military as well as hegemonic control of other cultures in history. History shows that the same thing happened within Western cultures and in the East. For example, the original culture of the Britons transformed after the Roman invasion, and Koreans were once forced to speak Japanese under the occupation of that country. Malebana also holds that the art disciplines of Western culture "are to a very large extent irrelevant in the study of African art or non-Western art" (p. 81). This may or may not be true. For example, at the end of the last century, many Europeans and Americans bought Japanese *ukiyo-e*, plebian pictures or wood-block prints, some of which were praised by Fenollosa, an American professor at the Tokyo University of Art and later a curator of the Boston Museum of Art. He said (from his Victorian view of art) that some figures of courtesans were comparable with Greek Venuses.[1] Whether this was relevant to the Japanese culture was not considered. These authoritarian views of art have become and still remain predominant in the United States and this is a fact that should be addressed within the culture. It is also true that these art forms brought into Western countries are studied in terms of cross-cultural understanding.

We cannot deny that civilization has grown rich and refined as different cultures encounter each other. In Japan, after the seventh century, barbarian tribes with no writing systems accepted most of the Chinese culture, such as language, architecture and art forms. After 1968, when they were ready to do so, they actively imported Western culture at a rate that some feel was too fast for the people to adapt to. In the process of modernization, Japanese have adopted Western views which may be rather worse than the original ones. Mixed with the feudal system, Japanese cultural criteria are very complex and their current aspirations tend to be directed to the Western world, not to neighboring countries. Even so, Japanese are proud to think that they have a "unique" language and culture which implies that people from other societies cannot fully understand them. This is an imperialist view of culture. Multicultural and cross-cultural art education seems critically needed to examine these issues. Best's orientation to cultural criteria offers insight into the complexity and potential of such endeavors.

Culture is maintained, transmitted and changed through art, and appreciation of a culture can be greatly enhanced by interpreting its art. However, where there are different practices, there will be different thoughts and feelings. We need a flexible approach to art education—one that acknowledges in practice that any perceived "universal" standard may be inappropriate depending on the culture. It seems we also need an approach in many countries that allows us to look "objectively" at the external cultural influences that may be present in any culture today in order to consider the appropriateness and meaning of using standards of other cultures.

The goal of multicultural and cross-cultural art education should be that we be generous, compassionate and patient towards other cultures as we strive to live in harmony on earth by understanding diverse cultures and their arts. I believe that the rationale of multicultural and cross-cultural art education lies in the fact that diverse arts help us understand different cultures. Studying other cultures through art will allow us to enhance our views of others by gaining a broader perspective and can demonstrate how important the arts can be in seeking multicultural and cross-cultural understanding.

Re-discovering Understanding as Presuppositional Context of Meaning

It has been nearly a decade since JMCRAE's first issue was published. The editorial of the first issue stressed the vital importance of multicultural and cross-cultural research to "promote a greater understanding of diverse cultures and to explore the role of art in multicultural education" (Kantner, 1983, p.4). With increasing awareness of cultural diversity, educational pluralism and global communication the need for such understanding is now more imperative than ever.

A pervasive problem in knowledge acquisition is the prevalence of commitment to the scientific paradigm of inquiry. The scientific method is grounded ontologically in the positivistic assumption "that there exists a single reality that is independent of any observer's interest in it and which operated according to immutable natural laws" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 84). Furthermore, it assumes epistemologically a dichotomous relation between observer and the phenomenon observed. This subject-object dualism "asserts that it is possible (indeed mandatory) for an observer to exteriorize the phenomenon studied, remaining detached and distant from it...and excluding any value considerations from influencing it" (p. 84). Consequently, positivism denies the existence and intelligibility of forces and substances that go beyond facts and the laws ascertained by science.

Deviating from the positivistic methodology are the interpretive approaches towards methodological analysis, such as phenomenology, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and others. The primary tenets of these approaches consist of a "subjective" approach to social inquiry in which the intelligibility of human action and the interpretation of human intentionality and meaning are studied. Researchers who advocate these approaches claim that a scientific methodology is based on the principles of realist ontology and dualistic objective epistemology and, therefore, cannot provide truth-statements that are isomorphic to reality (p. 84). Unfortunately, their interpretive approach is equally embedded in a dualistic epistemology even though they assert a subjective stance.

An analytic overview of articles published in JMCRAE reveals that, since its inception in 1983, most research studies are normatively constrained in their ontological assumptions and epistemological structure. Most studies fall prey, methodologically, either to the fallacy of assuming independently identifiable real-world referents, that by means of causal analysis are formulated or measured by "natural laws"; or, these studies attempt to explain human intentionality and meaning structures on the basis of the "knowing subject" (Hekman, 1983).

For the purpose of reflection and recommendation for future directions, two articles in past JMCRAE issues have been selected: Beittel's (1983) "The Empty Box: The Potter as First Violinist," and Zurmuehlen's (1987) "Context in Art: Meaning Recovered and Discovered." Although they address different phases in the development of the hermeneutic circle, both authors advocate the use of the hermeneutic method for social inquiry.

Beittel gives a phenomenological account of his experience of traditional Japanese art and culture. Although he mentions the philosophical hermeneutics of Gadamer (1975) and Ricoeur (1978) peripherally, his descriptive narrative relies primarily upon the contextual framework of Dilthey's model of experience/expression and understanding. For Beittel, referring to Dilthey, this triad is "the route to decoding the objectifications of mind or spirit we find in works and texts" (1983. p. 7).

Dilthey's "understanding" (*Verstehen*) includes all aspects of human consciousness and requires empathy with another person's given life-situation. It is a "transposition and re-experiencing of the world as another person meets it in lived experience (Palmer, 1969, p. 115). It becomes apparent, then, that our being is situated within "historicality" and that human beings and self-understanding are historical events. Consequently, the analysis and interpretation of text and cultural artifacts provide the basis for understanding intentionality and meaning of the maker within the context of culture and history of life. "We must live through—that is, experience and express—what we wish to understand," suggests Beittel (p. 7). Within these parameters he foresees the transcendence of differences in cross-cultural comparisons and the "identification and preservation of unique cultural values" (p. 7).

Dilthey's hermeneutic circle views human beings and self-understanding as a historical event. Through the process of reconstruction, hermeneutic interpretation unites the past with the present. The interpreter, according to Dilthey, not only understands the particular concrete expression but also its embeddedness within the context of the life world.

While the implications of Dilthey's hermeneutic circle provide a deviation from the scientific method towards contextual interpretation of the human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*), its epistemological presuppositions still remain immersed in the Enlightenment's notion of objective knowledge.

For Gadamer (1975), Dilthey's argument was insufficient and ambiguous because it accepted the Enlightenment's definition of objective knowledge. Furthermore, Dilthey's assumption concerning human historicity, historical relativity and historical understanding were equally rejected by Gadamer because it attempted to reconstruct the subjective life world of the author of a text. Gadamer, therefore, claims that the Enlightenment's rejection of tradition by means of rationalism and the attempt by the Romantic period to restore tradition by "opposing the logocentrism of the Enlightenment" (Ulin, 1984, p.94) has led to a distorted position whereby tradition opposes reason in order to eliminate prejudice.

Gadamer, in correcting this misconception, attempts to establish a conceptual link between the "preconceptions or 'prejudices' of understanding and the authority of tradition. For tradition is the source of the prejudices which render understanding possible...it is [our] primordial participation in tradition which defines the reality and the finitude of their being" (Thompson, 1981, p.40).

Consequently, prejudice is an essential part of understanding, and tradition is the source of prejudice. Understanding, then, for Gadamer, is the dialectic oscillation between tradition and the interpreter. "The projection of meaning which governs understanding is not the act of an isolated subjectivity, but stems from the tradition to which one belongs" (p. 40). Similarly, "that which one seeks to understand is not the psychological constitution of another subject, but a meaningful content which is immersed in a tradition of its own" (p. 40). Understanding, according to Gadamer, takes place in the fusion of horizons, which means, that:

> The projecting of the historical horizon, then, is only a phase in the process of understanding, and does not become solidified into the self-alienation of a past consciousness, but is overtaken by our own present horizon of understanding. In the process of understanding there takes place a real fusion of horizons, which means that as the historical horizon is projected, it is simultaneously removed. We described the conscious act of this fusion as the task of the effective-historical consciousness. (1975, pp. 273-274)

Zurmuehlen (1987) based her article "Context in Art: Meaning Recovered and Discovered" on the Gadamerian notion of "alienation of historical consciousness" through which we by means of "critical distance in understanding voices or objects from the past, lapse into historical objectivism. Such an approach is alienating because it conceals our actual encounter with historical tradition in an abstraction that is methodological" (p. 134).

For Zurmuehlen, who advocates "recovering and discovering meaning in personal cultural histories," it is imperative that "individual historicality acknowledges the vital role of personal culture in our understanding of the world, including the teaching of art" (p.135). This solidifies the notion of a phenomenon of understanding to the extent that the historicity of the interpreter as well as that of the "text" is a continuous dialectical process. "Like Art," Zurmuehlen continues, "the past is not merely a passive object of investigation but exists as a multitude of possibilities of meaning, to be transformed again and again" (p. 134).

It becomes apparent that the problematic nature and multi-dimensional complexity of the process of interpreting and understanding human action and meaning necessitates a methodology that transcends not only the subject/object dichotomy, but one that also surpasses subjective meanings and subjective intentionality. This reflection was undertaken in order that future research investigations might address the considerations set forth herein. This is not attempt to discredit a quantitative research approach, nor to advocate unequivocal acceptance for the qualitative method. Theories, like all views, are mental constructions conditioned by the belief in a permanent reality. In pluralistic context "we must do full justice to the twofold aspects, absolute and relative, of every belief" (Kim, 1985).

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Footnote

[1] See Ernest F. Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese art, an outline history of East Asiatic design*, 1921, Volume 2.

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CORRECTION

Dorothy Heard extends her apology to Elliot Eisner for placing quotes around a phrase he did not write. Please correct your Fall 1989, Volume 7 Issue on page 8 of Dr. Heard's article by removing the quotation marks around the following: "the diversity of aims and rationales for teaching art in schools is unfortunate and partly due to the size of the nation, cultural diversity among citizens, and lack of strict curricula control at the federal level". Dr. Eisner felt that it was a misrepresentation of his veiws as well as a misquote.

Guide to Authors

1. *The Journal of Multicultural and Cross-cultural Research in Art Education* will consider for publication articles on all aspects of multicultural and cross-cultural research in art education. Manuscripts should be addressed to: Dr. Rogena M. Degge, Editor, Department of Art Education, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403.

2. Authors worldwide are encouraged to submit manuscripts for consideration. All communication and manuscripts must be in English.

3. Manuscripts for short articles (1,000-1,500 words) as well as longer manuscripts (3,500-4,000) are acceptable. Book reviews are also acceptable and should contain elements of the content as well as the reviewer's critical opinion. Manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced (including references), on one side of 8 1/2" x 11" white paper. Manuscripts from the United States accepted for publication must be submitted in final form on diskette plus 2 hard copies. Preference is for MacIntosh Microsoft Word (versions 3.0, 3.1, 3.2, 4.0), MacWrite (version 4.5), or Microsoft Works (version 1.1).

4. Required reference style is that described in the American Psychological Association's *Publication Manual* (3rd ed. 1983, Rev. 1984); or in *The Chicago Manual of Style* (13th ed., 1982), University of Chicago Press. Both publications also provide information relating to content, organization and writing style. Strict adherence is expected.

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